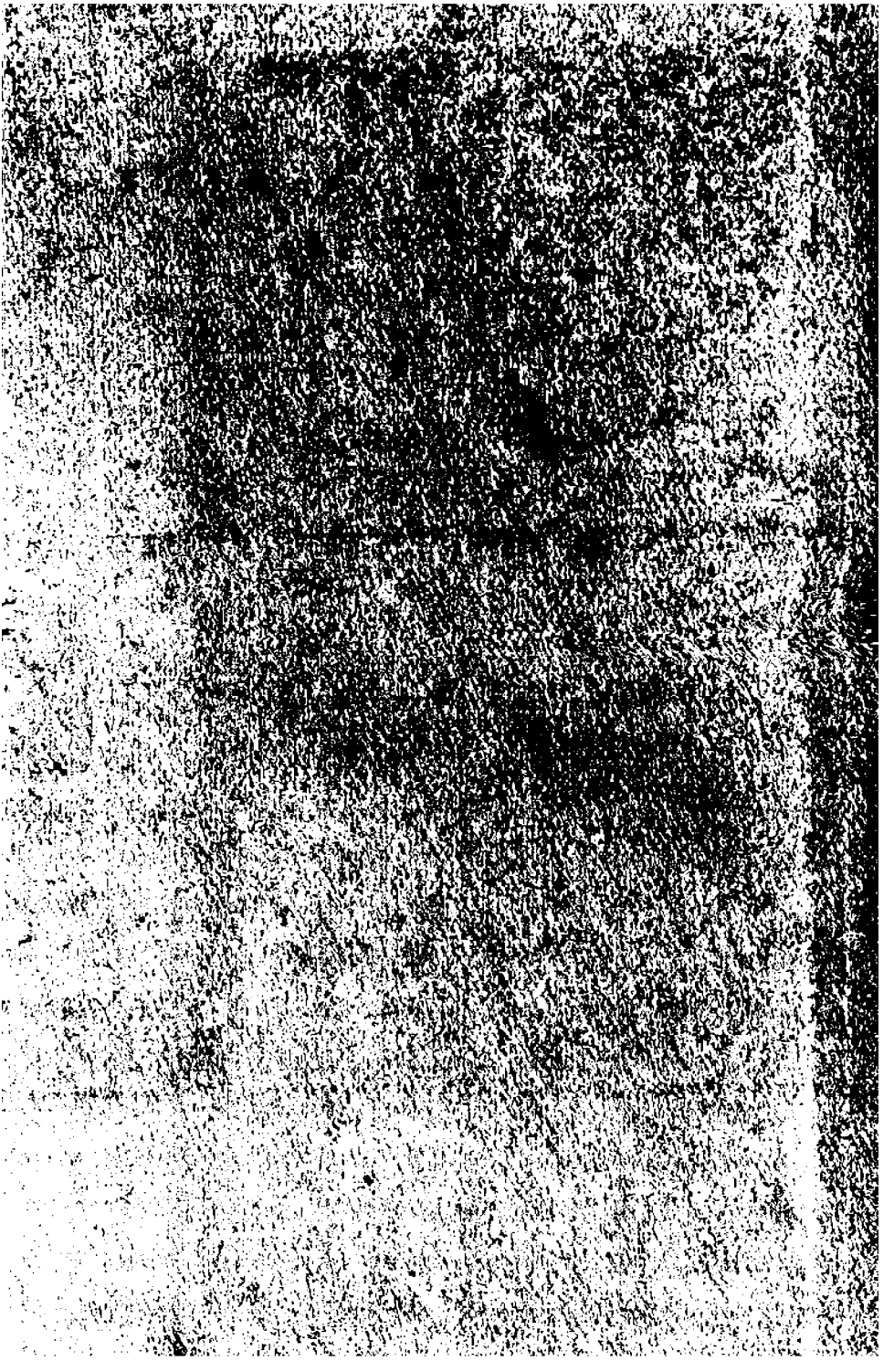
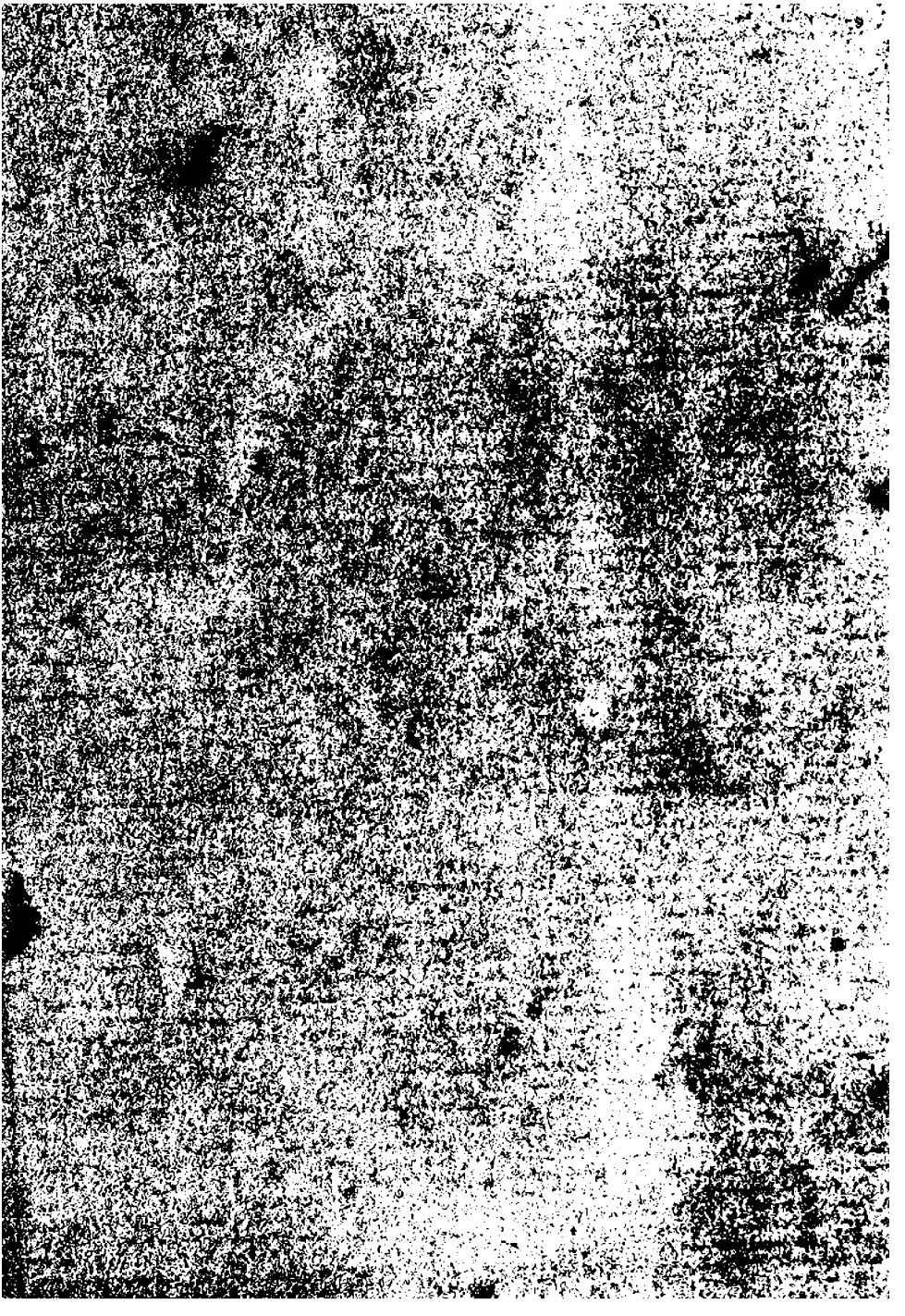
00084087

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018





THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

84087

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

1158

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

W i 10

LONDON:
JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCXXX.

00084087

ADVERTISEMENT.

In completing the First Volume of the Modern Traveller, the Editor feels bound to acknowledge the very flattering reception which has thus far been given to the Work. He ventures to infer, from the general approbation the specimen has met with, that the promise held out in the Prospectus has not been broken; and he pledges himself that no pains shall be spared to render the future Numbers equally deserving of the public attention.

In giving a description of Palestine, it has been thought necessary to go far more minutely into topographical details than will be either requisite or desirable in the case of other countries. Every acre of the Holy Land is connected with associations interesting to the antiquary, the biblical critic, and the Christian reader.

The chief difficulty which has attended the compilation of this volume, has arisen from the variety and copiousness of the materials. Yet, after all, there is ample scope for the investigation of future travellers; and it is hoped that this Volume will form a *Vade-mecum*, that may facilitate and direct their inquiries.

Maundrell and Pococke still deserve to stand at the head of those travellers who have visited and described the Holy Land. The former is, perhaps, the most correct, and one of the most intelligent of all travellers; and all that is to be regretted is, the brevity of his work. The latter is indefatigably minute and laboriously learned, generally accurate, but often fanciful, and, of course, sometimes mistaken. Of preceding travellers, Sandys alone has been found worth consulting; but his credulity is a drawback on the value of his testimony. Has-

selquist and Van Egmont and Heyman have been found of considerable use in reference to points overlooked by their predecessors. Shaw has also been consulted.

Of our recent travellers, Dr. Richardson has been found the most minute and faithful. He comes next to Maundrell in accuracy; and the favourable opportunities afforded him by his professional character, have enabled him to throw more light on the interior state and topography of Jerusalem, than any of his predecessors.* Ali Bey (Badhia) has supplied a few interesting details, but his inaccuracy renders him an unsafe guide. Chateaubriand has been found more correct than was anticipated, but his assistance has been confined to Jerusalem. Dr. Clarke has supplied by his learning some interesting illustrations; but his account of Palestine is, perhaps, the least valuable portion of his Travels. To Mr. Buckingham's Travels, the Editor must acknowledge himself indebted for considerable assistance. He has gleaned some valuable information also from the Letters of Mr. Jolliffe, the Notes of Mr. Connor, given in Mr. Jowett's Christian Researches, the Travels of Sir Frederick Henniker, of Captain Light, and of Major Mackworth.

To Burckhardt, and Burckhardt's learned Editor, sacred geography is indebted for much valuable illustration, of which the Editor has not neglected to avail himself. A similar acknowledgement is due to those indefatigable travellers, Captains the Honourable L. J. Irby and James Mangles. The ardent zeal which these gentlemen have displayed for the prosecution of geographical science, warrants the assurance which the Editor feels, that no apology will be required for the use that has been made, or that may be made, of their unpublished volume.

* See, in particular, his account of the Mosque of Omar, (pp. 93—117,) which the Dr. had the singular good fortune to be four times permitted to visit; a favour never before extended to a Frank.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BOUNDARIES OF PALESTINE	1
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY	ib.
MODERN POLITICAL DIVISIONS	6
POPULATION AND COSTUME	7
NATURAL HISTORY, CLIMATE, &c.	11
GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE COUNTRY	17
ROUTE FROM ACRE TO JAFFA	18
ROUTE FROM EL ARISCH TO JAFFA	43
ROUTE FROM JAFFA TO JERUSALEM	55
DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM	69
THE MOSQUE OF OMAR	93
THE HOLY SEPULCHRE	123
THE JEWS	138
ICHNOGRAPHY, POPULATION OF THE CITY, &c.	141
TRADE AND GOVERNMENT	148
MOUNT SION	149
PLACES WITHOUT THE WALLS	153
MOUNT OLIVET	168
BETHLEHEM	172
SOLOMON'S POOLS	178
ST. JOHN'S IN THE DESERT	183
SANTA SABA	189
IDEAL VIEW OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM	191
ROUTE FROM JERUSALEM TO HEBRON AND THE DEAD SEA	194

PAGE

THE DEAD SEA 204
ROUTE TO JERICHO AND THE JORDAN 225
ROUTE TO NABLOUS AND TIBERIAS 239
LAKE OF TIBERIAS 285
FROM TIBERIAS TO NAZARETH 300
FROM NAZARETH TO SZALT 312
MOUNT TABOR 314
FROM NAZARETH TO ACRE 323
FROM TIBERIAS TO DAMASCUS 330
PANIAS 353
CONCLUDING REMARKS 363
APPENDIX. (A.) NATURAL HISTORY 367
——— (B.) GLOSSARY 369
——— (C.) DESCRIPTION, &c. 370
——— (D.) DESIDERATA 371

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

Map of Palestine ..... *to face the Title.*
View of Jerusalem 69
——— *Bethlehem* 173
Plan of Jerusalem 370

PREFACE.

THE best extant collection of Voyages and Travels in the language, extends to seventeen very large and closely printed quarto volumes. But in that, or any similar work, the reader would in vain seek for an accurate account of the present state of a single country on the face of the globe. Amusing and often valuable as are the recitals of the older travellers, they of necessity abound with obsolete errors; they are generally barren of scientific information; and much of the information they contain, is out of date.

Were a collection of Voyages and Travels to be now published, in order to have any claim to completeness, it could not be comprised in less than fifty or sixty quarto volumes,—the size of an Encyclopædia; and after all, the collection would present only the crude materials of geographical knowledge, without order or arrangement.

To give the results of modern discovery, combined with our previous stock of information, in a succinct and popular form, so as to exhibit, at one view, the present state of our knowledge with regard to each particular country traversed by European Travellers, was the object proposed in undertaking the present work. The only publication in which this had been

attempted with any degree of competent ability, is the Geography of M. Malte Brun. In his steps, it were no disgrace to follow. His plan, however, is somewhat different; the topographical description is for the most part extremely brief and hurried, while the dissertations are extended beyond what might seem proper in a popular work; added to which, the researches of English and other Travellers have very considerably enlarged our means of information since the commencement of his admirable publication.

It is scarcely necessary to advert to the geographical articles contained in the Encyclopædias, which are, in general, as meagre as they are inaccurate. An honourable exception may be made in favour of the articles in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. Still, topographical detail is necessarily precluded in such works; and the information sought for is often distributed through different volumes. It is also a serious drawback upon the value of all such compilations, that no references, except of a very general nature, are made to authorities.

It has been made a marked feature of the present work, that authorities are specifically and minutely cited for every statement; so that the reader has not only a pledge that the information has been faithfully and scrupulously drawn from the original sources which are cited, but he is in no case required to take the statement implicitly upon the Editor's authority, the means of verification, or of detecting any error, being always afforded him. In no case has any authority been cited, that has not been actually consulted. In the topographical description, copious extracts have been freely introduced, whenever the language of the respective writers could be employed to advantage.

But, as regards more especially the geographical survey and the historical narrative, the publication is, to an extent which the Editor did not contemplate, an original work.

The labour has not been slight, of wading through so large a mass of reading, amounting to many hundred volumes. But this has not been the most arduous part of the Editor's task. Owing to the conflicting nature of the details, in numerous instances, it has cost no small pains to reconcile the discordant statements, or to determine which authority to follow; and a critical estimate of each work has often been a preliminary task of indispensable necessity. The most popular work has not always been found the most trustworthy, or the most replete with substantial information. On the contrary, the most valuable materials have not unfrequently been extracted from the dullest volumes.

It was one part of the plan, so to arrange the volumes that the description of any country might be sold separately. To adhere to this arrangement has often been extremely difficult, as it has required the Editor not only to complete within a given time, but to compress within a given quantity, the description of a country. In a few instances, it has therefore been necessary to connect two countries, as Syria and Asia Minor, Persia and China, Spain and Portugal, Peru and Chile, in order to preserve uniformity in the size of the volumes.

The proportion of the work assigned to the description of the several countries, will not always be found to answer to the extent of territory, nor even to the anticipations of the reader. It will, however, be readily perceived, why an entire volume is devoted to

Palestine, a small province of the Turkish empire, and two volumes to Greece. On the other hand, China, Abyssinia, and Chile may seem to occupy much too inconsiderable a proportion. But the designation of the work will remind our readers, that its primary design was, to give the researches of Modern Travellers, and that countries untraversed by Europeans could with little propriety be the subject of extended description. The vague and prolix narratives of the Missionaries and older travellers, in which much that is curious is obsolete, and much that is entertaining is of doubtful authority, it formed no part of our plan to submit to any process of abridgement or analysis. In the geographical sketch which is given of those countries, the present state of our actual information will be found fairly exhibited.

The order of publication in which the volumes appeared, was in some measure arbitrary and accidental, although partly regulated by the public interest attaching to the particular country at the time. And the Editor esteems it as a most fortunate circumstance, that, while endeavouring to gratify this interest, he has uniformly been enabled, by the unanticipated publication, at that precise moment, of some important work relating to the country in hand, to avail himself of the latest authorities. With regard to the countries described in the earlier part of the series, little additional information has since been furnished. But, had India been given before the publication of Bishop Heber's most interesting Journal,—had the description of Africa been completed prior to the appearance of the volumes by Captain Beechey, M. Pacho, and the last journal of Captain Clapperton, —had Peru been given at an earlier period of the revolutionary contest,—or had our description of the United

States been compiled on less recent information,—the value of the work would, without any blame attaching to its Editor, have been materially diminished. He is happy, therefore, to acknowledge his great obligations to the interesting volumes he has alluded to. It is at the same time as collated and combined with our previous information, that their contents acquire their chief permanent value.

To the general reader, the historical account of the various countries will perhaps be the most interesting portion of the work, as it is that which has cost the most labour, and required the most care. This, in some instances, is, of necessity, far more minute and extended, than was thought requisite in others. The ancient history of Egypt, of Persia, and of Arabia, forms an indispensable introduction to their modern geography. On the other hand, the Editor has not affected to give a history of Ancient Greece; but a full and fair account, he flatters himself, will be found, of the revolution which has restored Modern Greece to the name of a country. A description of Mexico would have been very incomplete without the history of its conquest by Cortes, or of the recent revolution which has established its independence. Of the South American Revolution also, recent documents have enabled him to give a complete history.

Of the four volumes devoted to India, (a large and yet inadequate portion of the work,) nearly two are occupied with its ancient and modern history; but the latter will be found to comprise, to a considerable extent, a topographical description of the country. In entering upon the boundless field of investigation which India presents, the complicated nature of the Editor's labours was not a little increased by the

extremely crude and imperfect state of both our geographical and statistical knowledge relating to that highly interesting region. Of this, a few instances may be given. Scarcely two geographers are agreed as to the countries which ought to be included under that appellation; and in both the names and the general arrangement of the provinces, there will be found considerable variation in our best authorities. As to the population of India, a difference of not less than thirty millions will be found between the estimates of Humboldt and Malte Brun. As to its ancient geography, the learning of D'Anville, owing to the deficiency of his information, has failed to decipher it. In his day, the Burrampooter was unknown as one of the principal rivers of India. Major Rennell's invaluable work has done much towards illustrating the geography of India; but, owing to the same circumstances, much of it is hypothetical. Since its publication, some particular provinces have been explored and partially described by military writers; some important trigonometrical surveys have been executed; and, scattered through the numerous volumes of the Transactions of Learned Societies and periodical registers and journals, are to be found highly valuable illustrations of the natural and political history, religion, and antiquities of Hindostan. But little or nothing has been effected in the competent and scientific arrangement of these stores of information.

The Editor would gladly have been excused from undertaking so laborious and delicate a task as that of attempting to give the outlines of a history which, commencing in fable, terminates in politics; while the intermediate portion embraces a complexity of detail which it is particularly difficult to bring into order, or to compress into a succinct narrative. He

wishes to speak with the utmost diffidence of the manner in which he has executed his task; but he may be forgiven for pointing out what he has attempted.

The history of India divides itself into three grand periods, the ancient history, the Mohammedan annals, and the history of the European colonies. Its ancient history, of which a brief sketch only has been attempted, still remains to be competently written. The materials for illustrating the annals of the Mohammedan dynasties, are sufficiently copious. While Ferishta's history has formed the basis of the sketch, the valuable work of Major Price, the interesting Memoirs of Baber, Orme's Historical Fragments, Mr. Mill's spirited outline, and even Mr. Maurice's ponderous volumes, have been diligently consulted, and have contributed largely to the materials of the narrative. The History of British India occupies the second, and part of the third volume. This was of course by far the most difficult task. When it is recollected, that Mr. Mill's able work, extending to six closely printed volumes, comes down no later than the close of Lord Wellesley's administration in 1806, and that the brilliant administration of Lord Hastings, which has completed and consolidated our conquests in India, is not included in his narrative, the mere labour of abridgement will be seen to be far from inconsiderable. Mr. Mill's History is itself a digest of multifarious and discordant materials; and his narrative almost defies abridgement by its conciseness. A considerable portion of his volumes, however, is occupied with legal and political disquisitions, into which it has not been deemed proper to enter; and the design of his work led him at the same time to confine himself to the political history of the British

possessions, to the exclusion of many interesting details connected with the general history of India. Although, therefore, his authority has been chiefly followed, so far as available, it was found necessary to have recourse to other sources of information; more especially to the highly interesting and valuable History of the South of India, by Colonel Wilks, Sir John Malcolm's Political History of India, Major Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, and, where Mr. Mill's history terminates, to the recent publications of Mr. Prinsep and Colonel Valentine Blacker. By refraining from political disquisition, by omitting or compressing the military and legislative details, and by observing as much conciseness as was consistent with distinctness, the Editor has endeavoured to comprise within his narrow limits, every material fact, and to present, for the first time in a consecutive and complete form, a history with which no Englishman ought to remain unacquainted. The authorities which it has been found necessary to consult for the history and description of India alone, and to which references are always given, amount to upwards of sixty quarto, and as many octavo volumes.

The Notes of the work are more numerous and sometimes longer than the Editor could have wished; but into this form it appeared necessary to throw, first, the authorities for the statements in the text, and what may be called the various readings, when respectable authorities were at variance; secondly, illustrative anecdotes, which would have interrupted the description or narrative; thirdly, etymological explanations, scriptural references when the subject admitted of Biblical illustration, and occasionally such brief observations, queries, or other mis-

cellaneous matter as the Editor has ventured on his own responsibility, and which he has deemed it better to offer in the shape of comment, than of text. He has strenuously resisted, however, the temptation to deviate into any lengthened disquisition; and has aimed more at exciting and directing further inquiries, than at giving expression to any opinions of his own upon the antiquarian or geographical points of inquiry that have been adverted to. In fact, to facilitate the labours of future travellers, and to enable them to turn their opportunities to better account, by being put in possession of the results of previous investigation, has been one main object; and it is in this way, the Editor flatters himself, that the work is destined to advance the progress of knowledge. With this view, the routes and distances have been laid down, so far as practicable, with a minuteness that may seem unnecessary to the general reader, but which the traveller in foreign lands will appreciate.

Another feature of the work upon which much care has been bestowed, is the statistical tables, exhibiting the corresponding ancient and modern territorial divisions, the extent of surface, population, &c. Of the tables which add so materially to the value of M. Malte Brun's work, the Editor has of course availed himself; but, in most cases, he has found it necessary to compile them from more recent information, and to follow his own judgement in the geographical arrangements. It is to be lamented, that no work on geography in the English language, (the translation of M. Malte Brun excepted,) has any claims to scientific accuracy.

The Editor must now speak of the assistance he has received in the compilation of these volumes. Nothing

was further from his intention, when, at the request of the Publisher, he drew up the Prospectus of the work, than to undertake, by himself, a labour of such magnitude; more especially under the disadvantages of a periodical publication. The design was, to engage several hands in the work. The volume on Russia was accordingly undertaken, and, for the most part, written, by a Gentleman who no longer lives to receive this public acknowledgement—the late W. Stevenson, Esq., of the Treasury, the able Editor of Kerr's Voyages and Travels. Before, however, his respected colleague had found time to complete his task, the Editor had been compelled by circumstances to produce, in succession, eighteen parts (nine volumes) of the work; and the experiment convinced all parties, that the idea of employing various writers to concur in the same precise plan, so as to preserve a uniformity and correspondence in the different parts of the work, was chimerical. Mr. Stevenson was not anxious to encounter the labour of a second task. In another quarter, where effective assistance had been looked for in the description of Spain, the Editor was completely disappointed, and was compelled to execute the task himself. In a third instance, he feels bound to acknowledge his obligations to Edward Upham, Esq., the Author of the "History of Budhism," for his contributions to the volume descriptive of Birmah. With these exceptions, the Editor has been compelled to take upon himself the undivided labour of authorship, at some risk to his health, and at the complete sacrifice of his leisure. But he has no cause to regret on his own account, whatever he may on that of the public, the unforeseen necessity of completing, single handed, a work, from the compilation of which he has reaped so much pleasure and instruction.

It scarcely belongs to the Editor, to advert to the extreme cheapness of the work. Yet, it is due to the Publisher to point out the fact,—that every volume contains a quantity of letter-press equal to two ordinary octavo volumes of double the price.

The highly flattering and encouraging notice that has been taken of the work, during the course of publication, by the various literary journals, while it has materially contributed to extend its sale and popularity, has not a little excited the Editor's anxious efforts to render it as worthy as possible of the public approbation.

It only remains to advert to what has *not* been accomplished, and what it would have been impossible to accomplish,—a complete description of *all* the countries on the face of the globe. The work, it will be seen, comprises all the regions of the East, of the western hemisphere, and of Africa, which are accessible to the European traveller; it includes a description of Eastern Europe, and of the Western Peninsula; but that which is specifically termed the Continent, that is to say, the countries formerly comprised in what was called the Grand Tour,—France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, are passed over. No disappointment, the Editor is confident, will be occasioned by this circumstance, since the attempt to comprise them within the present series of thirty volumes, would have been absurd. They belong to a home circuit, and will require a totally different plan to be pursued in describing them. Their geography requires little or no illustration; their history is that of Europe; the routes are, for the most part, laid

down in the road books; the descriptions of their most prominent features have become trite. The antiquary, the naturalist, and the topographer find, indeed, in those countries, infinite matter for their respective pursuits; and they are the favourite field of the political philosopher. But, for all these reasons, they could not be with propriety comprehended in the Popular Description we have given of the less familiar regions of remoter lands. If we may be allowed to make a verbal distinction, we should say, the former are the countries of the tourist: to have visited the latter, alone entitles the adventurous individual to rank as a traveller.

Should the Editor's life and health serve him, it is his intention to comply with the invitation of his Publisher, in attempting a description of the neighbouring countries in a series of distinct works, to appear from time to time as he may be able to complete them; but, after the unremitting labours of six years, it is with no ordinary satisfaction that he puts the finishing stroke to the present series, and finds himself released from the irksomeness of a periodical engagement.

ERRATA.

[Most of the following inaccuracies have been rectified in the greater part of the impression.]

Vol. I. Palestine, p. 22, line 18, *read* twenty-three hours (or about 100 miles) N.N.W. of Jerusalem.

IV. Arabia, p. 27, line 5, *for* Gondurz, *read* Goudurz.

V. Egypt, vol. i. p. 170, line 4 from bottom, *for* families, *read* individuals.

VI. —— vol. ii. p. 21, line 26, *for* Great Western Oasis, *read* the Smaller Oasis.

—— vol. ii. p. 166, note, line 8, *for* Meltpa, *read* Metopa.

—— vol. ii. p. 228, line 15, *for* Enamour, *read* Ain Amoor.

VII. India, vol. i. p. 74, line 23, *for* Manghir, *read* Monghir.

—— vol. i. p. 79, line 7 of note, *for* boing, *read* being.

—— vol i. p. 84, line 12, *for* It it, *read* It is.

—— vol. i. p. 92, line 10, *dele* ".

—— vol. i. p. 92, line 20, *for* anpinga, *read* anhinga.

—— vol. i. p. 102, line 13, *read*, and that of, &c.

—— vol. i. p. 332, line 3 of note, *for* ironical, *read* irenical.

VIII —— vol. ii. p. 14, line 11, *for* 1740, 41, *read* 1640, 41.

—— vol. ii. p. 37, line 6 from bottom, *for* Nazir Jung, *read* Muzuffer Jung.

—— vol. ii. p. 134, note *, *read* The secret reason is said to have been, that the Rajah had been guilty of borrowing money of the Dutch, instead of applying to the great folks at Madras.

IX. —— vol. iii. p. 35, line 6 from bottom, *read* the scorching sands of Rajpootana, and the wild jungles of Gujerat.

XI. Birmah, p. 78, line 14, *for* Brimans, *read* Birmans.

—— p. 95, line 5, *for* Binnah, *read* Birmah.

—— p. 107, line 3, *dele* or Bahar.

—— p. 358, note, line 5 from bottom, *read* which, I understood, was done by the present, &c.

ERRATA.

Vol. XII.	Persia,	vol. i. p. 129 note, *for* Asesmas, *read* Acesines.
XIII.	———	vol. ii. p. 67 note, *for* thirty miles, *read* fifty.
	———	vol. ii. p. 129, line 4, *for* at, *read* to.
	———	vol. ii. p. 259. line 4, *for* long. 40° E., *read* long. 48° E. (Kinneir), &c.
XV.	Greece,	vol. i. p. 139, line 12, *for* Londari, *read* Leondari.
	———	vol. i. p. 139, line 14, *for* Taygetum, *read* Taygetus.
XX.	Africa,	vol. i. p. 90, *for* and falling; in and, *read* and falling in; and, &c.
	———	vol. i. p. 183, last line, *for* vol. i., *read* vol. ii.
	———	vol. i. p. 203, line 12, *for* Vaudals, *read* Vandals.
	———	vol. i. p. 277, line 14, *for* Getuilan, *read* Getulian.
XXI.	———	vol. ii. p. 347, line 11, *for* maket, *read* market.
XXVIII.	Peru,	p. 309, line 3 from bottom of note, *for* earth, *read* hearth.
XXIX.	Brazil.	vol. i. p. 16, line 12, *for* north, *read* south.
	———	vol. i. p. 60, line 1, *for* 1819, *read* 1809.
	———	vol. i. p. 94 note, *read* 20 *mil-reis*.
	———	vol. i. p. 136, line 12, *for* Prussian, *read* Russian.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

PALESTINE;

OR,

THE HOLY LAND.

A District in the South-west of Syria, lying between Lat. 31 and 33½ N., and Long. 34½ and 37 E.; bounded on the N. by the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus; on the E. by the Syrian Desert; on the S. by Arabia Petræa and the Desert of Suez; on the W. by the Levant.]

PALESTINE, the land of Israel, the kingdom of David and Solomon, the most favoured and the most guilty country under heaven; during between two and three thousand years, the only section of the earth where the worship of the true God was perpetuated,—

> "Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
> Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed,
> For our advantage, to the bitter cross" *——

this most interesting of countries is a small canton of Syria, included within the limits of the Turkish

* Shakspeare.

empire, and governed by the pashas of Acre and Damascus. In the map, it presents the appearance of a narrow slip of country, extending along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; from which, to the river Jordan, the utmost width does not exceed fifty miles. This river was the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan, or Palestine, properly so called, which derived its name from the Philistines or Palestines originally inhabiting the coast. To three of the twelve tribes, however, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, portions of territory were assigned on the eastern side of the river, which were afterwards extended by the subjugation of the neighbouring nations. The territory of Tyre and Sidon was its ancient border on the north-west; the range of the Libanus and Antilibanus forms a natural boundary on the north and north-east; while in the south, it is pressed upon by the Syrian and Arabian deserts. Within this circumscribed district, such were the physical advantages of the soil and climate, there existed, in the happiest periods of the Jewish nation, an immense population. The men able to bear arms in the time of Moses, somewhat exceeded 600,000; which computation, when the Levites (20,000) and women and children are added, will give nearly two millions and a half as the amount of the population—as large as that of Sweden.* The kingdom of David and Solomon, however, extended far beyond these narrow limits. In a north-eastern direction, it was bounded only by the river Euphrates, and included a considerable part of Syria. It is stated,† that Solomon had do-

* During the Roman war in the time of Josephus, the province of Galilee alone furnished an army of 100,000 men.—Jos. *Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. cap. 20. § 6.

† 1 Kings iv. 24.

minion over all the region on the western side of the Euphrates, from Thiphsah (or Thapsacus) on that river, in lat. 35° 20′, to Azzah, or Gaza. "Tadmor in the wilderness" * (Palmyra), which the Jewish monarch is stated to have built, (that is, either founded or fortified,) is considerably to the north-east of Damascus, being only a day's journey from the Euphrates; and Hamath, the Epiphania of the Greeks, (still called Hamah,) in the territory belonging to which city Solomon had several "store cities," is seated on the Orontes, in lat. 34° 45′ N. On the east and south-east, the kingdom of Solomon was extended by the conquest of the country of Moab, that of the Ammonites, and Edom; and tracts which were either inhabited or pastured by the Israelites, lay still further eastward. Maon, which belonged to the tribe of Judah, and was situated in or near the desert of Paran, † is described by Abulfeda as the farthest city of Syria towards Arabia, being two days' journey beyond Zoar. In the time of David, the people of Israel, women and children included, amounted, on the lowest computation to five millions, besides the tributary Canaanites, and other conquered nations.

The vast resources of the country, and the power of the Jewish monarch, may be estimated, not only by the consideration in which he was held by the contemporary sovereigns of Egypt, Tyre, and Assyria, but by the strength of the several kingdoms into which the dominions of David were subsequently divided. Damascus revolted during the reign of Solomon, and shook off the Jewish yoke.‡ At his death, ten of the tribes revolted under Jeroboam, and

* 2 Chron. viii. 4. † Josh. xv. 55. 1 Sam. xxiii. 24; xxv. 2.
‡ 1 Kings xi. 24, 25. See also 1 Kings xx. 34.

the country became divided into the two rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel, having for their capitals Jerusalem and Samaria. The kingdom of Israel fell before the Assyrian conqueror, in the year B.C. 721, after it had subsisted about two hundred and fifty years. That of Judah survived about one hundred and thirty years, Judea being finally subdued and laid waste by Nebuchadnezzar, and the temple burned, B.C. 588. Idumea was conquered a few years after. From this period till the era of Alexander the Great, Palestine remained subject to the Chaldean, Median, and Persian dynasties. At his death, Judea fell under the dominion of the kings of Syria, and, with some short and troubled intervals, remained subject either to the kings of Syria or of Egypt, till John Hyrcanus shook off the Syrian yoke, and assumed the diadem, B.C. 130. The Asmonean dynasty, which united, in the person of the monarch, the functions of king and pontiff, though tributary to Roman conquerors, lasted one hundred and twenty-six years, till the kingdom was given by Anthony to Herod the Great, of an Idumean family, B.C. 39.*

At the time of the Christian era, Palestine was divided into five provinces; Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Perea, and Idumea.† On the death of Herod, Arche-

* Thirty-five years before the true date of our Lord's birth, which is computed to have taken place four years before the vulgar era.

† The tetrarchy of Judæa consisted of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon. The rest of the Holy Land, according to the Roman division, consisted of Samaria, Galilee, Peræa, Decapolis, Gaulonitis, Galaaditis, Batanæa, and Auranitis. Samaria contained in it the tribes of *Ephraim*, Issachar, and the half tribe of Manasseh. Galilee, the tribes of Zabulon, Asher, and Naphthali. Perœa, on the other side of Jordan, consisted of the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Decapolis was part of the

laus, his eldest son, succeeded to the government of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, with the title of tetrarch; Galilee being assigned to Herod Antipas, and Perea, or the country beyond Jordan, to the third brother, Philip. But in less than ten years, the dominions of Archelaus became annexed, on his disgrace, to the Roman province of Syria, and Judea was thenceforth governed by Roman procurators. Jerusalem, after its final destruction by Titus, A.D. 71, remained desolate and almost uninhabited, till the emperor Hadrian colonized it, and erected temples to Jupiter and Venus on its site. The empress Helena, in the fourth century, set the example of repairing in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to visit the scenes consecrated by the Gospel narrative, and the country became enriched by the crowds of devotees who flocked there. In the beginning of the seventh century, it was overrun by the Saracens, who held it till Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders in the twelfth. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem continued for about eighty years, during which the Holy Land streamed continually with Christian and Saracen blood. In 1187, Judea was conquered by the illustrious Saladin, on the decline of whose kingdom it passed through various revolutions, and, at length, in 1317, was finally swallowed up in the Turkish empire.

half tribe of Manasseh. Gaulonitis was to the north of it. Galaaditis was a hilly country, extending from Mount Lebanon, through the half tribe of Manasseh, and the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Further north, in the half tribe of Manasseh, was Batanæa; and more northward was Auranitis, or Ituræa. Beyond this, bordering on the territory of Damascus, was Trachonitis.—Pococke's *Travels*, book i. chap. 1.

"Trodden down
By all in turn, Pagan, and Frank, and Tartar,—
So runs the dread anathema,—trodden down
Beneath the' oppressor; darkness shrouding thee
From every blessed influence of heaven;
Thus hast thou lain for ages, iron-bound
As with a curse. Thus art thou doomed to lie,
Yet not for ever."

Palestine is now distributed into pashalics. That of Acre or Akka extends from Djebail nearly to Jaffa; that of Gaza comprehends Jaffa and the adjacent plains; and these two being now united, all the coast is under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Acre. Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablous, Tiberias, and, in fact, the greater part of Palestine, are included in the pashalic of Damascus, now held in conjunction with that of Aleppo, which renders the present pasha, in effect, the viceroy of Syria. Though both pashas continue to be dutiful subjects to the Grand Seignior in appearance, and annually transmit considerable sums to Constantinople to ensure the yearly renewal of their office, they are to be considered as tributaries, rather than subjects of the Porte; and it is supposed to be the religious supremacy of the sultan, as caliph and vicar of Mahommed, more than any apprehension of his power, which prevents them from declaring themselves independent. The reverence shewn for the firmauns of the Porte throughout Syria, attests the strong hold which the sultan maintains, in this character, on the Turkish population. The pashas of Egypt and Bagdad are attached to the Turkish sovereign by the same ecclesiastical tie, which alone has kept the ill-compacted and feeble empire from crumbling to ruin.

The present mixed population of Palestine consists

of Turks, Syrians, Bedouin Arabs, Jews, Latin, Greek, and Armenian Christians, Copts, and Druses. In western Palestine, especially on the coast, the inhabitants are stated by Burckhardt to bear generally more resemblance to the natives of Egypt than to those of northern Syria; while, towards the east of Palestine, especially in the villages about Nablous, Jerusalem, and Hebron, they are evidently of the true Syrian stock in features, though not in language. The Syrian physiognomy assumes, however, a cast of features characteristically different in the Aleppine, the Turkman, the native of Mount Libanus, the Damascene, the inhabitant of the sea-coast from Beirout to Acre, and the Bedouin.* Dr. Richardson, on entering the country from Egypt, was struck at the change of physiognomy, as well as of costume, observable even at El Arisch, which is in the pashalic of Egypt: the people are much fairer, as well as cleaner and better dressed. The Turks, in Palestine, as elsewhere throughout the empire, occupy all the civil and military posts. Greeks form a very numerous part of the population. A considerable number of monks, of different churches and orders, still reside in the Holy Land: there is, indeed, scarcely a town of any consequence which does not contain at least one convent. The country districts are, to a great extent, filled with nomadic Arabs. The true Arab is always an inhabitant of the desert; a name given to any solitude, whether barren or fertile, and sometimes applied to extensive pasture-lands. The moveables of a whole family seldom exceed a camel's load. Nothing can be simpler in construction than their tents. Three upright sticks, driven into the ground,

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 340.

with one laid across the top, form the frame-work, and a large brown cloth, made of goat's or camel's hair, woven by their women, the covering. The manner in which they secure their animals is equally simple. Two sticks are driven into the ground, between which a rope is stretched and fastened at each end; to this rope the asses and mules are all attached by the feet; the horses also, but apart from the asses; the camels are seldom secured at all. The dress of this people in the Holy Land consists of a blue shirt or tunic, descending below the knees, the legs and feet being exposed; or the latter are sometimes covered with the ancient cothurnus or buskin. Over this is worn a cloak of very coarse and heavy camel's hair cloth, (the sackcloth of the Scriptures,) consisting of one square piece, with holes for the arms, but having a seam down the back. This appears to have been the dress of John the Baptist, as well as of the ancient prophets.* The cloak (or hyke) is almost universally decorated with black and white stripes, passing vertically down the back. The head-dress is a small turban, resembling a coarse handkerchief bound across the temples, one corner of which generally hangs down, and is often fringed with strings in knots, by way of ornament. The usual weapons of the Arab are, a lance, a poniard, an iron mace, a battle-axe, and sometimes, a matchlock gun. The usual veil worn by all the females in Syria, except the Jewesses, is a large white handkerchief or shawl,† which covers the head and face, and falls over the shoulders. It is astonishing, remarks Dr. Richardson,

* Matt. iii. 4. Zech. xiii. 4.

† A red veil is worn by unmarried women and by brides; it is the mark of virginity.

what a light and cheerful air this costume imparts, compared with the dull funereal drapery of the Egyptian dames. In the dress of the pastoral Arabs, we probably have preserved the most faithful representation of the ancient Jewish costume. The tunic is evidently the inner garment or χιτων of the New Testament, while the hyke or cloak corresponds to the outer garment or ιματιον. The usual size of the hyke is six yards long, and from five to six broad; and as the Arabs sleep in their raiment, as the Israelites did of old,* it serves as a bed or blanket at night. The toga of the Romans, and the plaid of the Highlanders of Scotland, are garments of the same kind. The habits of the Bedouin natives have probably undergone as little change as their costume. "Abraham," remarks Dr. Richardson, "was a Bedouin; and I never saw a fine venerable-looking sheikh busied among his flocks and herds, that it did not remind me of the holy patriarch himself."

The Turks wear what we consider as the woman's dress, except that both sexes wear large drawers made of fine linen or stuff. They, in return, say that the Franks go naked,—referring to our tight clothes, fitted to the shape. This is an ancient prejudice in the East, and the manner of speaking throws light on many passages in the New Testament, in which being naked means nothing more than stripped to the tunic. The Turkish dress, though a restraint on activity, is, however, so much more seemly and becoming to the figure than the European habit, that English travellers have confessed that they felt half naked when mixing with orientals, before they had assumed the dress of the country; or, as one gentle-

* Deut. xxiv. 13.

man expressed it, like a monkey among men. Under the tunic is worn a shift of linen, cotton, or gauze. The turban is much more becoming than the hat, which, as the mark of a Frank, is the abhorrence of the Turk. Blue is the colour appointed for the turban of a Christian; white is the privilege of a Moslem; green is the distinguishing badge of the descendants of the prophet. For a Christian to assume the white turban would, in many places, endanger his life; and were any one to presume to wear a green turban without being able to prove his title to it, he would be put to death. Lady Hester Stanhope, however, whose usual residence is at Mar Elias, in Mount Lebanon, is said to have assumed with impunity the sacred and forbidden colour.

Mr. Jolliffe gives the following minute description of his Turkish equipment. "The most important part of the dress resembles very large trowsers, tied round the waist with a running girdle; the texture is of cloth, linen, or silk, agreeably to the fancy of the wearer.....Next to these is the *kombos*, a sort of tunic with long sleeves, and descending almost to the ancles; it is fastened by a rich belt or sash, called *zennar*, in which pistols and other weapons, gaily ornamented, are carried. The *daraben* is a short riding vest, worn occasionally over the tunic, instead of the cloak called *beniss*, which is commonly of some light fabric, and of a lively colour. But by far the most graceful ornament is the *bornos* (or *burnoose*),* a long, white, flowing robe, composed of silk and camel's hair, and bordered with silk fringe. Nothing

* The burnoose is worn in Barbary and Egypt, but not in Palestine, where they wear the black abba. The Turkish costume varies in different countries, and undergoes seemingly a change of name. The *kombos* is the same as the *caftan*.

can exceed the lightness and elegance of its texture; its shape is not unlike the ancient *pallium*, one extremity being usually thrown over the left shoulder. The *turban* is extremely simple, consisting of a red cap, decorated in the crown with a tassel of blue silk, and having a shawl wound round the circumference. The shawl may be of any colour except green; plain white is generally preferred; but pink and light blue are occasionally worn." The expense of a handsome suit, and the usual accoutrements, exclusive of pistols, &c., is about fifty pounds sterling.

NATURAL HISTORY, CLIMATE, &c.

THE geographical aspect of Palestine is not less diversified than the appearance of its motley population. Its prevailing character but imperfectly corresponds to its ancient fertility; but this is chiefly owing to the miserable state of vassalage in which its inhabitants are held, together with the devastating effects of perpetual wars, and probably some physical changes. Those writers, ancient and modern, who have represented it as barren, must be understood, however, as referring only to the mountainous districts round Jerusalem. Abulfeda describes Palestine as the most fertile part of Syria, and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem as one of the most fruitful parts of Palestine. An Oriental's ideas of fertility differ sufficiently from ours, to explain in part this assertion; for to him, plantations of figs, vines, and olives, with which the limestone rocks of Judea were once covered, would suggest the same associations of plenty and opulence that are called up in the mind of an Englishman by rich tracts of corn-land. The land of Canaan is characterised as flowing with milk and

honey, and it still answers to this description; for it contains extensive pasture-lands of the richest quality, and the rocky country is covered with aromatic plants, yielding to the wild bees, who hive in the hollow of the rocks, such abundance of honey, as to supply the poorer classes with an article of food. Wild honey and locusts were the usual diet of the forerunner of our Lord, during his seclusion in the desert country of Judea; from which we may conclude that it was the ordinary fare of the common people. The latter are expressly mentioned by Moses as lawful and wholesome food;* and Pliny states that they made a considerable part of the food of the Parthians and Ethiopians. They are still eaten in many parts of the East; when sprinkled with salt and fried, they are said to taste much like the river crayfish. Honey from the rocks is repeatedly referred to in the Scriptures, as a delicious food, and an emblem of plenty.† Dates are another important article of consumption, and the neighbourhood of Judea was famous for its numerous palm-trees, ‡ which are found springing up from chance-sown kernels in the midst of the most arid districts. When to these wild productions we add the oil extracted from the olive, so essential an article to an Oriental, we shall be at no loss to account for the ancient fertility of the most barren districts of Judea, or for the adequacy of the soil to the support of so numerous a population, notwithstanding the comparatively small proportion of arable land. There is no reason to doubt, however,

* Leviticus xi. 22.

† 1 Sam. xiv. 25. Psalm lxxxi. 16.

‡ They are mentioned in particular by Strabo, (lib. xvi.) by Pliny, (Hist. Nat. lib. xiii. cap. 6.) and by Josephus, (De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 6. § 6. lib. iv. cap. 8. § 3.)

that corn and rice would be imported by the Tyrian merchants, which the Israelites would have no difficulty in exchanging for the produce of the olive-ground and the vineyard, or for their flocks and herds.* Delicious wine is still produced in some districts, and the valleys bear plentiful crops of tobacco, wheat, barley, and millet. Tacitus compares both the climate and the soil, indeed, to those of Italy, and he particularly specifies the palm-tree and balsam-tree as productions which gave the country an advantage over his own.† Among other indigenous productions may be enumerated, the cedar and other varieties of the pine, the cypress, the oak, the sycamore, the mulberry-tree, the fig-tree, the willow, the turpentine-tree, the acacia, the aspen, the arbutus, the myrtle, the almond-tree, the tamarisk, the oleander, the peach-tree, the chaste-tree, the carob or locust-tree, the oskar, the doom, the mustard-plant, the aloe, the citron, the apple, the pomegranate, and many flowering shrubs.‡ The country about Jericho was celebrated for its balsam, as well as for its palm-trees; and two plantations of it existed during the last war between the Jews and the Romans, for which both parties fought desperately. But Gilead

* In the time of Solomon, indeed, the king of Tyre obtained wheat and oil in exchange for the timber he furnished for the building of the temple. I Kings, v. 11. And in the apostolic age, Tyre and Sidon seem to have depended principally on Galilee for the means of subsistence. Acts, xii. 20. But all the rice is imported from Egypt.

† "Rari imbres, uber solum: exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ."—TACITUS, *Hist.* lib. v. cap. 6. The palm-tree was the symbol of Palestine. Many coins of Vespasian and other emperors are extant, in which Judea is personified as a disconsolate female, sitting under a palm-tree.

‡ See Appendix.

appears to have been the country in which it chiefly abounded: hence the name, *balm of Gilead*. Since the country has fallen under the Turkish dominion, it has ceased to be cultivated in Palestine, but is still found in Arabia. Other indigenous productions have either disappeared, or are now confined to circumscribed districts. Iron is found in the mountain range of Libanus, and silk is produced in abundance in the plains of Samaria.

Generally speaking, the climate is mild and salubrious. During the months of May, June, July, and August, the sky is for the most part cloudless; but during the night, the earth is moistened with a copious dew. As in Persia, sultry days are not unfrequently succeeded by intensely cold nights. To these sudden vicissitudes references are made in the Old Testament.* During the other parts of the year, there is no deficiency of rain; and to this circumstance the fertility of Palestine is chiefly attributable, in the absence of springs. The streams with which it is watered, with the exception of the river Jordan, are all brooks or torrents fed by the copious periodical rains. In the dry season, the only resource of the natives is, the wells or the water collected in the rainy season. Hence the high importance attaching to the possession of a well in this country, and the value set upon a cup of cold water. Throughout Syria, the traveller perceives, at stated distances on the road, small reservoirs or large vases filled with water, having beside them a pot for the use of passengers when thirsty. These monuments are owing to pious foundations in favour of travellers;

* See Gen. xxxi. 40. Psalm cxxi. 6.

but the greater part are falling into ruin.* It is remarkable that in Arabia, most of the inhabited places are situated in valleys or hollows: in Palestine, on the contrary, the towns and villages are almost uniformly built upon hills or heights. The scarcity of the rains in Arabia, and their abundance in Palestine, has been with some plausibility assigned as the reason for this difference. The floods in the rainy season sometimes pour down from the hills with such violence as to sweep every thing before them. The Jordan, from this cause, formerly rose periodically above its banks. Whether it has worn for itself a deeper channel, or discharges its superfluous waters by some other means, is not ascertained, but the rise is now insufficient to produce inundation.

We have but imperfect notices of the zoology and ornithology of Palestine. The Scriptures contain familiar references to the lion, the wolf, the fox, the leopard, the hart, the jackal, and the wild boar, which lead one to suppose that they were native animals. The wilder animals, however, have mostly disappeared. Hasselquist, a pupil of Linnæus, who visited the Holy Land in 1750, mentions, as the only animals he saw, the porcupine, the jackal, the fox, the rock-goat, and the fallow-deer. Captain Mangles describes an animal of the goat species as large as the ass, with long, knotty, upright horns; some bearded, and their colour resembled that of the gazelle. The Arabs called them *meddn* or *beddn*. The horse does not appear to have been generally adopted, till after the return of the Jews from Babylon. Solomon was the first monarch who collected a numerous stud of the finest horses that Egypt or Arabia could furnish. In the earlier times, the wild ass was deemed worthy of

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 210.

being employed for purposes of royal state as well as convenience.* The breed of cattle reared in Bashan and Gilead were remarkable for their size, strength, and fatness.

In ornithology, the eagle, the vulture, the cormorant, the bittern, the stork, the owl, the pigeon, the swallow, and the dove, were familiar to the Jews. Hasselquist enumerates the following from his own observation: the vulture, two species, one seen near Jerusalem, the other near Cana in Galilee; the falcon (*falco gentilis* and *falco tinnunculus*), near Nazareth; the jackdaw, in numbers in the oak-woods near Galilee; the green wood-spite (*picus viridis*), at the same place; the bee-catcher (*merops apiaster*), in the groves and plains between Acra and Nazareth; the nightingale, among the willows at Jordan and olive trees of Judea; the field-lark, 'every where;' the goldfinch, in the gardens near Nazareth; the red partridge (*tetrao rufus*), and two other species, the quail (*tetrao coturnix*), and the quail of the Israelites (*tetrao Israelitarum*); the turtle-dove and the ring-dove. Game is abundant; partridges, in particular, being found in large coveys, so fat and heavy, that they may easily be knocked down with a stick.† Wild geese, ducks, widgeon, snipe, and water-fowl of every description, abound in some situations.

The Holy Land is at present infested with a frightful number of lizards, different kinds of serpents, vipers, scorpions, and various insects.‡ Flies of

* Judges, v. 10; x. 3, 4; xii. 13, 14. 2 Kings, iv. 24.

† Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 210.

‡ Dr. Clarke, however, states that the maritime districts of Syria and Palestine are free from noxious reptiles and venomous insects, which he adduces in proof of the salubrity of the climate.—*Travels*, part. ii. sect. x. chap. 3.

every species are also extremely annoying. Ants are so numerous in some parts, that one traveller describes the road to Jaffa, from El Arisch, as, for three days' journey, a continued ant-hill.*

The general outlines of the surface of the country may be thus laid down. The Jordan, or river of Dan, which rises under the lofty peaks of the Anti-libanus, and flows in a direction almost constantly southward, with the lake of Tiberias, through which it passes, and that of Asphaltites (the Dead Sea), which it forms by its discharge, divides Palestine completely from north to south. In the western division, between the Mediterranean and the lake of Tiberias, lie the two Galilees. The plain of Esdraelon, which occupies the greater part of this tract, being two days' journey, or nearly fifty miles in length and twenty in breadth, is described by Dr. Clarke as one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture. This plain is enclosed on all sides by the mountains, and not a house or a tree is to be discovered in it. It is completely commanded by Acre, so that the possessor of that port is the lord of one of the richest territories in the Holy Land. To the south of Galilee lies the district of ancient Samaria, now chiefly included in the district of Nablous: it is mountainous, but well cultivated, and forms at present the most flourishing part of the Holy Land. Judea Proper comprises the territory extending from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, and is composed of a range of limestone hills, rising by stages from the level of the coast, and becoming more rugged and rocky as you approach Jerusalem from Jaffa. Between Jaffa and Gaza, westward of the mountains of Judea, lies the

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 210.

tract distinguished as the plain of the Mediterranean Sea, the ancient territory of the Philistines, including the five cities of Gaza, Askelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron.* This district still bears the name of Phalastin,† and forms a separate pashalic; it may be distinguished as Palestine Proper.

Having taken this general view of the country, we shall now proceed to describe it more in detail, by tracing some of the principal routes. Those most frequently taken are, in coming from Egypt, from El Arisch, by way of Jaffa, to Jerusalem; in landing from Europe, from Acre, by Nazareth, to Jerusalem; in coming from Syria, from Damascus to Jerusalem; and the route from Damascus to Mecca.

ROUTE FROM ACRE TO JAFFA.

Dr. E. D. Clarke, who visited Palestine in the summer of 1801, landed at Acre, then under the dominion of the notorious Djezzar Pasha — an appellation explained by himself as signifying *the butcher*. This execrable tyrant, whose name carried terror with it over all the Holy Land, at one time, shut up in his fortress at Acre, defied the whole power of Turkey, deriding the menaces of the Capudan Pasha, though he affected to venerate the authority of the sultan. His real name was Achmed. He was a native of Bosnia, and spoke the Sclavonian language better than any other. At an early period of his life, he sold himself to a slave-merchant in Constantinople, and being purchased by Ali Bey in Egypt, rose from

* Joshua xiii. 3. 1 Sam. vi. 17. Josephus, Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 1.

† Volney, vol. ii. p. 327.

the humble situation of a Mameluke slave to be governor of Cairo. In this situation, according to his own account given to Dr. Clarke, he distinguished himself by the most rigorous execution of justice; realizing the stories related of Oriental caliphs, by mingling in disguise with the inhabitants of the city, and thus making himself master of all that was said concerning himself, or transacted by his officers. So far back as 1784, when M. Volney visited the Holy Land, he was pasha of Seide (Sidon) and Acre.* At that time, his cavalry amounted to 900 Bosnian and Arnaut horsemen; by sea, he had a frigate, two galiots, and a xebeck; and his revenue amounted to 400,000*l.* At the time of Dr. Clarke's arrival, he was upwards of sixty years of age, and vain of the vigour which he still retained. Of forty-three pashas of three tails then living in the Turkish empire, he was, by his own account, the senior. "We found him," says Dr. Clarke, "seated on a mat, in a little chamber destitute of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured," some without a nose, others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye; *marked men*, as he termed them—persons bearing signs of their having been instructed to serve their master with fidelity. "He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then construct-

* Dr. Clarke says: "He has been improperly considered as pasha of Acre: his real pashalic was that of Seide, but, at the time of our arrival, he was also lord of Damascus, Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon." Burckhardt, however, represents the pashalic of Seide to be the same as that of Akka

ing. His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain, but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his divan. In his girdle he wore a poniard set with diamonds; but this he apologised for exhibiting, saying it was his badge of office as governor of Acre, and therefore could not be laid aside. Having ended his orders to the engineer, we were directed to sit upon the end of the divan; and Signor Bertocino, his dragoman, kneeling by his side, he prepared to hear the cause of our visit." *

The port of Acre is bad, but Dr. Clarke represents it as better than any other along the coast. That of Seide is very insecure, and the harbour of Jaffa worse than any of the rest. All the rice, which is the staple food of the people, enters the country by Acre: the lord of that city, therefore, has it in his power to cause a famine to be felt over all Syria. This consideration led the French to direct all their efforts towards the possession of Acre; the key of a public granary being the mightiest engine of military operation. "Hence," observes Dr. Clarke, "we find Acre to have been the last place in the Holy Land from which the Christians were expelled; and this it was that gave to an old man, pent up in a small tower by the sea-side, the extraordinary empire he possessed."

Djezzar was the Herod of his day. At one period, having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wives, he put seven of them to death with his own hands. No person in Acre knew the number of his women, but

* Travels in various Countries, part ii. § i. chap. 3.

from the circumstance of a certain number of covers being daily placed in a kind of wheel, or turning cylinder, so contrived as to convey dishes to the interior, without any possibility of observing the person who received them. If any of them died, the event was kept as secret as when he massacred them with his own hands. In his public works he aimed at magnificence. He built the mosque, the bazar, and an elegant public fountain at Acre, using the extensive remains of Cesarea as a quarry. In all these works he was himself both the engineer and the architect: he formed the plans, drew the designs, and superintended the execution. He was his own minister, chancellor, treasurer, and secretary; often his own cook and gardener; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant. Such is the account given of this extraordinary man by Baron de Tott, Volney, and Dr. Clarke. Yet, with the short-sighted and narrow-minded policy of an Oriental despot, he sacrificed to his avarice the permanent prosperity of the districts which he governed. During the latter years of his administration, more especially, towns that had once been flourishing, were reduced by his oppression to a few cottages, and luxuriant plains were abandoned to the wandering Arabs. His successor is described by Dr. Richardson as a man of milder, if not more enlightened character. He met him at Tiberias in 1817, to which place his highness had come for the benefit of the hot spring: he was a venerable-looking old man, with a long flowing white beard, and his manner was kind and unaffected. "Unlike his butchering predecessor," says Dr. R., "this respectable viceroy bears the character of a humane and *good* man, and *nothing* could

exceed the respect which was shewn him by his attendants.*

Acre, more properly Akka,† the ancient Ptolemais (Acts, xxi. 7), is situated at the north angle of the bay to which it gives its name, and which extends in a semicircle of three leagues as far as the point of Carmel. During the Crusades, it sustained several sieges. After the expulsion of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, it fell rapidly into decay, and was almost deserted,‡ till Djezzar Pasha, by repairing the town and harbour, made it one of the first towns on the coast. In modern times it has been rendered celebrated for the successful stand it made, with the aid of the British under Sir Sidney Smith, against the French troops commanded by General Bonaparte, who was obliged to raise the siege, after failing in his twelfth assault. It is twenty-seven miles south of Tyre, twenty-three N.N.W. of Jerusalem. Its present population is estimated at 20,000. Few traces remain of its former splendour. The external view of Acre, says Dr. Clarke, like that of any other town on the Levant, is the only prospect of it worth beholding. The interior presents, as in the generality of Turkish cities, narrow, dirty lanes, with wretched shops, and as wretched inhabitants. Sandys noticed "the ruins of a palace, which yet doth acknowledge King Richard for the founder, confirmed likewise by the passant lion." Dr. Clarke describes the remains of a considerable edifice answering to this account,

* Travels along the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 431.

† The Accho of the Hebrew Scriptures. Judges, i. 31. The AKH of Strabo.

‡ In 1610, Sandys states that there were not above 200 or 300 inhabitants.

which were conspicuous among the buildings on the left of the mosque towards the north side of the city. Some pointed arches, and part of the cornice, were all that remained: the latter was ornamented with enormous stone busts, exhibiting a series of hideous, distorted countenances—a representation, perhaps, of the heads of Saracens. The Gothic architecture, he supposes, led to the idea of its having been "King Richard's palace;" but, at the period referred to by the tradition, the English were hardly capable of erecting buildings of that character, and its origin may be assigned with more probability to the Genoese who assisted Baldwin at the capture of Acre, A.D. 1104; the lion being a symbol of Genoa. The ruins in question are probably those of the cathedral church of St. Andrew, described both by Doubdan, a French traveller, who visited Acre in 1652, and by Maundrell, as the most conspicuous object, standing on an eminence not far from the sea-shore. Maundrell particularises other ruins referrible to the same period; the church of St. John, the tutelar saint of the city in the time of the knights templars, who changed its name from Ptolemais to St. John d'Acre; the convent of the knights hospitallers; the palace of the grand master of that order, of which a large staircase was still standing;* and "many other ruins of churches, palaces, monasteries, forts, &c., extending for more than half a mile in length; in all which you may

* This, Pococke states to have been "repaired and inhabited by the great Feckerdine, prince of the Druses."—"At the end of this building," he adds, "are the remains of what seem to have been a very grand saloon, and a smaller room, of the same architecture, at the end of that. To the south there was a noble, well-built chapel, the walls of which are (A.D. 1738) almost entire."

discern marks of so much strength, as if every building in the city had been contrived for war and defence." "The carcass," says Sandys, "shews that the body hath been strong, double immured, fortified with bulwarks and towers, to each wall a ditch lined with stone, and under those, divers secret posterns. You would think by the ruins, that the city rather consisted wholly of divers conjoining castles, than any way mixed with private dwellings, which witness a notable defence and an unequal assault, or that the rage of the conquerors extended beyond conquest; the huge walls and arches turned topsy-turvy, and lying like rocks upon the foundation." The strength of the city arose in part from its advantageous situation. On the south and west sides it was washed by the sea; it had a small bay to the east, which Pococke describes as now almost filled up; and he is of opinion, that the river Belus was brought through the fosse which ran along the ramparts on the north, thus making the city an island.* At the period of Dr. Clarke's visit, the ruins, with the exception of the cathedral, the arsenal, the college of the knights, and the palace of the grand master, were so intermingled with modern buildings, and in such a state of utter subversion, that it was difficult, he says, to afford any satisfactory description of them; and Mr. Buckingham, who was at Acre in 1816, affirms that "the Christian ruins are altogether

* "I have great reason to think that the river Belus was brought along through the fossée, because it is mentioned in the account of the siege, that a certain body of men attacked the city, from the bridge over the Belus to the bishop's palace. I examined the ground, and discovered what I supposed to be the remains of the channel, and actually saw the ruins of a small bridge over it, near the town, and of a larger farther on."—*Travels in the East*, book i. chap. 13.

gone;" and "even the three gothic arches called by the English sailors king Richard's palace, have been razed to the ground." Shafts of red and grey granite, and marble pillars, were to be seen throughout the town; some used as thresholds to doorways, others as supporters to piazzas, besides several slabs of fine marble. "Many superb remains were observed by us," says Dr. Clarke, "in the pasha's palace, in the khan, the mosque, the public bath, the fountains, and other works of the town, consisting of fragments of antique marble, the shafts and capitals of granite and marble pillars, masses of the verd antique breccia, of ancient serpentine, and of the syenite and trap of Egypt. In the garden of Djezzar's palace, leading to his summer apartment, we saw some pillars of yellow variegated marble, of extraordinary beauty; but these, he informed us, he had procured from the ruins of Cesarea, upon the coast between Acre and Jaffa, together with almost all the marble used in the decoration of his very sumptuous mosque. A beautiful fountain of white marble, close to the entrance of his palace, has also been constructed with materials from those ruins."—"The bath is the finest and best built of any that we saw in the Turkish empire. Every kind of antique marble, together with large pillars of Egyptian granite, might be observed among the materials employed in building it."

The country about Acre abounds in cattle, corn, olives, and linseed. A great quantity of cotton was, in the time of Djezzar Pasha, exported from the place. In the light sandy soil, containing a mixture of black vegetable earth, which lies near the town, Dr. Clarke observed plantations of water-melons, pumpkins, and a little corn. Half a mile east of the city, is a small hill, improved by art, about half a mile in length, and

a quarter of a mile broad, and very steep on every side, except to the south-west, which was probably the camp of ancient besiegers. To the north of this is an irregular rising ground, where there are great ruins of vaults, some of which appear to have been reservoirs. To the north-west of this place, and about a mile to the north of the city, is another rising ground, surmounted with the ruins of a very strong square tower, a mosque, and other great buildings, called Abouotidy, from a sheik who was buried there.* Half way between this place and Acre is a fine well. About five miles to the north-east of the town, a narrow valley watered by a rivulet, runs for some way between high hills: at the end of it rises a hill, supposed by Pococke to be Mount Feret, bearing a fortress anciently belonging, probably, to the knights of St. John; and at the bottom of the hill is a large building of hewn stone. "This place," he says, "is called by Europeans the enchanted castle." On leaving Acre, and turning towards the south-east, the traveller crosses the river Belus, near its mouth, where the stream is shallow enough to be easily forded on horseback. This river rises out of a lake, computed to be about six miles distant, towards the south-east, called by the ancients *Palus Cendovia.* Of the sand of this river, according to Pliny, glass was first made; and vessels from Italy continued to remove it for the glass-houses of Venice and Genoa, so late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Farther southward, towards the south-east corner of the bay of Acre, the traveller fords "that ancient river, the river Kishon," (Judges v. 21.) a larger stream than the Belus, supposed to have its source in the hills to

* This account is taken from Pococke, book i. chap. 13.

the east of the plain of Esdraelon, which it intersects. Being enlarged by several small streams, it passes between Mount Carmel and the hills to the north, and then falls into the sea at this point. "In the condition we saw it," says Maundrell, "its waters were low and inconsiderable; but in passing along the side of the plain, we discerned the tracks of many lesser torrents, falling down into it from the mountains, which must needs make it swell exceedingly upon sudden rains, as doubtless it actually did at the destruction of Sisera's host." Mount Carmel extends from the sea eastward as far as the plain of Esdraelon, and southward to Cesarea. Turning the foot of this mountain towards the west, you arrive at Caypha, which is on the south side of the bay, opposite to Acre; supposed to have derived its name (Kepha) from the rocky ground it stands upon, out of which many sepulchres are cut, mostly like single coffins, but not separated from the rock, and probably of Jewish origin. "Caypha," says Dr. Pococke, "is said also to have had the name of Porphureon, from the purple fish found on this coast, with which they made the ancient Tyrian dye. It was a bishopric, and there is a well-built old church entire, which might have been the cathedral. There are also ruins of a large building, that seems to have been the castle; and they have built two forts, as a defence against the corsairs; for this, in reality, is the port of Acre, where ships lie at anchor, it being a bad shore on the other side, where they cannot remain with safety, by reason of the shallowness of the water."

There are two roads from Acre to the holy city; that by Cesarea and Joppa, which runs for some way along the coast, by which St. Paul came to Jerusalem, on his return from Macedonia (Acts xxi.); and that

by Nazareth, taken by Dr. Clarke. We shall pursue the first route as far as Jaffa, on the authority chiefly of Dr. Pococke.

Opposite to Caypha, the learned traveller ascended Mount Carmel, to the Latin convent of the Carmelites, inhabited at that time by only two or three monks.* Great part of the present convent, and particularly the church and refectory, are grots cut out of the rock, this place not long having been made a monastery, at the period of Dr. Pococke's visit. Towards the foot of the hill is a grot, one of the finest, he says, that he ever saw. "It is like a grand saloon, and is about forty feet long, twenty wide, and fifteen high. It is cut out of the rock, and is now converted into a mosque. Over this convent are the ruins of the old monastery, where probably the order of Carmelites was instituted: it might at first be inhabited by the Greek caloyers of the order of St. Elias, who had possession of these parts before the Latins were established here. Near it is a chapel in a grot, where, they say, Elias sometimes lived, which is resorted to with great devotion even by the Turks, as well as by the Christians and Jews, on the festival of that saint. We staid all night in the Latin convent, from which

*When Captains Irby and Mangles visited it in 1817, they found the building entirely deserted, and the only friar belonging to the convent residing at Hepha (Caypha). It was pillaged and destroyed by the Arabs after the retreat of the French army from the siege of Acre; the latter having used it as an hospital for their sick and wounded, while their operations were carrying on; and in the places where the poor fellows had lain, the numbers still remain by which they were arranged. Near the convent they noticed some prostrate columns, and in front of a cave, shewn as the place where Elijah had his altar, the remains of a handsome church in the Gothic style, ascribed, like every thing of the kind in the Holy Land, to the empress Helena.

there is a very fine prospect. The next morning we descended the hill, and turning to the west side of it, went a little way to the south, and then to the east, into a narrow valley, about a mile long, between the mountains, and came to the grotto where, they say, Elias usually lived. Near it is his fountain, cut out of the rock. Here are the ruins of a convent which, they say, was built by Brocardus, the second general of the Latin Carmelites, who wrote an account of the Holy Land. Over this, on the top of the hill, is a spot of ground which they call Elias's garden, because they find many stones there, resembling pears, olives, and, as they imagine, water-melons: the last, when broken, appear to be hollow, and the inside beautifully crystallized."*

In this legend we have a specimen of the absurd fictions coined by illiterate monks, which are the only species of information the traveller is able to obtain from the guardians of the supposititious sacred places —fictions not having the slightest pretension to the character of local traditions, and often in palpable contradiction to the sacred history. Yet, it would once have been deemed impious to call in question their truth, and they have been gravely repeated by the most learned Protestant travellers, with marvellous credulity. It is observable that the scene of every remarkable incident in the Scripture narrative, has been laid, by the monks, in grottos or caves; in defiance, frequently not of credibility merely, but of possibility, as well as in opposition to the known habits of the Jews. The real origin of these caves is an interesting question; but the disposition to attach a sanctity to such excavations, whether natural or

* Travels in the East, book i. chap. 14.

artificial, seems common to all nations; it discovered itself in the ancient Egyptian and the classic Greek, the Christian monk and the idolatrous Hindoo, and has been displayed even by the North American Indian. They have been converted into tombs and temples, have been the scene of heathen mysteries and Romish mummeries, the hiding-place of prophets and saints,* the cell of the hermit, and the den of the robber. Thus motives of the most various kinds have led to their formation, and to their being tenanted.

Mount Carmel is described as a flattened cone, about 2,000 feet (some say 1,500) in height, and very rocky. Captain Mangles describes it as now quite barren, though at the north-eastern foot of it there are some pretty olive-grounds. But the name properly denotes a range of hills, extending six or eight miles from north to south, having on the east a fine plain, watered by the Kishon, and on the west a narrower plain descending to the sea. The summits abound with oak and other trees; and among brambles, wild vines and olive-trees may still be found, indicating its ancient state of cultivation, to which an allusion occurs, Amos i. 2; where it is denounced as a punishment upon Israel, that "the top of Carmel shall wither." There was another Carmel, apparently a pastoral district, situated within the tribe of Judah, and not far from Maon.† It is not always easy to determine to which of these the reference is made, or whether, in all cases, the word is used as the specific name of a place. To this Mount Carmel, however, on the top of which Elijah sacrificed, the prophet Amos obviously refers, when, speaking in the

* 1 Kings xviii. 4. Heb. xi. 38.

† Compare Joshua xv. 55. 1 Sam. xxv. 2. 2 Sam. iii. 3.

name of God, he says: "If they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence."* But, as the height of the mountain will not altogether account for the expression, "hide themselves," it is far from improbable, that there is an allusion to the caves with which it abounded, and which seem to have been places of refuge in the time of Elijah. The "excellency of Carmel,"† if this district be alluded to, may denote either the vineyards and olive grounds which once clothed the sides of the mountain, or the rich pastures which the range of hills so designated seem to have afforded, and which rendered it "the habitation of shepherds."‡

Pursuing the line of the coast, the traveller comes to a castle on a small rocky promontory, extending about a quarter of a mile into the sea, and nearly half a quarter of a mile broad, having a small bay to the south. The place is said by Pococke to bear among the Franks the name of Castel Pellegrino, but to be called by the natives Athlete. It was formerly called *Petra incisa*. "There seems," he adds, "to have been a town to the east and south-east of the promontory, as appears from the walls, which are almost entire, and are built of large hewn stone rusticated." The castle he describes as very magnificent, and "so finely built, that it may be reckoned as one of the things that are best worth seeing in these parts."— "It is encompassed with two walls, fifteen feet thick; the inner wall on the east side cannot be less than forty feet high, and within it there appear to have been some very grand apartments. The offices of the fortress seem to have been at the west end, where I saw an oven eighteen feet in diameter. In the castle

* Amos ix. 3. † Isaiah xxix. 17; xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2.
‡ Amos. i. 2.

there are remains of a fine lofty church of ten sides, built in a light gothic taste: three chapels are built to the three eastern sides, each of which consists of five sides, excepting the opening to the church; in these, it is probable, the three chief altars stood. The castle seems to have been built by the Greek emperors, as a place for arms, at the time when they were apprehensive of the invasions of the Saracens."*

When Pococke visited the spot, it does not appear to have been inhabited; but Captains Irby and Mangles found here a modern village situated on the promontory, and apparently constructed from the ruins of the ancient city. "It is," they say, "of small extent, and would appear, from its elevated situation and the old walls which surround it, to have been a citadel, as there are the ruins of two other walls without it. The outer one, which we may suppose to have included the remainder of the ancient town, incloses a considerable space of ground now uninhabited." Referring to the ruins of the church, they state that its form was originally a double hexagon; the half still standing has six sides. On the exterior, below the cornice, are human heads and heads of animals, (those of the lion, the ram, and the sheep, are distinguishable,) in alto-relievo. The exterior walls have a double line of arches in the gothic style, the architecture light and elegant. "From the commodiousness of the bay, the extent of the quarries in the neighbourhood, and the fine rich plains near it, though now but partially cultivated, it would seem," they add, "that this place was formerly of much importance, and that the neighbourhood, though now very thinly inhabited, was once populous."

* Travels in the East, book i. chap. 15.

About ten miles to the south of Castel Pellegrino, is the small village of Tortura, supposed to be the ancient Dora, with a port to the south for large boats, which are sometimes forced to put in by stress of weather. To the north of the port is a small promontory, on which there is a ruined castle; and here, probably, was situated the old town. Captain Mangles says, "There are extensive ruins here, but they possess nothing of interest."

Between three and four miles south of Tortura, the traveller crosses a small river called Coradgè, supposed by Pococke to be the Kerseos of Ptolemy; and, about three miles north of Cesarea, he passes the river Zirka, the *flumen crocodilon* of Pliny, and the river Cesarea of Palestine of Reland. Dr. Pococke was credibly informed on the spot, that there are crocodiles in this river, agreeably to Reland's statement, and that some of these had been brought to Acre. "They say the crocodiles are small, not exceeding five or six feet in length, but that they have taken some young cattle that were standing in the river; so that it is probable, a colony from some city in Egypt that worshipped the crocodile, came and settled here, and brought their deities along with them."

Cesarea is still called by the Arabs Kissary, but not a single inhabitant remains where once stood the proud city of Herod. "Perhaps there has not been," remarks Dr. Clarke, "in the history of the world, an example of any city that in so short a space of time rose to such an extraordinary height of splendour as did this of Cesarea, or that exhibits a more awful contrast to its former magnificence, by the present desolate appearance of its ruins. Its theatres, once resounding with the shouts of multitudes, echo no

other sound than the nightly cries of animals roaming for their prey. Of its gorgeous palaces and temples, enriched with the choicest works of art, and decorated with the most precious marbles, scarcely a trace can be discerned. Within the space of ten years after laying the foundation, from an obscure fortress, (called the Tower of Strato, as it is said, from the Greek who founded it,) it became the most celebrated and flourishing city of all Syria." It was named Cesarea by Herod, in honour of Augustus, and dedicated by him to that Emperor, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign; and it was called Cesarea of Palestine, to distinguish it from Cesarea Philippi, or Cesarea Paneadis. It was afterwards called Colonia Flavia, in consequence of privileges granted to it by Vespasian, who made it a Roman colony.* It is reckoned to be thirty-six miles from Acre, thirty from Jaffa, and sixty-two from Jerusalem.

Though conveniently situated for trade, Cesarea had originally a very bad harbour; but Herod, at a great expense, made it one of the most convenient havens on the coast.† A mole is mentioned, which was carried out 200 feet into the sea. Dr. Pococke observed flat rocks about the port, on which some works were probably raised to protect the vessels from the westerly winds. The supposed sites of the ancient edifices are mere mounds of undefinable form, affording no basis for topographical conjectures. The aqueducts, however, still remain, as monuments of its ancient magnificence; they run north and south. The lower aqueduct, which is to the east of the other,

* On a medal of Marcus Aurelius it is called COL. PRIMA FL. AUG. CAESAREA.

† Josephus, Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13., and De Bello Jud. lib. i. cap. 21.

is carried along on a wall without arches, and of no great height; it is thirteen feet thick, and seems to have conveyed a great body of water in an arched channel, which is five feet six inches wide. The other aqueduct, forty yards nearer the sea, is built on arches; the side next the sea is a rusticated work, but the east side is plastered with a strong cement. Both aqueducts are now almost buried in the sand. The walls of the town are said to have been built in the time of the Crusades, by Louis IX. of France; they are of small hewn stone, and about a mile in circumference, defended by a broad fosse. The ancient city extended farther to the north. On a point of land stretching from the south-west corner of the walls, there are the ruins of a very strong castle, to which Pococke is disposed to assign the same date as to the walls, and which he describes as full of fragments of very fine marble pillars, some of granite, and a beautiful grey alabaster. Captain Mangles says, that it has apparently been constructed on the ruins of a Roman temple, as immense pillars of granite form the foundation. These, no doubt, are some of the materials used by Djezzar Pasha in the construction and decoration of his palace and the public buildings at Acre. "Within the walls," continues Pococke, "there are great ruins of arched houses, which probably were built during the time of the Holy War; but the ground is so much overgrown with briers and thistles, that it was impossible to go to any part where there was not a beaten path. It is a remarkable resort for wild boars, which abound also in the neighbouring plain; and when the Mahommedans kill them, they leave their carcases on the spot, as it would defile them only to touch them. There is no other remarkable ruin within the walls,

except a large church, which probably was the cathedral of the archbishop, who had twenty bishops under him: it is a strong building, and appears to have been destroyed by war, as well as the castle. By what I could conjecture, it seems to have been built in the style of the Syrian churches, with three naves, which ended to the east in semicircles, where they had their principal altars. The rising ground to the south, where I suppose the amphitheatre was built, seems to have been the site of a castle in later ages, and to have had a square tower at each corner, and a fossée on three sides of it." There is reason to believe that the Crusaders have had as large a share in demolishing the monuments of Jewish and Roman art in the Holy Land, as the Moslems. Dr. Clarke did not visit Cesarea; but from off the coast, the remains of the city still had the appearance of being numerous and extensive, notwithstanding they had been so long resorted to as a quarry by the Pasha of Acre.

Cesarea is rendered interesting to the Christian as the city where St. Paul so long resided as a prisoner, and where he uttered that eloquent oration before King Agrippa and Felix, which is preserved in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Here also Cornelius the centurion resided, and Philip the evangelist; and repeated mention is made of it in the Sacred History, as the port from which the apostles embarked for Greece, or at which they landed.*

The road between Cesarea and Jaffa is thus described by Mr. Buckingham, who took this route to Jerusalem in 1816. For an hour and a half the

* See Acts, ix. 30; x. 24; xviii. 22; xxi. 8, 10.

road continued along the shore, chiefly on a sandy beach, with here and there beds of rock towards the sea; it then turned up from the sea, and lay over desert ground for about an hour; after which it returned to the beach. At three hours' distance from Cesarea, Mr. B. crossed a low point of land, called Min (Port) Tabos Aboora, where there is a small bay, obstructed by broken masses of rock. It was said to be a *scala*, to which fruit is brought from the neighbouring country behind Jaffa and to the north of it, and here shipped in boats for the more northern parts of Syria. At half an hour's distance from this point the road again leaves the sea, and for about an hour crosses a desert, covered with sand, long wild grass, and a few bushes. "At one," continues this traveller, "we came in sight of a cultivated plain, with a long valley running eastward, and shewing us on the hill the small village of El-sheikh Moosa, having a large building in its centre; we crossed this valley, and, ascending a gentle hill, came, at half-past one, in sight of a more extensive and beautiful plain, covered with trees, and having the first carpet of verdure that we had yet seen. On the left, we entered the small village of El Mukhalid. This village resembled an Egyptian one, in the form and construction of its huts, more than any we had yet passed; and was also the poorest we had seen, consisting of not more than ten or fifteen dwellings. I was surprised that so fine a situation as it commands should not have been occupied by some larger settlement, as the plains below and at the foot of it are more extensive, more beautiful, and, to all appearance, quite as fertile as those of Acre, of Zabulon, or of Carmel. On going round the village, we found, at its south-west angle, a considerable

portion of a large building remaining, having nearly fifty feet of its side-wall, and one perfect end-wall still standing. It was built of well-hewn stones, regularly placed and strongly cemented, and shewed equally good masonry with that of the fort at Cesarea, the style of which it resembled. In one part of the side were seen narrow windows and loop-holes; but whether it was solely a military post, a private dwelling provided for its own defence, or the only remaining building of some ancient town, we could not decide. The presence of broken pottery, and particularly of the ribbed kind, scattered about in great quantities around the village, and at some distance from it, inclined me to the latter opinion. The situation corresponds very nearly to that of Antipatris, a city built by Herod, and so called after his father Antipater. This city is described as being seated at the descent of a mountainous country, on the border of a plain named Saronas, terminated by the sea: which agrees exactly with the local features of El Mukhalid."*

Mr. Buckingham's conjecture, however, is inadmissible. Antipatris, the ancient Caphar Saba, (or, as Josephus writes it, Chabarzaba,) was seventeen miles from Jaffa, ten from Lydda, and twenty-six from Cesarea. El Mukhalid is only between seventeen and eighteen miles from Cesarea; and it is impossible to trace any identity between its present name and that of Caphar Saba. Springs and rivulets, also, are stated to have distinguished the locality of Antipatris. The situation, in point of relative distance, corresponds more nearly to that of Apollonia, a

* Travels in Palestine, by J. S. Buckingham, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 217, 218.

city of Palestine, near the sea, at almost an equal distance between Jaffa and Cesarea, referred to by Josephus, Pliny, and Ptolemy. The site of Antipatris remains, therefore, to be determined. It was to that city that St. Paul was brought by night, under a strong escort from Jerusalem, when he was sent a prisoner to Felix. Acts xxiii. 31.

Leaving El Mukhalid, the travellers had the plain below it on their left, and soon entered again on a desert track of sand, mixed with wild grass and a few bushes. They then came to a "narrow, fertile pass," having caves and grottos on each side; at the end of which they ascended to an elevated plain where husbandmen were sowing, and some thousands of starlings covered the ground, as the wild pigeons do in Egypt, laying a heavy contribution on the grain. Continuing along this plain for above an hour, they arrived at the village of Heram, where they halted. This village is seated on a high promontory, overlooking the sea: though containing not more than forty or fifty dwellings, it possesses a mosque, with a minaret, the approach to which is over a small green plat, with a worn foot-path winding up it, like some of our church-paths. Just before entering the village, Mr. Buckingham again noticed caves and marks of excavated dwellings. On leaving their quarters in the morning, they descended to the beach, and continued along the coast, under brown cliffs and hills, till they came, in about two hours, Mr. Buckingham says, to the Nahr-el-Arsouf, which, being shallow, they easily forded. Here, in the days of the Crusades, stood a castle, which is no longer to be seen. In half an hour they came to a little domed fountain, on the brow of the cliff; they observed that the beach beneath

was covered with small shells, to the depth of several feet. Soon after, they approached Jaffa.

Captains Irby and Mangles, in passing from Egypt to Syria, took the same route along the coast of Palestine. After leaving Jaffa, they shortly crossed the Nahr el Petras; of which Mr. Buckingham takes no notice unless he mistook it for the Arsouf, which would account for his not perceiving any ruins there. After crossing Nahr el Petras, the travellers passed through a wild but pretty country, and [then] crossed the Nahr el Arsouf, leaving the village of that name (the ancient Apollonias) on their left. The following morning they proceeded very early, and crossing the Nahr el Kasab, arrived at Cesarea.* As they mention neither El Mukhalid nor Heram, their account throws little light on the account given by Mr. Buckingham.

Jaffa, or Yaffa, the ancient Joppa, is one of the most ancient sea-ports in the world; its traditional history stretches far back into the twilight of time, and Pliny assigns it a date anterior to the deluge. In his time, they pretended to exhibit the marks of the chain with which Andromeda was fastened to a rock; and the supposed skeleton of the sea-monster to which she was exposed was long preserved at Rome. Here, too, if tradition may be credited, Noah built his ark! Hither, however, the most authentic of all records informs us, King Solomon ordered the materials of the Temple to be brought by sea from Mount Libanus; here the prophet Jonah embarked for Tarshish, 862 years before the Christian era; and

* Travels in Egypt, &c. by the Honourable C. L. Irby and J. Mangles, 8vo. p. 199.

here, in apostolic times, St. Peter restored Tabitha to life. In the middle of the thirteenth century, it was fortified by Louis IX.; but, in 1647, Monconys, a French traveller, found nothing at Jaffa, but a castle and some caverns. Lastly, in 1799, the modern town was taken by Bonaparte, and signalised by that massacre of Turkish prisoners, which has afforded so much matter for discussion, as one of the darkest charges laid against the character of Napoleon.* It is situated in lat. 32° 2′ N. and long. 34° 53′ E., and is forty miles W. of Jerusalem. Its situation, as the nearest port to the Holy City, has been the chief cause of its importance. As a station for vessels, according to Dr. Clarke, its harbour is one of the worst in the Mediterranean. Ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to avoid the shoals and rocks of the place. The badness of the harbour is mentioned, indeed, by Josephus. He speaks of both Joppa and Dora, as "lesser maritime cities, *not fit for havens*, on account of the impetuous south-winds that beat upon them; which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores do not admit of ships lying in their station: but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors on the sea itself." And he proceeds to describe the works by which Herod endeavoured to rectify a similar inconvenience of situation at Cesarea.† The road is protected by a castle built on a rock, and there are some

* There is no doubt that the massacre took place; the only question relates to the number, and the probable motive or alleged justification. Bonaparte's statement was, that they were prisoners who had been dismissed on parole, and who afterwards joined the garrison at Jaffa, and that 500 only were put to death.

† Josephus, Antiq. book xv. chap. 9.

storehouses and magazines on the sea-side. The coast is low, but little elevated above the level of the sea; but the town occupies an eminence, in the form of a sugar-loaf, with a citadel on the summit. The bottom of the hill is surrounded with a wall twelve or fourteen feet high, and two or three feet thick. The environs are occupied by extensive gardens, the light sandy soil being peculiarly favourable for the production of different kinds of fruit. These gardens are fenced with hedges of the prickly-pear, and are plentifully stocked with pomegranate, orange, lemon, and fig-trees, and water-melons. The latter are celebrated all over the Levant for their delicious flavour. Those which are produced at Jaffa and at Damietta in Egypt, seem to owe their peculiar excellence to the soil and climate of these two places; for, when transplanted, though cultivated in the same manner, they lose their exquisite flavour, and degenerate into the common water-melon. The lemons and oranges, also, grow here to a prodigious size. The commerce of the town chiefly consists in the importation of grain, particularly of rice from Egypt, and the export of cotton and soap. In Pococke's time, a great trade in soap was carried on at Jaffa: it is made of olive-oil and ashes. Egypt was chiefly supplied from this port. There are no antiquities in Jaffa: the place would seem to be too old to have any—to have outlived all that once rendered it interesting. The inhabitants are estimated at between four and five thousand souls, of whom the greater part are Turks and Arabs; the Christians are stated to be about six hundred, consisting of Roman Catholics, Greeks, Maronites, and Armenians. The Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, have each a small convent for the reception of pilgrims. Of these, the Greeks are represented as by

far the most affable and agreeable to strangers; the Armenians as the most triste and austere, at least in appearance.

At Jaffa, the route from Egypt by the Desert of Suez, falls into what may be considered as the high road of pilgrimage to the Holy City. As this route completes the line of coast, we shall, before pursuing the journey to Jerusalem, trace the road from El Arisch.

ROUTE FROM EL ARISCH TO JAFFA.

El Arisch * is held by the Pasha of Egypt; but as it is the first town on the Syrian side of the Desert of Suez, it may be considered as the natural frontier of Palestine on that side. It is seated upon a slightly elevated rock, in the midst of drifting sands; and its substantial fortress, with the village hanging under its eastern front, has an imposing appearance. The rock is a shell-limestone, with a greater proportion of both chalk and shells than any of the rocks in Egypt. The castle was put into good condition by the French, and furnished with octagonal towers for artillery; it is defended by twelve pieces of cannon. The district of El Arisch is computed to contain 2000 inhabitants. The water here is slightly brackish. Cultivation commences almost immediately beyond, but has to struggle with the sand, which is plentifully sprinkled over the soil. The route lies, for about twenty or twenty-two miles, over an undulating surface, in which grass and sand dispute the superiority, to Sheikh Juide, a ruined village, pleasantly

* Either the ancient Ostracine or Rhinocolura; probably the latter, which was considered as the last Egyptian town, though on the Syrian confines.

situated at the upper end of a narrow valley: it is said to have been burned by the French on their way to Egypt, and has never been rebuilt. The tomb of the venerable sheikh who has bequeathed his name both to the ruins and the valley, is all that remains standing. Over it Dr. Richardson saw, suspended by the four corners, after the superstitious fashion of the country, a black and white cloth, with a large ostrich egg, and a few monumental charms hanging above it; close by is an extensive burying-ground; a large field of barley was nearly ripe, while the landscape all around was picturesque and cultivated, but the crops seemed poor.* They improved in appearance on approaching Rafah, (anciently called Raphia,) about three hours from Sheikh Juide.† Here a great battle was fought between Ptolemy the Fourth, King of Egypt, and Antiochus the Great, the monarch of Syria. On the top of the hill there were still standing two columns of grey granite, beside a small heap of rubbish. A little way down the hill is a deep well, of tolerably good water, the sides of the shaft of which are regularly built up, and covered at the top to exclude the sun; it is surrounded with scattered columns of granite. Two hours farther brings the traveller to Hanoonis, or Khanyounes (*Jenysus*), situated on an eminence on the south side of the valley; this is the last village which pays tribute to the Pasha of Egypt. Dair, the next place, is in the pashalic of Gaza. There is no perceptible line of division between the two governments. At

* Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Josephus and Polybius make Raphia the first city in Syria in coming from Egypt. It was a bishopric of the Eastern Church.

Dair there is plenty of good water, raised by a water-wheel, resembling the Persian wheels in Egypt and Nubia; and three beautiful marble columns, laid together, form a trough for the cattle. The country beyond continues to present the same kind of rural scenery; beautiful undulating fields, covered with flocks and herds, and crops of wheat, barley, lentils, and tobacco. The breed of black cattle is described as not near so handsome, however, as that of Egypt. A few miles beyond Dair, at the foot of a hill, the traveller crosses the bed of a torrent, about thirty yards wide, called El Wadi (or El Oa di) Gaza. The fine alluvial plain is, apparently, in the rainy season surrounded by the river.

A slight variation occurs in the route taken by the (pseudo) Ali Bey.* Quitting the usual track, he traversed some cultivated hills, to the south-east; he remarked, in his way, some fields completely burrowed, as he was informed, by the rats, but, he conjectures, by djerboas. He gives the distance seven hours from El Arisch to Sheikh Zouail, and four hours thence in a straight line to Khanyounes: which is described as well situated, at a short distance from the sea, and surrounded with walls and gardens; the *first inhabited* place on entering Syria from the south. From hence to Gaza is a march of four hours, making the distance from El Arisch about forty-eight miles.

After crossing El Wadi Gaza, the road ascends a hill, from the summit of which the whitened tomb of the Sheikh Ab Ali is seen crowning the lofty promontory of the mountains of Hebron on the right, and the town and minarets of Gaza occupy the

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 205, 206.

summit of a mound in the plain on the left. A hedge of Indian fig lines the road on each side, and a number of upright marble tomb-stones mark the spot where it turns to the left, and winds, like a serpentine walk through pleasure-gardens, to the gates of the city. The gardens are enclosed with hedges of Indian fig, and abound in tall spreading sycamore trees, which give them a delightful appearance, although but indifferently stocked. The town and the burying-ground cover the top of the eminence, which is about two miles in circumference at the base, and appears to have been wholly enclosed within the ancient fortifications; according to the ancient mode of warfare, it must have been a place of considerable strength. For two months it baffled all the efforts of Alexander the Great, who was repeatedly repulsed, and wounded in the siege: which he afterwards revenged in a most infamous manner on the person of the gallant defender, Betis, whom, while yet alive, having ordered his ankles to be bored, he dragged round the walls, tied to his chariot-wheels, in the barbarous parade of imitating the less savage treatment of the corpse of Hector by Achilles.

There are no antiquities of any consequence at Gaza. The streets are very narrow; and the houses, most of which have gardens, are generally without windows. The country abounds with calcareous stone, or coarse marble of a fine white colour, of which all the principal edifices are built. There are a number of mosques, and some fine tombs. The largest mosque is an ancient Greek church, to which the Turks have added several buildings, in vile taste, which do not harmonize with the rest.* In several parts of the town

* Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p 108, 109.

may be seen a few scattered columns of grey granite, probably of Roman architecture; and there are the remains of a round edifice, assignable to the same period. El Serai (the seraglio), the governor's mansion, is a large awkward-looking building, of Saracenic architecture. El Muhkumut, or the tribunal, the residence of the kadi, is also a large edifice. The markets are well supplied; provisions cheap; the water, which is procured from wells, is both good and clear; the bread indifferent, but the meat, fowls, and vegetables, of excellent quality. Altogether there is an air of comfort about the town and its inhabitants, very striking to travellers coming from Egypt. The inhabitants are stated by Dr. Richardson to be between two and three thousand; they consist of a mixture of Turks and Arabs, "from all the Arabias," Egypt, and Syria,—Fellahs, Bedouins, &c., those of each nation wearing their particular costume. The town is governed by a Turkish aga. Its distance from the sea is about three miles; from Jaffa a day's journey and a half; and "two long days' journey from Jerusalem."*

The sheep of this district are exceedingly fine, black-faced and white-faced; many of them with a brown-coloured fleece; the leaders of the flock bearing the bell, as in this country. The peasantry plough with two oxen: the plough is remarkably slight, with only one handle; the beam and yoke so very short, that, without moving from his post, the ploughman can goad the oxen with the long stick he carries in one hand, while he holds the plough with the other. Descending from the height of Gaza into the plain,

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 206—208. Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 197—199.

the traveller, for three-quarters of an hour, passes through an olive-ground, the trees of which are old and large, and judiciously planted; "not crowded together in such impenetrable masses as in the Ionian Isles, so as to prevent a free circulation of air and infect the neighbourhood with a noisome damp, but free and open, admitting of the cultivation and healthy growth of vegetables at their roots." On the edge of this grove, Dr. Richardson met with a number of storks, a bird held in high veneration by the Mussulmans. A little beyond the small village of Bet Hanoon, which lay to the right of the road, he crossed the deep bed (then dry) of a winter torrent, supposed to be the torrent Escol. The village Beeresnait was on the traveller's right hand, and before him Bedigga and Dia, from which he turned to the left, to encamp close to the modern village of Barbara. The next morning, while the caravan filed along the beautiful and well-wooded valley to Ashdod and Yabne, the party ascended the hill, and passing through Barbara, turned off towards the sea for the ruins of Askelon (pronounced Ascalāān); which lie about an hour's distance from the road to Ashdod.* It was the month of April. Olive-trees occupied the

* Captains Irby and Mangles took the more direct route to Ashdod. At four A.M. they left Gaza. The road for two hours lay through beautiful groves of olive, and then entered on an open country, partly cultivated. The travellers left some villages on either side, and passed the torrent Escol, then dry, over a bridge of two high arches. About noon, they had on their left Majudal, described as a large village with a mosque, situated in a valley, surrounded with olive groves. At three P.M. they arrived at Ashdod. The distance from Gaza to Ashdod, according to their statement, would seem to be eleven hours, or about thirty-three miles; but a deduction is probably to be made for halts, of which no notice is taken in the narrative.

sandy height on the one hand, and fine crops of wheat and barley were seen on the other. Arab tents were ranged along the edge of the hills, and Arab sheikhs were busily employed among their flocks in the plain. Crossing the sandy ridge, the road descends into a well-cultivated plain, at the village called Naidé; and then climbs an eminence, on which are the remains of an edifice with granite columns, like that at Rafia. From this point the ruined walls of Askelon are seen to advantage. After crossing a small stream in the intervening valley, the travellers arrived at their base. Their present appearance is thus described by the very intelligent traveller whose track we have been pursuing.

"The position of Askelon is strong: the walls are built on the top of a ridge of rock that winds round the town in a semicircular direction, and terminates at each end in the sea. The foundations remain all the way round. The walls are of great thickness, and, in some places, of considerable height, and flanked with towers at different distances. Patches of the wall preserve their original elevation; but, in general, it is ruined throughout, and the materials lie scattered around the foundation, or rolled down the hill on either side. The ground falls within the walls in the same manner that it does without: the town was situated in the hollow, so that no part of it could be seen from the outside of the walls. Numerous ruined houses still remain, with small gardens interspersed among them. We passed on through the centre of the ruins, and about the middle of them came to a ruined temple or theatre, as it has been supposed, part of which had lately been cleared out by the exertions of Lady Hester Stanhope. A few columns of grey granite, and one of red, with an

unusually large proportion of feldspar, and some small portions of the walls, are all that were then visible of this once extensive edifice. In the highest part of the town we found the remains of a Christian convent, close upon the sea, with a well of excellent water beside it. The sea beats strongly against the bank on which the convent stands; and six prostrate columns of grey granite, which we saw half covered with the waves, attest the effects of its encroachments. There is no bay nor any shelter for shipping; but a small harbour, advancing a little way into the town towards its eastern extremity, seems to have been formed for the accommodation of such small craft as was used in the better days of the city.

"Askelon was one of the proudest satrapies of the lords of the Philistines; now there is not an inhabitant within its walls; and the prophecy of Zechariah is fulfilled, 'The king shall perish from Gaza, and Askelon shall not be inhabited.'* When the prophecy was uttered, both cities were in an equally flourishing condition; and nothing but the prescience of Heaven could pronounce on which of the two, and in what manner, the vial of his wrath should thus be poured out. Gaza is truly without a king. The lofty towers of Askelon lie scattered on the ground, and the ruins within its walls do not shelter a human being. How is the wrath of man made to praise his Creator! Hath he said, and shall he not do it? The oracle was delivered by the mouth of the prophet more than five hundred years before the Christian era, and we behold its accomplishment eighteen hundred years after that event.

"Askelon was the birth-place of Herod the Great, and several eminent Mussulmans.

* *Zech. ix. 6. See also Zeph. ii. 4.*

"We now pursued our way across the hill, which was covered with a plentiful mixture of grass and sand, and arrived at the village of Misdal (or Mezdel), situated in a beautiful plain, and surrounded with small gardens, hedged with the Indian fig-tree. An hour and a half from Askelon, we reached the village Hamami. Its environs are cultivated, and the crops abundant, but quite overgrown with thistles, extensive plantations of which line the road on each side. At present, although our prospect is extensive, there is not a tree in sight; yet the growth of spring clothes the undulating fields, and every thing is fresh and beautiful.* It is not like the land of Egypt, but it is a thousand times more interesting. Having passed a large tumulus on the top of an adjoining hill, the history of which we could not learn, we came in sight of Ashdod (Azotus), pronounced in the country Shdood. In about half an hour we crossed a broad stone bridge, erected over the bed of a river: there was stagnant water in several places. Next we came to the ruined village of Tookrair, situated on the top of a hill on the left, which seems to have been a place of considerable consequence, *probably Ekron.*† Soon after, we arrived at Ashdod, passed the town and the well, with a small contiguous mosque on the roadside, turned into a pleasant grassy field, and pitched our tents for the night.

"The ground around Ashdod is beautifully undulating, the pasture luxuriant, but not half stocked

* Sir F. Henniker describes the vale of Askelon as enamelled with flowers: "among others," he says, "our garden pink assumes the place of daisies."

† Ekron was near the sea, between Ashdod and Jamnia. It was once a powerful city. Its territory was the border of the land of Judah. See Joshua, xv. 11.

with cattle. The site of the town is on the summit of a grassy hill; and, if we are to believe historians, was anciently as strong as it was beautiful. Herodotus states, that Psammetichus, king of Egypt, spent twenty-nine years in besieging the city; in the end he was successful; an event which is stated to have occurred 1124 years B. C., about fifty years before the reign of David in Hebron. This was another of the five satrapies of the Philistines; who, when they had taken the Ark of God from the Israelites, brought it to Ashdod, and carried it into the house of Dagon their god. We neither saw nor heard of any ruins here. Scarcely any of the inhabitants came near us. They did not appear to be so sociable or so kind to strangers as their neighbours at Barbara. Every thing here was dearer than in Egypt: a sheep cost eight shillings and sixpence,—the dearest in Egypt was seven shillings, and generally but five shillings. They charged us four piastres (about two shillings and sixpence) for the night's grazing of our camels and asses, which, in other places, we had with a free, hearty welcome. The blood of the plundering Philistines is still in the land."

Gath, the fifth of the Philistine cities, which was a place of strength in the time of the prophets Amos and Micah, (B.C. 787—750,) is placed by Jerome on the road between Eleutheropolis and Gaza. It appears to have been the extreme boundary of the Philistine territory in one direction, as Ekron was on the other: hence the expression, (1 Sam. vii. 14.) "from Ekron even unto Gath," which has led to its being considered as the most southern city, and Ekron the most northern. The phrase may be more probably interpreted as intimating, that Gath was the south-eastern border, as Ekron was the north-eastern; but it is not

clear that the latter was more northward than Ashdod, or the former farther south than Gaza. Gath might lay nearer to Arabia; and it seems to have become finally annexed to Judea before the time of the prophet Zephaniah, since no mention is made of it in the denunciations against Gaza, Ascalon, Ashdod, and Ekron, "the inhabitants of the sea-coast and the land of the Philistines." (Zeph. ii. 4, 5.)

From Ashdod to Jaffa is four hours' journey, or about twelve miles. The route lies over an undulating surface; the hills are high and partially cultivated, with abundance of thistles. The beautiful gardens of Jaffa commence on each side of the road, at the lowest part of the plain, a considerable distance from the town. The only places mentioned by Dr. Richardson as lying between Ashdod and Jaffa, are the villages Bededjen, (two hours from Ashdod,) and Djedou. Captains Irby and Mangles appear to have taken a different and less direct route. They crossed the Nahr (or river) El Rubin, close to the ruins of a Roman bridge, one great arch of which, and part of another, still remain, overgrown with bushes and weeds. The river above the bridge was nearly dry, (Oct. 11,) and filled with wild flowers and rushes. Below it they noticed "a handsome winding sheet of water, the banks of which were likewise covered with various water-flowers, and many black water-fowl were swimming on its surface: the water is bad, but not salt. On the opposite side of this river, on a small eminence, is Sheikh Rubin's tomb, surrounded by a square wall, with some trees inclosed. There are in Syria and Egypt numbers of these tombs, which the Arabs erect to the memory of any man who, they think, has led a holy life; giving the title of *sheikh*, not only to their chiefs, but also to their saints. These

tombs are generally placed in some conspicuous spot, frequently on the top of some mount. The sepulchre consists of a small apartment, with a cupola over it, whitewashed externally (see Matt. xxiii. 27): within are deposited a mat and a jar of water, for the ablution of such as retire thither for devotion. Sheikh Rubin, who lived many years ago, appears to have been much respected, and the people to this day go to pay vows at his shrine: they also bring provisions, and make festivals there. The river, no doubt, receives its appellation from this sheikh."*

The travellers passed, on their right, Yabne, the ancient Jabneh, or Jamnia, situated on a small eminence: it is still a considerable village. It lies about three hours' distance from Ashdod, and is reckoned to be 240 furlongs from Jerusalem. This was another of the Philistine cities, and was taken by Uzziah, King of Judah. (See 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.)

The route from Gaza, taken by Ali Bey, was much the same: it lay first E. N. E.; then N. E. and N. through Ashdod; then N. N. E. and N. E., passing by Yabne, and over some wooded hills; and at length turned N.W. to Jaffa. The distance cannot be much less than forty miles. All the villages in this route are, according to this traveller, situated upon heights; the houses are extremely low, covered with thatch, and surrounded with plantations and gardens. The hills were covered (it was in the month of July) with olive-trees, and plantations of tobacco in full blossom. "All the country of Palestine," he says, "which I saw from Khanyounes to Jaffa, is beautiful. It is composed of undulating hills, of a rich soil similar to

* Travels in Egypt, &c. By the Hon. C. L. Irby and James Mangles. 8vo. pp. 183, 4.

the slime of the Nile, and is covered with the richest and finest vegetation. But there is not a single river in all the district; there is not even a spring. All the torrents I crossed were dry, and the inhabitants have no other water to drink than that which they collect in the rainy season, nor any other means of irrigation than rain-water, and that of the wells, which is indeed good."*

ROUTE FROM JAFFA TO JERUSALEM.

From Jaffa to Ramla is a journey of three hours,—about nine miles. The road lies over an undulating surface, partially cultivated and thinly inhabited, of a wilder and less inviting character than the country of the Philistines. A good deal of wood is to be seen near Jaffa; but afterwards, the road is bare, except that olive-trees cover some of the hills. The neighbourhood of Ramla, however, is adorned with many trees, among which the palm is conspicuous.

Ramla, or Rameli, the ancient Rama (of Ephraim), and supposed to be the Arimathea of the New Testament, is, by Phocas, computed to be 37 miles from Jerusalem: † it is situated in a rich plain, and contains about 2000 families. Here is a Latin convent, the whole brotherhood of which are Spaniards, said to have been founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; it is the universal home of Christian travellers in this quarter. The Greeks and Armenians have also convents here. There were two churches, which are now converted into mosques. The great

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 209.

† If this be correct, Jaffa cannot be less than forty-six or forty-seven miles from Jerusalem; though Quaresmius, on the authority of Jerome, makes it only forty.

‡ Travels of Ali Bey, p. 211.

mosque was a Greek church: the tower is very lofty, and in good preservation. Near it is a large building, supported by pillars, supposed to be the remains of a monastery. In one of the mosques is the tomb of Aayoub Bey, a Mamelouk, who fled from Egypt on the arrival of the French, and died here: it is of beautiful white marble, with bas-reliefs, and gilt inscriptions. Near the Latin burial-place is a large tank, or cistern, under ground, which has always plenty of good water in it. "The root of the tamarisk-tree growing into it," Pococke says, "the waters are esteemed good for the dropsy." There are, he tells us, great ruins of houses in this place; so that it seems formerly to have been a much more considerable town than it is at present, and it probably flourished during the time of the Crusades. On a high hill to the west of the town, stands a venerable ruin, called the Tower of the Martyrs, with some stately sycamores near it, overlooking the plain. The bodies of the martyrs of Sebaste, in Armenia, are said to have been deposited at Ramla; and from them, probably, the tower receives its name.

About a league to the E. N. E. in this plain is Lydda, still called Loudd, where St. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy. It was destroyed by Cestius in the beginning of the Jewish war, and, when rebuilt, was called Diospolis. It is now a poor village; but the stones to be seen in the modern buildings, shew that it has been a place of some consequence. Here are the remains of a very fine church, built of hewn stone, and of excellent masonry. It is attributed by some writers to the emperor Justinian, by others to a king of England; but Pococke concludes that it was probably repaired by Richard Cœur de Lion, the architecture being decidedly of higher antiquity. The

Greeks hold (or then held) the eastern part of the ruined church; which is uncovered, except that over the high altar there remains a pointed arch, which, perhaps, was built when the church was repaired. The Turks have turned the west end into a mosque; having, says Pococke, a great veneration for St. George, who, according to the legend of the place, suffered here. All this country is described by the learned traveller as very rich soil, throwing up a great quantity of herbage; among which he specifies chardons, rue, fennel, and the striped thistle, "probably on this account called the holy thistle." A great variety of anemonies, he was told, grow in the neighbourhood. "I saw likewise," he adds, "many tulips growing wild in the fields (in March); and any one who considers how beautiful those flowers are to the eye, would be apt to conjecture that these are the lilies to which Solomon, in all his glory, was not to be compared." The lily referred to by our Lord, is, however, supposed by some critics to have rather been the Amaryllis lutea, or autumnal Narcissus, which is found in profusion in the countries bordering on the Levant, clothing the fields in autumn with a vivid golden brilliancy.

Between Rama and Jeremiah, about twelve miles from Jerusalem, lies the Arab village of Bethoor, where Dr. Clarke was by accident compelled to pass a night. It is noticed by no other traveller; and yet, there is the highest probability that this is the Beth-horon of the Scriptures, which Josephus places in this direction. St. Jerome associates it with Rama, in the remark that they were then, together with other noble cities built by Solomon, only poor villages. Beth-horon stood on the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin; which, according to the learned traveller,

exactly answers to the situation of *Bethoor*. He supposes it, from its situation on a hill, to be Beth-horon the upper, (the Beth-horon superior of Eusebius,) of which frequent notice occurs in the apocryphal writings. Josephus mentions that Cestius, the Roman general, marched upon Jerusalem by way of Lydda and Beth-horon.*

In this neighbourhood the Arabs are very troublesome: sometimes they have been known to rob the inhabitants of Ramla in their very gardens. In Pococke's time, it was considered as one of the most dangerous roads in Turkey.† For some miles the road is over a level plain, the ground somewhat marshy: it then rises as you approach the rocky scenery; and just before the road enters the hills, at a short distance, is the place called *Ladroun* by the Franks, which admits of a various interpretation. Pococke, who describes it as a large ruined building over a precipice, supposes it to be "what is commonly called the castle of the *good thief*, where they say he was born and lived." In other words, the monks, who must needs assign a local habitation for every personage spoken of in the New Testament, have pitched upon this very suitable spot as the imaginary resi-

* See 1 Macc. iii. 16; vii. 39; ix. 50. Josh. x. 10, 11. 1 Chron. vii. 24. Joseph. Jewish Wars, lib. ii. cap. 23.

† The whole distance from Jerusalem to Jaffa, according to the usual time of travelling, might be performed in about fifteen or sixteen hours: "but owing," says Dr. Clarke, "to rugged and pathless rocks, over which the traveller must pass, it is impossible to perform it in less than a day and a half. When it is considered that this has always been the principal route of pilgrims, and that during the Crusades it was much frequented, it is singular that no attempt was ever made to facilitate the approach to the Holy City. The wildest passes of the Apennines are not less open to travellers. No part of the country is so much infested by predatory Arabs."—*Travels*, vol. iv. 8vo. chap. ix. p. 420.

dence of the penitent malefactor, one of those who was crucified with our Lord; and the building may have received its name from him. Dr. Richardson, however, interprets it, the den of thieves; and the encounter which he had with its inhabitants sufficiently justified the appellation. The party were proceeding merrily along a scarcely-perceptible track on the turf, when a haggard-looking Arab, springing across the field, seized Lord Corry's mule by the bridle, and refused to let him proceed. He happened to be in advance of the party. The affair might have had an unpleasant issue, but one of the muleteers coming up, explained to the Arab that they were travelling under the protection of the governor of Jaffa, and that the brother of a distinguished chieftain was their conductor. "Instantly at the sound, (says Dr. R.,) he dropped the bridle, and walked off, gnashing his whetted teeth over the prey that had just been snatched from his jaws, having taken us for unprotected pilgrims, whom it was his intention to insult, plunder, and detain. How blank and dastard he looked, the ragged red-haired knave, as he slunk across the field to his thievish den, that lay in the shape of a farm-house, a little off the road,"—the identical Ladron.*

The aspect of this part of the country is bleak, the trees are few and small,† the soil hard, and of a bad quality; mountains of naked limestone. The prospect among the hills is described by Dr. Clarke, as resembling the worst parts of the Apennines. We shall avail ourselves of the picturesque description given by

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 220.

† Chateaubriand particularises the dwarf oak, the box-tree, the rose-laurel, and the olive.

Dr. Richardson of the road from this point to Jerusalem.

"In about two hours and a half from the time that we left Ramla, we entered the mountain scenery, the hill country of Judea. For some time before we reached the mountains, we kept looking up at their dusky sides, as they rose in towering grandeur to the height of about a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above our heads, covered with sun-burnt grass; here and there disclosing strips of the bare horizontal rock, and diversified with a few bushy trees that stood at very unfriendly and forlorn distances from each other. Having entered the mountain defiles, we moved along a deep and most uncomfortable track, covered with big sharp stones, sometimes down a steep and almost precipitous descent, which obliged us to alight and lead our mules; at other times along the dry stony bed of a winter torrent, which we had to cross and recross half a dozen times in the course of a hundred yards: at other times we climbed a heavy and lengthened ascent, with only a few shrubs between us and the edge of the precipice. Thus we continued ascending and descending, one while round the projecting base of the mountain, another while winding in the hollow curve formed by the meeting of their circular edges, till about one o'clock, when we stopt to refresh the animals, having arrived at a well of good water beside a ruined edifice, that seemed to have been erected as a military station to guard the pass. Since entering the mountain scenery we travelled all in a body; the riders not separating from the beasts of burden for fear of any unexpected attack, or any lurching cur among our own numbers setting off with a straggler, which the nature of the ground would

soon enable him to conceal, and set every search at defiance.

"Here we found the advantage of our gallant escort from the governor of Yaffa; for scarcely had we alighted from our mules to repose ourselves on the scattered stones of the ruin, when a comfortable collation was brought us by a peasant from a neighbouring village, the master of which had a great friendship for the brother of Abougôsh. Whence he came, or whither he went, we could not tell; there was no house or village in sight; but we profited by his hospitality, and resumed our march with redoubled vigour.

"The road continued nearly the same with that already described. The hills, from the commencement of the mountain scenery, are all of a round handsome shape, meeting in the base and separated at the tops, not in peaks or pointed acuminations, but like the gradual retiring of two round balls, placed in juxta-position. Their sides are partially covered with earth, which nourishes a feeble sprinkling of withered grass, with here and there a dwarf tree or solitary shrub. They are not susceptible of cultivation, except on the very summit, where we saw the plough going in several places. They might be terraced, but there are no traces of their ever having been so. The rock crops out in many places, but never in precipitous cliffs; the strata are horizontal, and in many places have exactly the appearance of the stone courses in a building. The features of the whole scenery brought strongly to my recollection the ride from Sanquhar to Lead-hills, in Scotland; and to those who have visited this interesting part of my native country, I can assure them, the comparison gives a favourable representation of the hills of Judea. But there are

two remarkable points of difference, which I must not pass unnoticed: in the northern scenery, the traveller passes over an excellent road, and travels among an honest and industrious population, where the conversation of the commonest people will often delight and surprise the man of letters. But among the hills of Palestine, the road is almost impassable, and the traveller finds himself among a set of infamous and ignorant thieves, who would cut his throat for a farthing, and rob him of his property for the mere pleasure of doing it.

"At half-past three o'clock we reached the village of Karialoonah, the residence of Ibrahim Abougôsh, the brother of our conductor, the chief of his tribe, the prince of the Arabs, and a plunderer of pilgrims. However, we had nothing to fear; we were conducted by his brother, and had, moreover, a letter of introduction from the Lady Hester Stanhope. The worthy veteran appeared to have been apprized of our coming, for immediately on our arrival he presented himself to welcome us. He was habited after the fashion of his country, with a tobacco-pipe in his hand, and a fine India shawl, for a turban, on his head; the other parts of his dress were of unbleached cotton cloth, plain and homely, like that of the Bedoweens. In stature he is rather under the middling size, but of a robust and vigorous make, admirably formed for supporting fatigue; his complexion is swarthy, his features regular and animated, with a fine dark eye, placid and moist as a drop of dew. You would say that this man is formed to make love and captivate the hearts of his species; better fitted for the bower than the field, more a Paris than a Hector, a servant of Venus than a votary of Mars. This individual possessed his own mind, and modelled his exterior by an unusual

calmness of manner; when he spoke, the man was rarely revealed in his countenance; a secret purpose lurked in the bottom of his eye, that shewed his heart had other game than what was started by his tongue. We looked, admired, and looked again. Is this the man that rules the Arabs, of whom even the Turkish governors are afraid?

"There was time enough for us to have gone to Jerusalem, but here we had determined to stay, and had turned off the road into a dry stony field on the left, to take up our station, and pitch our tents for the night, when the chieftain preferred a pressing request to the noble traveller, that we should save ourselves that trouble, and make his house our home, with such accommodation as he could afford. The request was made in such an hospitable manner, and so ardently seconded by his brother, *that it* was impossible to refuse it; and it would have been imprudent, had we been so inclined.

"Having accepted the invitation, we followed our host across the road to his house on the other side of the valley. Orders were immediately given to prepare dinner for the party, and we walked with him about the premises till it was ready. The residence of this Arab chief is about two hours and a half distant from Jerusalem; it is pleasantly situated on the east side of the valley, and resembles very much the mansion and offices of a wealthy farmer in this country, having much accommodation for men, horses, and cattle, without regard to taste or appearance. Everything about it is more useful than ornamental: the ground around is terraced and of a good quality, little cultivated, but abundantly shewing its fertility in long grass, olive, sycamore, and *fig* trees, which are in greater numbers on the other side of the valley than

around the house. On the top of a high mountain to the south stands Modin, still called by the same name, and still a place of strength; it is in the territory of Abougôsh, and known as the site of the city and tombs of the illustrious and patriotic Maccabees. Here Simon of that family set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, his mother, his four brethren, and himself. Much building and ruin still remain about the place.

"There is little to be seen, however, as to beauty or repair, about the mansion of an Arab chief. The sun sinks beneath the horizon, and we enter his substantial dwelling. The prince himself led the way up one pair of stairs, followed by the Earl and Countess of Belmore, and the gentlemen of their suite. He conducted us into his principal room, which was fitted up in the usual Eastern style. A low portion, cut off by a rail across the room, for the servants or visitors of inferior consideration to stand without, and an elevated and a larger portion within, provided with a low sofa round the sides on the floor, for the accommodation of those visitors whom the chief delighted to honour. One small window illuminated the apartment; but it was now beginning to get dark, and the light of the sun was succeeded by that of a solitary candle, which only served to make darkness a little more visible than the faint rays of twilight.

"On the appearance of dinner, the farthing candle was exchanged for one of larger dimensions, set upon the floor; the dinner was also set down on the floor at our feet, and we hitched down from the edge of the sofa to reach it. It consisted of a great profusion of rice, boiled fowl, different kinds of boiled and minced meat and rice mixed together, forming a kind of sausage, enclosed in the skin of a gourd, resembling

a cucumber, and several other trifling articles; all of which were so admirably seasoned, that having tasted of one, we felt no disposition to quit it for another, and when we had done so, were as little inclined to return or to change it for a third or a fourth: yet most of us, I believe, were induced to try a little of each of them, and became such proselytes to Arab cookery, that we protested in good earnest we should wish to dine so every day in our lives, as far as eating was concerned, though neither roast-beef nor plum-pudding were among the dishes. Not so with respect to the auxiliary implements of feeding, which were rather of an awkward description, though ancient as our mouths, and all of us had them in our finger ends. Fork and knives there were none, and only one spoon to help a little lebn or sour milk upon the rice. When the invitation to commence the attack issued from the lips of our landlord, we looked at each other, as much as to say, 'How shall we proceed?' The good man himself sat by, and, out of respect for his guests, did not mean to partake of any thing till they were satisfied, which Lord Belmore perceiving, immediately requested that he would set us the example. Then 'bismilla,' in the name of the Lord,—a pretty general, though not a universal signal among the Arabs to commence the act of manducation;—he tucked up the long dangling sleeves of his shirt as far as his elbow, and thrust his washed hand into the mountain of rice that smoked before him, and having taken a handful, he formed it into an oblong ball, by folding his fist; this being done, he put his finger and thumb behind it, thrust it into his mouth, and down his throat in the twinkling of an eye. Then he tore off the leg of a fowl, part of which immediately followed the rice: the rest was returned

into the plate, to serve the next comer to the dish. Again he returned to the rice, and again to the fowl or the beef; judiciously alternating layer upon layer, handing, mouthing, and swallowing, and hospitably inviting us to follow his example, and instructing us how to ball the rice, and thrust it into our mouths. No ceremony or city civilization here. His brother followed at a distance, and did not begin till after much intreaty; but, once engaged, played quite as good a fist as Abougôsh himself. Thus we all went on eating, talking, laughing, and enjoying ourselves, till abundant repletion taught us to desist; then Al ham de lelahi, glory to God, we are satisfied, and a servant comes round with a pitcher full of water, part of which he pours upon our hands; we wash, and it falls into the basin below; then, having dried, he receives the towel, and goes round to perform the same ceremony to the next, and thus makes the tour of the company."

"Next morning, we left our beds at an early hour; but the earliest of the party was preceded by Abougôsh. On quitting the apartment, and going to the top of the stair, where a low wall between the two houses furnishes a charming prospect of the valley below, I found him sitting on his heel in the shade, although the sun had scarcely shone on his abode. He held his pipe in his hand, which he had just taken from his lips, to address a party of his men whom he had called around him, and whom, it appeared, he was about to despatch on some piratical expedition..... Breakfast was spread on the floor, and orders were given to load the camels and the mules. With all possible despatch we got ready, and sallied forth from the castle of our Arab chief, greatly delighted with his hospitality, and not less with the idea of reaching

Jerusalem in two hours and a half from the time of starting. As Abougôsh frequently visits Jerusalem, the parting scene was nothing more than a simple good morning; he saw us all mounted at the gate, and bade us adieu. We had the pleasure of seeing him frequently at the Holy City. His brother continued to accompany us all the way.

"The road between Karialoonah and Jerusalem presents nearly the same features with that in the other parts of the hill country which we had already passed. The mountains continued on the right and on the left, with here and there a triangular patch of low alluvial land, opening into a narrow valley, pervaded by a small stream of water that scarcely covered its pebbly bed. We passed the villages of Caglioné and Lefta, and a small brook trickling down through the valley of Turpentine. Having ascended the hill, where the road has been formed with considerable care, from the ledge of the rock, we passed the village of Abdelcader, the property of our green-coated sheikh, on the left, and in a few minutes came in sight of Jerusalem, from which we were distant about ten minutes' walk of our mules.

"These plain embattled walls in the midst of a barren mountain track, do they enclose the city of Jerusalem? That hill at a distance on our left, supporting a crop of barley, and crowned with a half-ruined hoary mansion, is that the Mount of Olives? Where was the temple of Solomon, and where is Mount Zion, the glory of the whole earth? The end of a lofty and contiguous mountain bounds our view beyond the city on the south. An insulated rock peaks up on our right, and a broad, flat-topped mountain, furrowed by the plough, slopes down upon our left. The city is straight before us; but the greater part of it stands in

a hollow, that opens to the east; and the walls being built upon the higher ground on the north and on the west, prevent the interior from being seen in this direction. We proceed down the gentle descent, covered with well-trodden grass, which neither the sun nor the passengers had yet deprived of its verdure. The ground sinks on our right into what has been called the valley of the Son of Hinnom, which at the north-west corner of the wall becomes a broad, deep ravine, that passes the gate of Yaffa or Bethlehem, and runs along the western wall of the city. Arrived at the gate, though guarded by Turkish soldiers, we pass without tribute or interruption. The rosy countenance of Abdel Rahman, the brother of Abougôsh, like a handful of gold, is every where a passport. The castle of David, or, to call it by its modern name, the tower of the Pisans, is on our right; on our left is a rugged stone wall inclosing a vacant field with a pool or cistern. The ruins are at the gates; but nothing of the grandeur of the city appears. We turned to the left, where the houses commence on both hands, and a few steps brought us to the Latin convent of Saint Salvador. The fathers and the interpreters, in their robes, immediately came to welcome us to the Holy City: with all possible despatch the animals were relieved of their burdens, and we with all our effects were accommodated within its sacred walls." *

* Travels, vol. ii. pp. 221—237.

JERUSALEM.

Long. 35° 20′ E. Lat. 31° 47′ 47″ N.

THE approach to Jerusalem from Jaffa is not the direction in which to see the city to the best effect. Dr. Clarke entered it by the Damascus gate, and he describes the view of Jerusalem, when first descried from the summit of a hill, at about an hour's distance, as most impressive. He confesses, at the same time, that there is no other point of view in which it is seen to so much advantage. In the celebrated prospect from the Mount of Olives, the city lies too low, is too near the eye, and has too much the character of a bird's-eye view, with the formality of a topographical plan. "We had not been prepared," says this lively traveller, "for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis, presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills surrounding it, give the city itself an appearance of elevation less than it really has." Dr. Clarke was fortunate in catching this first view of Jerusalem under the illusion of a brilliant evening sunshine, but his description is decidedly overcharged. M. Chateaubriand, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Brown, Mr. Jolliffe, Sir F. Henniker, and almost every other modern traveller, confirm the representation of Dr. Richard-

son. Mr. Buckingham says: "The appearance of this celebrated city, independent of the feelings and recollections which the approach to it cannot fail to awaken, was greatly inferior to my expectations, and had certainly nothing of grandeur or beauty, of stateliness or magnificence, about it. It appeared like a walled town of the third or fourth class, having neither towers, nor domes, nor minarets within it, in sufficient numbers to give even a character to its impressions on the beholder; but shewing chiefly large flat-roofed buildings of the most unornamented kind, seated amid rugged hills, on a stony and forbidding soil, with scarcely a picturesque object in the whole compass of the surrounding view."

Chateaubriand's description is very striking and graphical. After citing the language of the prophet Jeremiah, in his lamentations on the desolation of the ancient city, as accurately portraying its present state,* he thus proceeds: —

"When seen from the Mount of Olives, on the other side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem presents an inclined plane, descending from west to east. An embattled wall, fortified with towers and a Gothic castle, encompasses the city all round; excluding, however, part of Mount Sion, which it formerly enclosed. In the western quarter, and in the centre of the city, the houses stand very close; but, in the eastern part, along the brook Kedron, you perceive vacant spaces; among the rest, that which surrounds the mosque erected on the ruins of the Temple, and the nearly-deserted spot where once stood the castle of Antonia and the second palace of Herod.

* Lamentations i. 1—6; ii. 1—9, 15.

"The houses of Jerusalem are heavy square masses, very low, without chimneys or windows; they have flat terraces or domes on the top, and look like prisons or sepulchres. The whole would appear to the eye one uninterrupted level, did not the steeples of the churches, the minarets of the mosques, the summits of a few cypresses, and the clumps of nopals, break the uniformity of the plan. On beholding these stone buildings, encompassed by a stony country, you are ready to inquire if they are not the confused monuments of a cemetery in the midst of a desert.

"Enter the city, but nothing will you there find to make amends for the dulness of its exterior. You lose yourself among narrow, unpaved streets, here going up hill, there down, from the inequality of the ground, and you walk among clouds of dust or loose stones. Canvas stretched from house to house increases the gloom of this labyrinth. Bazars, roofed over, and fraught with infection, completely exclude the light from the desolate city. A few paltry shops expose nothing but wretchedness to view, and even these are frequently shut, from apprehension of the passage of a cadi. Not a creature is to be seen in the streets, not a creature at the gates, except now and then a peasant gliding through the gloom, concealing under his garments the fruits of his labour, lest he should be robbed of his hard earnings by the rapacious soldier. Aside, in a corner, the Arab butcher is slaughtering some animal, suspended by the legs from a wall in ruins: from his haggard and ferocious look, and his bloody hands, you would suppose that he had been cutting the throat of a fellow-creature, rather than killing a lamb. The only noise heard from time to time in the city, is the galloping of the steed of the

desert: it is the janissary who brings the head of the Bedouin, or who returns from plundering the unhappy Fellah.

"Amid this extraordinary desolation, you must pause a moment to contemplate two circumstances still more extraordinary. Among the ruins of Jerusalem, two classes of independent people find in their religion sufficient fortitude to enable them to surmount such complicated horrors and wretchedness. Here reside communities of Christian monks, whom nothing can compel to forsake the tomb of Christ; neither plunder nor personal ill-treatment, nor menaces of death itself. Night and day they chaunt their hymns around the Holy Sepulchre. Driven by the cudgel and the sabre, women, children, flocks, and herds, seek refuge in the cloisters of these recluses. What prevents the armed oppressor from pursuing his prey, and overthrowing such feeble ramparts? The charity of the monks: they deprive themselves of the last resources of life to ransom their suppliants.*.... Cast your eyes between the Temple

* Dr. Clarke draws a somewhat different picture of these holy friars: he describes them, in the first place, as the most corpulent he had ever seen issue from the warmest cloisters of Spain or Italy. Their comfortable convent, compared with the usual accommodations of the Holy Land, is, he says, like a sumptuous and well-furnished hotel. "The influence which a peculiar mode of life has upon the constitution in this climate, might," he adds, "be rendered evident, by contrasting one of these jolly fellows" (the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, or, according to the name they bear, the *Terra Santa* friars,) "with the *Propaganda* missionaries. The latter are as meagre and as pale as the former are corpulent and ruddy." In the commotions which have taken place in Jerusalem, the convent of St. Salvador has been repeatedly plundered; yet still, the riches of the treasury are said to be considerable. The Franciscans complain heavily of the exactions of the Turks, who make frequent and

and Mount Sion; behold another petty tribe, cut off from the rest of the inhabitants of this city. The particular objects of every species of degradation, these people bow their heads without murmuring; they endure every kind of insult without demanding justice; they sink beneath repeated blows without sighing; if their head be required, they present it to the scimitar. On the death of any member of this proscribed community, his companion goes at night, and inters him by stealth in the valley of Jehoshaphat, in the shadow of Solomon's Temple. Enter the abodes of these people, you will find them, amid the most abject wretchedness, instructing their children to read a mysterious book, which they in their turn will teach their offspring to read. What they did five thousand years ago, these people still continue to do. Seventeen times have they witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem, yet nothing can discourage them, nothing can prevent them from turning their faces towards Sion. To see the Jews scattered over the

large demands on them for money. "But," remarks Dr. C., "the fact of their being able to answer these demands affords a proof of the wealth of their convent." Sir Sidney Smith, during his visit to Jerusalem, rendered them essential service, which they have not forgotten, by remonstrating with the Turkish governor against one of these *avanias*, as they are called, and finally inducing him to withdraw the charge. Hasselquist states the sum that yearly passed through the hands of the procurator of the convent to be at least half a million of *livres*. "The revenues," he says, "arise from alms, the greatest part from Spain and Portugal; from those people who permit the barbarians to ruin their trade, and plunder their country without supplying one piastre for their chastisement; but send yearly a considerable sum to Jerusalem to be devoured by Turks, their inveterate enemies, and by monks who are useless inhabitants in Europe, and unnecessary at Jerusalem, where they are of no sort of advantage to Christianity."

whole world, according to the Word of God, must doubtless excite surprise. But, to be struck with supernatural astonishment, you must view them at Jerusalem; you must behold these rightful masters of Judea living as slaves and strangers in their own country; you must behold them expecting, under all oppressions, a king who is to deliver them. Crushed by the Cross that condemns them, skulking near the Temple, of which not one stone is left upon another, they continue in their deplorable infatuation. The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, are swept from the earth; and a petty tribe, whose origin preceded that of those great nations, still exists unmixed among the ruins of its native land." *

"Jerusalem," remarks another modern traveller, "is called even by Mohammedans, the Blessed City (*El Gootz*, or *El Koudes*). The streets of it are narrow and deserted, the houses dirty and ragged, the shops few and forsaken; and throughout the whole there is not one symptom of either commerce, comfort, or happiness..... The best view of it is from the Mount of Olives: it commands the exact shape and nearly every particular, viz. the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Armenian convent, the mosque of Omar, St. Stephen's gate, the round-topped houses, and the barren vacancies of the city. Without the walls are a Turkish burial-ground, the tomb of David, a small grove near the tombs of the kings, and all the rest is a surface of rock, on which are a few numbered trees. The mosque of Omar is the St. Peter's of Turkey, and the respective saints are held respectively by their own faithful in equal vene-

* Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c., by F. A. de Chateaubriand, vol. ii. 8vo. pp. 179—183.

ration. The building itself has a light, pagoda appearance; the garden in which it stands occupies a considerable part of the city, and contrasted with the surrounding desert is beautiful. . . . . The burial-place of the Jews is over the valley of Kedron, and the fees for breaking the soil afford a considerable revenue to the governor. The burial-place of the Turks is under the walls, near St. Stephen's gate. From the opposite side of the valley, I was witness to the ceremony of parading a corpse round the mosque of Omar, and then bringing it forth for burial. I hastened to the grave, but was soon driven away: as far as my *on dit* tells me, it would have been worth seeing. The grave is strewn with red earth, supposed to be of the *Ager Damascenus* of which Adam was made; by the side of the corpse is placed a stick, and the priest tells him that the devil will tempt him to become a Christian, but that he must make good use of his stick; that his trial will last three days, and that he will then find himself in a mansion of glory, &c." *

The Jerusalem of sacred history is, in fact, no more. Not a vestige remains of the capital of David and Solomon; not a monument of Jewish times is standing. The very course of the walls is changed, and the boundaries of the ancient city are become doubtful. The monks pretend to shew the sites of the sacred places; but neither Calvary, nor the Holy Sepulchre, much less the Dolorous Way, the house of Caiaphas, &c., have the slightest pretensions to even a probable identity with the real places to which the tradition refers. Dr. Clarke has the merit of

* Notes during a Visit to Egypt, &c., by Sir Frederick Henniker, bart. 8vo. pp. 274—278.

being the first modern traveller who ventured to speak of the preposterous legends and clumsy forgeries of the priests with the contempt which they merit. "To men interested in tracing, within the walls, antiquities referred to by the documents of sacred history, no spectacle," remarks the learned traveller, "can be more mortifying than the city in its present state. The mistaken piety of the early Christians, in attempting to preserve, has either confused or annihilated the memorials it was anxious to render conspicuous. Viewing the havoc thus made, it may now be regretted that the Holy Land was ever rescued from the dominion of Saracens, who were far less barbarous than their conquerors. The absurdity, for example, of hewing the rocks of Judea into shrines and chapels, and of disguising the face of nature with painted domes and gilded marble coverings, by way of commemorating the scenes of our Saviour's life and death, is so evident, and so lamentable, that even Sandys, with all his credulity, could not avoid a happy application of the reproof conveyed by the Roman satirist against a similar violation of the Egerian fountain." *

Dr. Clarke, however, though he discovers his sound judgement in these remarks, has contributed very little to the illustration of the topography of Jerusalem.

* Travels in various Countries, part ii. vol. iv. 8vo. pp. 295, 296. Sandys' words are, speaking of the supposititious sepulchre, that "those natural forms are utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard hath made them less regardable.

—— Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba: nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.
Juv. *Sat.* 3."

His plan is extremely inaccurate, and his hypothesis respecting the site of the ancient Zion altogether baseless. It is quite evident that he trusted to his recollection in drawing up the account of Jerusalem, and that his memory has misled him. By far the best account which has been given of the sacred city, is that furnished by Dr. Richardson, who, by virtue of his professional character as a physician,—a character esteemed sacred all over the East,—was permitted four times to enter, in company with some of the principal Turks in Jerusalem, the sacred enclosure of the Stoa Sakhara, the mosque of Omar. With the exception of Ali Bey, who passed for a Moslem, though really a Spaniard, Dr. R. is the only Frank whose feet have trodden the consecrated ground with impunity, since the days of the Crusades. A Jew or a Christian entering within its precincts, must, if discovered, forfeit either his religion or his life. Sir F. Henniker states, that a few days before he visited Jerusalem, a Greek Christian entered the mosque. "He was a Turkish subject, and servant to a Turk: he was invited to change his religion, but refused, and was immediately murdered by the mob. His body remained exposed in the street; and a passing Mussulman, kicking up the head, exclaimed, 'That is the way *I* would serve all Christians.'" Before we proceed, however, to enter the Mahommedan holy of holies, by far the most interesting, and perhaps the most ancient edifice now standing in Jerusalem, we shall avail ourselves of Dr. Richardson's minute account of the modern town.

"It is," he remarks, "a tantalizing circumstance for the traveller who wishes to recognise in his walks the site of particular buildings, or the scenes of me-

morable events, that the greater part of the objects mentioned in the description both of the inspired and the Jewish historian, are entirely removed, and razed from their foundation, without leaving a single trace or name behind to point out where they stood. Not an ancient tower, or gate, or wall, or hardly even a stone remains. The foundations are not only broken up, but every fragment of which they were composed is swept away, and the spectator looks upon the bare rock with hardly a sprinkling of earth to point out her gardens of pleasure, or groves of idolatrous devotion. And when we consider the palaces, and towers, and walls about Jerusalem, and that the stones of which some of them were constructed were thirty feet long, fifteen feet broad, and seven and a half feet thick, we are not more astonished at the strength, and skill, and perseverance by which they were constructed, than shocked by the relentless and brutal hostility by which they were shattered and overthrown, and utterly removed from our sight. A few gardens still remain on the sloping base of Mount Zion, watered from the pool of Siloam; the gardens of Gethsemane are still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences are broken down, and the olive-trees decaying, as if the hand that dressed and fed them were withdrawn; the Mount of Olives still retains a languishing verdure, and nourishes a few of those trees from which it derives its name; but all round about Jerusalem the general aspect is blighted, and barren; the grass is withered; the bare rock looks through the scanty sward; and the grain itself, like the staring progeny of famine, seems in doubt whether to come to maturity, or die in the ear. The vine that was brought from Egypt is cut off from the midst of the

land; the vineyards are wasted; the hedges are taken away; and the graves of the ancient dead are open and tenantless."

The Jerusalem that now is, is still a respectable, good-looking town, of an irregular shape, approaching to a square: it is surrounded by a high, embattled wall, built, for the most part, of the common stone of the country, which is a compact limestone. It has now, including the golden gate, seven gates. One looks to the west, and is called the gate of Yaffa, or Bethlehem, because the road to those places passes through it.* Two look to the north, and are called the gate of Damascus (*Bab el Sham*), and the gate of Herod (or Ephraim gate). A fourth, looking to the east, is called St. Stephen's gate, because near it the protomartyr was stoned to death: it is close to the Temple, or mosque of Omar, and leads to the gardens of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives. The fifth leads into the Temple, or *Haram Schereeff*, but is now built up, owing, it is said, to a tradition that the Christians will take the city by this gate: it is called the golden gate. Another gate leads from without the city into the mosque of El Aksa, formerly the church of the presentation, and is called the gate of the Virgin Mary, *Bab el Setta Maria*. On account of a turn in the wall, this gate, though in the east wall of the city, looks to the South towards Mount Zion: it is not, however, strictly speaking, a gate of the city. What, therefore, we reckon the sixth gate, is the dung gate, or sterquiline gate. This is small, not admitting either horses or carriages (of the latter, however, there are none in Jerusalem);

* This is the pilgrims' gate, called also by the Arabs *Bab el Mogarba*, or gate of the Maugrabins.

and from the wall resuming its former direction, it looks towards the east. The last is called Zion gate, or the gate of the prophet David: it looks to the south, and is in that part of the wall which passes over Mount Zion.

The longest wall is that on the north side of the city, which runs from the valley of Gihon on the west, to the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east. The circumference of the area now enclosed within the walls, does not exceed, according to the measurement of Maundrell and Pococke, two of our most accurate travellers, two miles and a half.* The city may be

* Maundrell says: "I was willing, before our departure, to measure the circuit of the city; so, taking one of the friars with me, I went out in the afternoon in order to pace the walls round. We went out at Bethlehem gate, and proceeding on the right hand, came about to the same gate again. I found the whole city 4630 paces in circumferenee, which I computed thus:—

From Bethlehem gate to the corner on the right hand	400
From that corner to Damascus gate	680
From Damascus gate to Herod's	380
From Herod's gate to Jeremiah's prison	150
From Jeremiah's prison to the corner next the valley of Jehoshaphat	225
From that corner to St. Stephen's gate	385
From St. Stephen's gate to the Golden gate	240
From the Golden gate to the corner of the wall	380
From that corner to the Dung gate	470
From the Dung gate to Sion gate	605
From Sion gate to the corner of the wall	215
From that corner to Bethlehem gate	500
In all, paces	4630

"The reduction of my paces to yards, is by casting away a tenth part, ten of my paces making nine yards; by which

roughly stated to be about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. Pococke accurately describes it as standing at the south end of a large plain that extends northwards towards Samaria, though it in fact immediately occupies two small hills, having valleys or ravines on the other three sides; which, to the east and the south, are very deep. That on the east is the valley of Jehoshaphat; that on the south is called the valley of Siloam, and (erroneously) of Gehinnom; that on the west, which is not so deep, the valley of Rephaim. The hills on the other side of these valleys are, for the most part, considerably higher than either Mount Zion or Acra. On the east, Jerusalem is commanded by the Mount of Olives, called Djebel Tor by the Arabs. On the south, by what the Christians absurdly denominate the Hill of Offence and the Hill of Evil Counsel. On the west, by a low rocky flat, which rises towards the north to a commanding elevation: this has been called Mount Gihon. On the north-west, Scopo, where Titus encamped, is also higher ground than that on which Jerusalem stands. So that the Scripture representation of Jerusalem, as guarded by mountains, literally answers to its topographical situation: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people, from henceforth, even for ever."*

The site of the ancient city is so unequivocally marked by its natural boundaries on the three sides

reckoning, the 4630 paces amount to 4167 yards, which make just two miles and a half."—*Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.*

Sir F. Henniker reckoned the regular footpath, outside the walls, to be 5320 paces: he performed the circuit in just forty-five minutes, and estimates it roughly at three miles.

* Psalm cxxv. 2.

where there are ravines, that there can be no difficulty, except with regard to its extent in a northern direction; and this may be ascertained with sufficient accuracy from the minute description given by Josephus. His account of its topography is, after all, the best guide to the modern traveller and antiquary. "The city of Jerusalem," he tells us, "was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley dividing them asunder, at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills terminate. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct: accordingly, it was called the Citadel by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this Temple at the first; but it is by us called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of the moon when she is horned. Over against this there was a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the Temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and, by reason

of the precipices on both sides, are everywhere impassable."*

The Jewish historian then goes on to describe the course of the walls. He says, that the beginning of the third (or outer) wall was at the tower Hippicus, which, D'Anville is of opinion, stood near the south-west angle of the present area of Jerusalem.† From this point it reached as far as the north quarter of the city and the tower Psephinus, and then extended till it came over against the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene. It then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings,‡ and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument called the monument of the Fuller, and joined to the old wall at the valley of Kedron. The tower of Psephinus is, by D'Anville, supposed to have occupied the site of what is called *Castel Pisano*, or the Castle of the Pisans at Bethlehem gate; and the modern name may possibly be only a corruption of the ancient one. It is true, that the citizens of Pisa distinguished themselves in the Crusades, and had establishments and grants at Acre, Tyre, and other places in the Holy Land; and Paolo Tronci, in his Annals of Pisa, claims for two of his countrymen the honour of having been the first who scaled the walls of Jerusalem, when the city was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon. But history throws no other

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, book v. chap. 4.

† Pococke says: "Herod built three towers on the north side of Sion, and gave them the names of Hippicus, Phassælus, and Mariamne. The tower Hippicus was at the north-west corner (of Sion)."

‡ Dr. Clarke reads the words of Josephus thus: "And *being prolonged by* the royal caves, it bent, with a tower at the corner, near the monument," &c.

light on the origin of the name. This tower, the learned geographer understands Josephus to say, flanked the north-west angle of the city; and he imagines that the western wall did not extend farther north, but turned off toward the east. But the words of the Jewish historian by no means imply as much as this: on the contrary, the wall evidently extended northward, beyond the tower Psephinus, to the monuments of Helena. The supposition of D'Anville is, besides, quite at variance with the representation that the ancient city was limited on the western side, as well as on the south and east, only by the ravine. "This direction of the wall," remarks Dr. Richardson, "would suit the opinion of those who contend that the places shewn as the site of the crucifixion, interment, and resurrection, of the blessed Jesus, are what they are represented to be; and this direction of the ancient wall of the city appears to have been chalked out to meet and support that opinion. I can only say, that I saw no vestiges of such a wall remaining, and it would be the most disadvantageous situation possible for a wall of defence, for it must have been drawn along the low ground almost in immediate contact with high ground that would command and overlook it, though it were raised to the height of twenty or thirty feet, or, in some places, forty feet. Besides, it would not make Jerusalem, what it is called by the Psalmist, a compact city, but a long, narrow strip, slightly fortified by nature on the east: which does not correspond to the general description, that it was strongly fortified by nature on all sides but the north. There is another circumstance, that on the north of Bethlehem gate there is a large cistern cut in the rock, which, as legends tell, is the place where David saw the bathing Bathsheba,

and which was probably within the ancient, as it is within the walls of the present town. Moreover, to the north of this, and to the north of the northern wall of the present town, there is another cistern cut in the rock, and half filled up with earth, and which, I think, was also within the walls of the ancient town; and, in my opinion, the western wall of the city stretched along the edge of the ravine, as far as it continues, and then passed over to the brook Kedron. The city was thus encompassed on the west and on the south by the ravine; on the east by the valley of Kedron; and on the north, as is stated by Josephus, it had no protection whatever, but from the wall by which it was enclosed, and which, we are assured by the same authority, was almost impregnable. The fortifications were begun by Herod Agrippa, and, after his death, the Jews purchased from the emperor Claudius, permission to continue them, and went on, and completed the walls, to the height of thirty-seven feet, and in breadth fifteen feet, with great stones of thirty feet long, and fifteen feet broad. One part of Titus's army encamped on Scopus, a hill at the distance of about seven stadia, or seven-eighths of a mile from the city on the north, and which derived its name from its elevated situation affording a fine view of Jerusalem. Between the hill Scopus, and the northern wall of the city, was a sloping plain, which was covered with gardens, monuments, and trees, which were all destroyed; but the ground still answers to the description: generally speaking, it is covered with a thin sprinkling of earth, and is under cultivation. Another division of the Roman army, in which was the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, encamped at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the

Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley which is named Cedron. This ground also answers the description, and confirms the opinion, that the city of Jerusalem occupies the same place now that it did in the days of Titus; only that it is not so large, and does not cover the whole of the space which it did then."*

The royal sepulchres, which Josephus seems to make the northern boundary of the ancient city, lie about a mile distant from the present walls, towards the north-west. Of this extraordinary cemetery, the best account is that furnished by Maundrell and Dr. Clarke.

The first place to which the traveller is conducted, on the north side of the city, is a large grot, a little without the Damascus gate, *said* to have been for some time the residence of the prophet Jeremiah; they pretend to shew as his bed a shelf on the rock, about eight feet from the ground; and the place is held in great veneration by both Turks and Jews, as well as Christians. In Maundrell's time it was a college of dervises. "The next place we came to," that accurate traveller proceeds, "was those famous grots called the Sepulchres of the Kings; but for what reason they go by that name is hard to resolve; for it is certain none of the kings, either of Israel or Judah, were buried here; the Holy Scriptures assigning other places for their sepulchres; unless it may be thought perhaps that Hezekiah was here interred, and that these were the sepulchres of the sons of David, mentioned 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. Whoever was buried here, this is certain, that the place itself discovers

* Travels along the Mediterranean, vol. ii. pp. 351—353.

so great an expense both of labour and treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach to it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the natural rock. This is a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but by time much defaced. At the end of the portico, on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. The door is now so obstructed with stones and rubbish, that it is a thing of some difficulty to creep through it; but within, you arrive in a large fair room, about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room you pass into (I think) six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first. Of these, the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them.

"In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands; but now most of them were broken to pieces by sacrilegious hands. The sides and ceiling of the rooms were always dropping, with the moist damps condensing upon

them. To remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fall constantly into it.

"But the most surprising thing belonging to these subterraneous chambers was their doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left as it were on purpose to puzzle the beholders. It consisted of a plank of stone of about six inches in thickness, and in its other dimensions equalling the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less. It was carved in such a manner as to resemble a piece of wainscot; the stone of which it was made, was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges in the nature of axles. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door; and were contained in two holes of the immoveable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom.

"From this description it is obvious to start a question, how such doors as these were made? whether they were cut out of the rock, in the same place and manner as they now hang? or whether they were brought, and fixed in their station like other doors? One of these must be supposed to have been done; and whichsoever part we choose as most probable, it seems at first glance not to be without its difficulty. But thus much I have to say for the resolving of this riddle (which is wont to create no small dispute amongst pilgrims), viz. that the door which was left hanging, did not touch its lintel by at least two inches; so that I believe it might easily have been lifted up and unhinged. And the doors which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper end twice as long as those at the bottom; which seems to intimate

pretty plainly by what method this work was accomplished.

"From these sepulchres we returned towards the city again, and just by Herod's gate were shewn a grotto full of filthy water and mire. This passes for the dungeon in which Jeremiah was kept by Zedekiah, till enlarged by the charity of Ebed Melech, Jer. xxxviii."

Dr. Clarke's description will supply the best commentary on Maundrell's honest but homely account. He describes these sepulchres as a series of subterranean chambers, forming a sort of labyrinth, resembling the still more wonderful example lying westward of Alexandria in Egypt, by some called the sepulchres of the Ptolemies. "Each chamber," he says, "contains a certain number of receptacles for dead bodies, not being much larger than our coffins, but having the more regular form of oblong parallelograms; thereby differing from the usual appearance presented in the sepulchral crypts of this country, where the *soros*, although of the same form, is generally of very considerable size, and resembles a large cistern. The taste manifested in the interior of these chambers seems also to denote a later period in the history of the arts: the skill and neatness visible in the carving is admirable, and there is much of ornament displayed in several parts of the work.* We observed also some slabs of marble exquisitely sculptured: these we had

* This agrees with Dr. Richardson's brief but more specific description, which the reader may compare with the above. "The road down to them (the tombs of the kings) is cut in the rock, and the entrance is by a large door also cut in the rock. It leads into a deep excavation, open above, about fifty feet long, forty feet wide, and about twenty feet deep. Heaps of sand and earth are piled up along the sides, and the whole has much the appearance of a sand-pit. The west end seems to have been orna-

never seen in the burial-places before mentioned. The entrance is by an open court, excavated in a stratum of white limestone, like a quarry. It is a square of thirty yards. Upon the western site of this area appears the mouth of a cavern, twelve yards wide, exhibiting over the entrance an architrave with a beautifully sculptured frieze. Entering this cavern, and turning to the left, a second architrave appears above the entrance to another cavern, but so near to the floor of the cave as barely to admit the passage of a man's body through the aperture. We lighted some wax tapers, and here descended into the first chamber. In the sides of it were other square openings, like door-frames, offering passages to yet inferior chambers. In one of these we found the lid of a white marble coffin (engraved in Le Bruyn's Travels, 1725); this was entirely covered with the richest and most beautiful sculpture; but, like all the other sculptured work about the place, it represented nothing of the human figure, nor of any animal, but consisted entirely of foliage and flowers, and principally of the leaves and branches of the vine.

"As to the history of this most princely place of burial, we shall find it difficult to obtain much information. That it was not what its name implies, is

mented with the greatest care. A cornice, with triglyph, regulus, and guttæ, passes along the top, and the vine-leaf mantles round the decorations. In the south-west corner, a low, narrow door leads into a series of chambers, in each of which there is a number of excavations, cut in the rock, for the reception of the dead, like those which we saw in Malta and Syracuse, all of which are now empty, and the place is damp and disagreeable. The innermost apartment is adorned above all the rest, and has the mantling vine, with clusters of grapes, twined round the pilasters, and inscribed on the sarcophagi."

very evident, because the sepulchres of the kings of Judah were in Mount Zion. The most probable opinion is maintained by Pococke, who considered it as the sepulchre of Helen, queen of Adiabene. De Chateaubriand has since adopted Pococke's opinion.* Indeed it seems evident, that, by the royal caves, nothing more is intended by Josephus than the regal sepulchre of Helena he had before mentioned, thus repeated under a different appellation." †

There can be little doubt that this royal cemetery was without the walls of the ancient city, but at no great distance; so that Jerusalem must formerly have extended towards the north, nearly a mile beyond the modern town. With this agrees the description given by Josephus of the *fourth* quarter of the city. "For, as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its own limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the Temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger; and caused that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the Tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley or ditch, which was dug on purpose." ‡ Taking in, then, the site of the new town, or Cænopolis, as Bezetha

* This is not quite correct. Chateaubriand mentions the opinion as a plausible conjecture; but afterwards urges the text of Josephus, cited above, as an objection; and, from another passage in the Jewish historian, supposes the caverns to have been the sepulchre of Herod the Tetrarch. "Speaking of the wall which Titus erected to press Jerusalem still more closely than before, he says, that this wall, returning towards the north, enclosed the sepulchre of Herod. Now this is the situation of the royal caverns." —*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 108.

† See note at p. 83.

‡ He informs us, that it was not till the reign of Claudius that this quarter began to be enclosed within the walls; but it must have been inhabited long before as a suburb.

was also called, and that part of Mount Sion which is now without the walls, we shall obtain an area corresponding to the account given us by historians of the extent of the ancient city. Josephus states its circumference to have been thirty-three furlongs, or little more than four miles; that is, nearly twice that of the modern town.

Mount Moriah, on which the Temple stood, was originally an irregular hill, separate from Mount Zion and Acra, as well as from Bezetha. In order to extend the appendages of the Temple over an equal surface, and to increase the area of the summit, it became necessary to support the sides, which formed a square, by immense works. The east side bordered the valley of Jehoshaphat, which was very deep. The south side, overlooking a very low spot, was faced from top to bottom with a strong wall; and Josephus assigns an elevation of not less than 300 cubits (or 450 feet) to this part of the Temple; so that it was necessary, in order to a communication with Mount Zion, to erect a bridge across the valley. The west side looked towards Acra; the appearance of which, from the Temple, is compared to a semicircle, or amphitheatre. On the north side, an artificial ditch separated the Temple from Bezetha. The Tower of Antonia flanked the north-east corner of the Temple. It was built on the rock by Hircanus the First, but was afterwards strengthened and embellished by Herod the Great, who named it after his benefactor, Mark Antony. That execrable but magnificent monarch is stated by Josephus to have rebuilt the second Temple.* According to Josephus, eleven thousand

* There is reason to suppose that the second Temple was not pulled down, but that Herod repaired it, and added considerably to its extent.

labourers were employed on it for nine years; the works were prodigious, and were not completed till after Herod's death. To these "buildings of the Temple," which were probably at the time being carried on, the disciples pointed the attention of our Lord, when he said to them in reply: "See ye not all these things? Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down."* This prediction was literally fulfilled. When the Romans took Jerusalem, Titus ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of the city and the Temple; and Terentius Rufus, the Roman general, is stated to have driven a plough-share over the site of the sacred edifice. When the caliph Omar took Jerusalem, the spot had been abandoned by the Christians. Seid Eben Batrik, an Arabian historian, relates, that the caliph applied to the patriarch Sophronius, and inquired of him, what would be the most proper place at Jerusalem for building a mosque. Sophronius conducted him to the ruins of Solomon's Temple. The caliph Abd-el-Malek made additions to the buildings, and enclosed the rock with walls. His successor, the caliph El Oulid, contributed still more to the embellishment of El Sakhara, and covered it with a dome of copper, gilt, taken from a church at Balbec. The Crusaders converted this temple of Mahommed into a Christian sanctuary, but Saladin restored it to its original use.†

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

SUCH is briefly the history of this splendid monument of Saracenic magnificence, which the especial good fortune of Dr. Richardson, in being allowed to

* Matt. xxiv. 2. † Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 113.

enter the sacred enclosure, has enabled him to describe. Laying aside his white burnouse, that he might not be detected to be a Christian by his colours, he put on a black abba of the Capo Verde's, and, escorted by a black interpreter, ascended the southern slope of Mount Moriah, passed the house of the cadi, and entered the *Haram Schereeff*. "This," continues the doctor, "is the name which is given to the whole space enclosed about the mosque, and is interpreted to mean the grand or noble retirement for devotion. Proceeding forward a few yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and got upon the Stoa Sakhara, an elevated platform, floored with marble all round the mosque; from the door of which we were now distant but a few paces. On our arrival at the door, a gentle knock brought up the sacristan, who, apprized of our arrival, was waiting within to receive us. He demanded, rather sternly, who we were; and was answered by my black conductor in tones not less consequential than his own. The door immediately edged up, to prevent, as much as possible, the light from shining out, and we squeezed ourselves in with a light and noiseless step, although there was no person near who could be alarmed by the loudest sound of our bare feet upon the marble floor. The door was no sooner shut than the sacristan, taking a couple of candles in his hand, shewed us all over the interior of this building; pointing, in the pride of his heart, to the elegant marble walls, the beautifully-gilded ceiling, the well at which the true worshippers drink and wash, with which we also blessed our palates and moistened our beards, the paltry reading-desk, with the ancient Koran, the handsome columns, and the green stone, with the wonderful nails. As soon as we had completed this circuit, pulling a key from his

girdle, he unlocked the door of the railing which separates the outer from the inner part of the mosque, which, with an elevation of two or three steps, led us into the sacred recess. Here he pointed out the patches of mosaic in the floor, and the round flat stone which the prophet carried on his arm in battle; directed us to introduce our hand through the hole in the wooden box to feel the print of the prophet's foot, and through the posts of the wooden rail to feel as well as to see the marks of the angel Gabriel's fingers, into which I carefully put my own, in the sacred stone that occupies the centre of the mosque, and from which it derives the name of Sakhara, or locked up; (over it is suspended a fine cloth of green and red satin, but this was so covered with dust, that, but for the information of my guide, I should not have been able to tell the composing colours;) and, finally, he pointed to the door that leads into the small cavern below, of which he had not the key. I looked up to the interior of the dome; but there being few lamps burning, the light was not sufficient to shew me any of its beauty, further than a general glance. The columns and curiosities were counted over again and again, the arches were specially examined and enumerated, to be sure that I had not missed or forgotten any of them. Writing would have been an ungracious behaviour, calculated to excite a thousand suspicions, that next day would have gone to swell the general current of the city gossip, to the prejudice both of myself and my friend. Having examined the adytum, we once more touched the footstep of the prophet, and the finger-prints of the angel Gabriel, and descended the steps, over which the door was immediately secured. We viewed a second time the interior of the building, drank of the

well, counted the remaining nails in the green stone, as well as the empty holes; then, having put a dollar into the hands of the sacristan, which he grasped very hard with his fist while he obstinately refused it with his tongue, we hied us out at the gate of Paradise, Bab el Jenné, and, having made the exterior circuit of the mosque, we passed by the judgment-seat of Solomon, and descended from the Stoa Sakhara by another flight of steps into the outer field of this elegant enclosure. Here we put on our shoes, and turning to the left, walked through the trees, that were but thinly scattered in the smooth grassy turf, to a house that adjoins the wall of the enclosure, which in this place is also the wall of the city, and which is said to contain the throne of King Solomon. Here there was no admittance; and from this we proceeded to a stair which led up to the top of the wall, and sat down upon the stone on which Mahomet is to sit at the Day of Judgement, to judge the re-imbodied spirits assembled beneath him in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Descending from this seat of tremendous anticipation, which, if Mahomet were made of flesh and blood, would be as trying to him as his countenance would be alarming to the re-imbodied spirits, we walked along the front of El Aksa, the other mosque, which occupies the side, as the Sakhara does the centre, of the enclosure, and arrived at another fountain, where we again washed our beards and tasted the water. We had scarcely advanced half a dozen steps from the cooling wave, when a voice from the window of the cadi's house, as it appeared to me, called out, Who goes there? Had I been alone, and so challenged, I should have been puzzled for an answer, for my tongue would instantly have betrayed me, had I been inclined to counterfeit; but

my sable attendant replied, in a tone of surly and fearless confidence, 'Men, and be d—d to you! what's your business?' The call was from some one of the santones of the mosque, of which Omar Effendi is the head; and hearing the well-known voice of his myrmidon, the challenger slunk into his cell, and we continued our walk, without further interruption, round to the house of the governor, where, having made the circuit of the Haram Schereeff, we retraced our steps, passed out by the gate at which we entered, and regained the house of Omar Effendi. Here I laid aside the black abba, resumed my white burnouse, and walked into the room as gravely as if nothing had happened. The noble Turk, participating in my joy, received me with a smiling countenance, made me sit down by his side, and inquired if I had seen the Sakhara. I rejoined in the affirmative; and perceiving that the cause of my absence was no secret to those who were now assembled around him, I expressed my high admiration of its beauty, and my sincere thanks to him for having permitted me the envied gratification of seeing what had been refused to the whole Christian world, during the long period of its appropriation to the religion of the prophet, with the exception of De Hayes, the ambassador of Louis the Thirteenth, who did not avail himself of the permission.

"He next proceeded to examine me in detail on the different places that I had seen; and when his queries were exhausted, I begged of him to explain to me certain terms used by my guide, which I did not fully comprehend, and afterwards to explain to me the interior of the dome. He regretted that the want of light had prevented me from seeing it, and was proceeding to supply the defect by a verbal description,

when his brother, who was sitting on the other side of the divan, called out, 'Why don't you go in during the day?' The question electrified me with joy; but considering it perhaps as a little rash, I looked at the Capo Verde before making any reply, when he speedily removed all doubt respecting his brother's prudence, by converting the query into the imperative sanction of '*Yes*, go in during the day.' This was no sooner said than cordially accepted, and his brother and cousin, each moving his two fore-fingers in a parallel direction, said 'Sava, Sava, we shall go in together as a token of friendship and respect.' Several other Turks did the same; for in these countries the friendship of the principal person always ensures the officious and often troublesome attention of his inferiors and dependents.

"Next day, having previously provided myself with a pencil, which a friend was kind enough to lend me, I returned at noon to the house of the Capo Verde, which was the time and place fixed for our rendezvous, and immediately, in company with four well-dressed, long-bearded Turks, repaired to the Haram Schereeff, which we entered by the same gate as I had done the evening before.

"This sacred enclosure is the sunny spot of Moslem devotion. There is no sod like that which covers the ample area of its contents, and no mosque at all comparable to the Sakhara. Here the god of day pours his choicest rays in a flood of light, that streaming all round upon the marble pavement, mingles its softened tints in the verdant turf, and leaves nothing to compare with or desire beyond. It seems as if the glory of the Temple still dwelt upon the mosque, and the glory of Solomon still covered the site of his temple. On the same spot and under the same sun the

memory conjures up a thousand delightful remembrances, and contemplates in review the glorious house, the dedication and prayer of the wisest of kings, spreading forth his hands in the midst of his people, the fire descending upon the burnt-offering and the sacrifice, and the glory of the Lord filling the house; with the people bowing down with their faces to the pavement, and worshipping and praising the Lord, 'for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.' The spectator forgets that it is a house of foreign devotion, and feels as if, in the radiant opalescence of its light, an inviting ray was sent forth to the heart of every returning Israelite to this ancient centre of prayer. There is no reflected light like the light from the Sakhara: like the glorious sun itself, it stands alone in the world, and there is but one spot on earth, where all things typical were done away, that sinks a deeper interest into the heart of the Christian.

"The dimensions of this noble enclosure, as furnished me by the cousin of Omar Effendi, are, in length, six hundred and sixty peeks of Constantinople, that is, about one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine feet, measuring from the arch of prayer in El Aksa to the Bab el Salam, or gate of peace, which is the name of the gate on the opposite end. In breadth it is four hundred and forty peeks, or nine hundred and ninety-five feet, measuring from Allah dien to the gate Beseri on the west.

"This spacious square is enclosed on the east and on the south by the wall of the city; through which there is only one gate, and that leads into El Aksa on the south. There were formerly two gates on the east side, and the gate of Tobet, Bab el Tobe, both of which are now built up. The other two sides of the

square are in the town. The west side is enclosed by a line of Turkish houses, and is entered by five gates; the north side is enclosed partly by a wall, and partly by Turkish houses, and is entered by three gates. Having passed in by either of these gates, the visitor enters what may be called the outer court of the Haram Schereeff, which is a fine smooth, level space all round the Stoa Sakhara, falling with a gentle slope towards the east, and covered with a thick sward of grass, with orange, olive, cypress, and other trees scattered over it in different places, but no where forming a thicket.

"In the sacred retirement of this charming spot, the followers of the prophet delight to saunter or repose as in the Elysium of their devotion, and arrayed in the gorgeous costume of the East, add much to the beauty, the interest, and solemn stillness of the scene, which they seem loth to quit either in going to or coming from the house of prayer. In the midst of this court, but nearer to the west and south sides, there is an elevated platform, which is about four hundred and fifty feet square, and is called Stoa Sakhara; some parts of it are higher than others, as the ground on which it is erected is more or less elevated, but it may be said to average about twelve or fourteen feet above the level of the grassy court. It is accessible on all sides by a number of spacious stairs, that appear to have answered originally to exterior gates of entrance into the Haram Schereeff. There are three on the west side, two on the north, one on the east side, and two on the south: that on the east fronts the obstructed golden gate; it is more worn than any of the rest, and much in want of repair. These stairs are all surmounted at the top with lofty arches; some

of them have four arches, so that one stair leads to four entrances into the Stoa Sakhara, and has a most magnificent and triumphal appearance.

"The platform, or Stoa Sakhara, is paved with fine polished marble, chiefly white, with a shade of blue; some of the stones look very old, are curiously wrought and carved, and have evidently belonged to a former building. There are no trees on the Stoa Sakhara, but there are tufts of grass in many places, from the careless manner in which it is kept, which afford great relief to the eye from the intense glare of light and heat reflected from the marble pavement. Round the edge of the Stoa Sakhara, there are numbers of small houses; five of which on the north side are occupied by santones or religious ascetics; one on the south is for the doctors of the law to hold their consultations in; one on the west for containing the oil for painting the brick and tile for the repair of the Sakhara; the rest are places of private prayer for the different sects of Mussulmans or believers, which is the meaning of the word.

"But the great beauty of the platform, as well as of the whole enclosure, is the Sakhara itself, which is nearly in the middle of the platform, and but a little removed from the south side; it is a regular octagon of about sixty feet a side, and is entered by four spacious doors. Bab el Garbi on the west; Bab el Shergy, or Bab Nebbe Daoud, or gate of the prophet David on the east; Bab el Kabla, or gate towards which the Mussulman turns his face in prayer, on the south; and Bab el Jenné, or gate of the garden, on the north. Each of these doors is adorned with a porch, which projects from the line of the building, and rises considerably up on the wall. The lower

84087

story of the Sakhara is faced with marble, the blocks of which are of different sizes, and many of them evidently resting on the side or narrowest surface. They look much older on a close inspection than they do when viewed from a distance, and their disintegration indicates a much greater age than the stones of the houses, said to have been built in the time of the mother of Constantine the Great; and probably both they and the aged stones in the flooring on the Stoa Sakhara, formed part of the splendid temple that was destroyed by the Romans. Each side of the Sakhara is pannelled; the centre stone of one pannel is square, of another it is octagonal, and thus they alternate all round: the sides of each pannel run down the angles of the building like a plain pilaster, and give the appearance as if the whole side of the edifice was set in a frame. The marble is white with a considerable tinge of blue, and square pieces of blue marble are introduced in different places, so as to give the whole a pleasing effect. There are no windows in the marble part or lower story of the building. The upper story of this elegant building is faced with small tiles of about eight or nine inches square; they are painted of different colours, white, yellow, green, and blue, but blue prevails throughout. They are covered with sentences from the Koran; though of this fact I could not be certain, on account of the height, and my imperfect knowledge of the character: there are seven well-proportioned windows on each side, except where the porch rises high, and then there are only six, one of which is generally built up, so that only five are effective. The whole is extremely light and beautiful; and from the mixture of the soft colours above, and the pannelled work and

blue and white tinge of the marble below, the eye is more delighted with beholding it than any building I ever saw.

"The admiration excited by the appearance of the exterior was not diminished by a view of the interior, the arrangements of which are so managed as to preserve throughout the octagonal form, agreeably to the ground plan of the building. The inside of the wall is white, without any ornament; and I confess I am one of those who think ornaments misplaced in a house of prayer, or any thing tending to distract the mind when it comes there to hold converse with its God. The floor is of grey marble, and was then much covered with dust, from some repairs that were executing on the dome.

"A little within the door of the Bab el Jenné, or west door, there is a flat polished slab of green marble, which forms part of the floor. It is about fourteen inches square, and was originally pierced by eighteen nails, which would have kept their place, but for the amazing chronometrical virtues with which they were endowed. For such is their magical temper, that they either hold or quit, according to the times; and on the winding up of each great and cardinal event, a nail has regularly been removed to mark its completion; and so many of these signal periods have already rolled by, each clenched by an accompanying nail, that now only three and a half remain, fourteen and a half having been displaced in a supernatural manner. I was anxious to learn what great event had drawn the first nail, the second, the third, and so onward in succession; whether they had taken their departure one at a time, or had fled in divided portions, as seems to be the fashion now; or whether the sly disappearance of half a nail marked the silent

course of time in the accomplishment of half an event, as that of a whole nail indicated the consummation of one whole event. But on all these important points I could learn nothing; neither could any one inform me when the last half nail took its flight, nor when the other half was expected to follow. It is an equally recondite matter, known only to the wise in wonders, how the nails got into the stone, as how they get out of it. Thus much, however, the hierophants vouchsafed to communicate, that, when all the nails shall have made their escape, all the events contained in the great map of time will then have been unfolded, and that there will then be an end of the world, or nothing but a dull monotonous succession till the final consummation of all things. My conductor also gravely informed me, that underneath this stone, Solomon, the son of David, lies buried. All of which solemn nonsense it was proper for me to hear, without appearing to doubt either the information, or the source from which it came.

"The well at the inside of the Bab el Garbé, the reading-desk, and the ancient copy of the Koran, have been already mentioned; to which I may add the awkward narrow wooden staircase that leads to the top of the building: and these comprise all the objects worthy of notice that occur between the wall and the first row of columns within the Sakhara.

"There are twenty-four columns in the first row, placed parallel with the eight sides of the building, three opposite to each side, so as still to preserve the octagonal form. They are all of the same kind of marble, but rather of a darker hue than that on the exterior of the building. Eight of them are large square plain columns, of no order of architecture, and all placed opposite to the eight entering angles of

the edifice; they are indented on the inner side, so that they furnish an acute termination to the octagonal lines within. Between every two of the square columns there are two round columns, well proportioned, and resting on a base. They are from eighteen to twenty feet high, with a sort of Corinthian capital. I did not remark that it was gilt, which, had it been the case, I think I must have done, having specially noted that the leaf is raised, and turned over, but that I did not consider it the true leaf of the Corinthian capital. A large square plinth of marble extends from the top of the one column to the other, and above it there are constructed a number of arches all round. The abutments of two separate arches rest upon the plinths above the capital of each column, so that there are three arches opposed to each side of the building, making twenty-four in the row of columns. The arches are slightly pointed, and support the inner end of the roof, or ceiling, which is of wood plastered, and ornamented in compartments of the octagonal form, and highly gilt; the outer end of the roof rests upon the walls of the building. The intercolumnal space is vacant. Not so in the inner circle of columns, to which we now proceed. They are about two paces from the outer row, and are only sixteen in number. There are four large square columns, one opposed to each alternate angle of the building, and three small round columns between each of them. Their base rests upon an elevation of the floor, and they are capitalled and surmounted with arches, the same as in the outer row: this inner row of columns supports the dome. The intercolumnal space is occupied by a high iron railing, so that all entrance to the holy stone, or centre of the mosque, is

completely shut up, except by one door, which is open only at certain hours for the purposes of devotion.

"This central compartment is elevated about three feet above the outer floor, and the ascent to it is by a flight of four steps. On entering it along with the Turks, we found there several rather shabbily-dressed ill-looking people engaged in their devotions. One of them was a female, of a mean rustic appearance, and so extremely stupid, that she was praying with her face to the west; which so provoked one of my conductors, that he went up and roused her from her knees, and having given her a hearty scolding, turned her round and made her pray with her face to the south, whibh she very obediently did without any demur. Within this row of columns the floor is also paved with marble, and the blue and white columns are so mixed, as in some places to form a sort of mosaic. Proceeding on to the right, we came to a round flat stone of polished marble, which is raised high, and attached to the side of one of the square columns. This stone, I was informed, the prophet carried on his arm in battle. It is a ponderous and a very unlikely shield. It is broken through the middle, probably from a blow aimed at its master by an infidel hand. Opposite to this, and on the end of the holy stone, which I am about to describe, there is a high, square wooden box, with an opening on one side of it, large enough to admit the hand to feel the print of Mahomet's foot, which he left there, either when he prayed or when he flew up to heaven. I put in my hand and touched it, to stroke my face and beard, as I saw the Mussulmans do. It is so completely covered that it cannot be seen.

"But that to which this temple owes both its name

and existence, is a large irregular oblong mass of stone that occupies the centre of the mosque. It is a mass of compact limestone, the same as that of the rock on which the city stands, and of the other mountains about Jerusalem; and if I had not been told that it is a separate stone, I should have imagined it a part of the native rock that had been left unremoved, when the other parts were levelled down for the foundation of the building. It rises highest towards the south-west corner, and falls abruptly at the end where are the prints of the prophet's foot. It is irregular on the upper surface, the same as when it was broken from the quarry. It is enclosed all round with a wooden railing about four feet high, and which in every place is nearly in contact with the stone. I have already mentioned that there is a large cover of variously-coloured satin suspended above it, and nothing can be held in greater veneration than the Hadjr el Sakhara, or the locked-up stone. Under it there is an apartment dug in the solid rock, which is entered by a stair that opens to the south-east. But into this excavation I never was admitted, although I was four times in the mosque, and went there twice with the express assurance that I should be shown into it. However, when I arrived, the key was always wanting; and when the keeper of it was sought for, he never could be found. They assured me, however, that it was very small, and that it contained nothing but robes; and Ali Bey, who having professed himself a Mussulman, visited this excavation, says, that it is an irregular square of about eighteen feet in circumference, and eight feet high in the middle;—that in the bottom it contains two marble tablets, one of which is called the place of David, the other the place of Solomon; two niches, the one of which is called the place of

Abraham, the other the place of Gabriel; and, lastly, a stone table, Makam el Hodar, which is rendered by him the place of Elias; but the name Hodar was always translated to me St. George, as Maharab el Hodar, the Arch of St. George; and though the Mussulmans frequently confound the two, yet, I believe, they never give Elias the name of Hodar.

"However, this stone has other weighty pretensions to the veneration of the Mahomedans than the print of the angel Gabriel's fingers or the prophet's foot; for, like the Palladium of ancient Troy, it fell from heaven, and lighted on this very spot, at the time that prophecy commenced in Jerusalem. Here the ancient prophets sat, and prophesied, and prayed; and as long as the spirit of vaticination continued to visit the holy men in the holy city, the stone remained quiet for their accommodation; but when prophecy ceased, and the persecuted seers girt up their loins and fled, the stone, out of sympathy, wished to accompany them; but the angel Gabriel interposed his friendly aid, and, grasping the stone with a mighty hand, arrested its flight, and nailed it to its rocky bed till the arrival of Mahomet; who, horsed on the lightning's wing, flew thither from Mecca, joined the society of 70,000 ministering angels, and, having offered up his devotions to the throne of God, fixed the stone immoveably in this holy spot, around which the Kalif Omar erected the present elegant structure.

"Having satisfied ourselves with the interior and lower part of the mosque, we ascended the narrow and comfortless wooden stair to the top of it; and in our ascent, had a full view of the immense wooden beams that compose the ceiling. The roof of the mosque is covered with lead, from the wall to the dome. It slopes gently, so that we walked along

it with ease. The walls rise above it about seven feet, so that no part of the roof is visible from the ground below. The wall of the dome is round, and the sides of the perpendicular part of it are faced up with blue, green, white, and yellow painted tiles, the same as the upper part of the building. Blue is the prevailing colour. It is divided into alternate compartments of close and reticulated work; and is covered in at the top with lead, the same as the roof of the building. It was then undergoing repair. The workmen were taking out the old bricks, which were much decayed, and introducing new ones, which were painted after a different pattern; but all of us thought that the old work was better, and the patterns handsomer than the new. The scaffolding erected for these repairs so obstructed the admission of light into the interior of the dome, that I never had a satisfactory view of it. From what I saw, it exhibited a faint, but elegant display of various colours; and I was informed that it was excessively brilliant, and was ornamented with different kinds of precious stones. The height of the dome is about ninety feet, and the diameter about forty feet. From the roof of the mosque there is a delightful view of the city and scenery about Jerusalem, in the contemplation of which we remained about an hour.

"Leaving the Sakhara, we proceeded to the Mosque el Aksa, the name given to the other house of devotion contained within this sacred enclosure; though a very fine and elegant mosque in the interior, it is greatly inferior to it, both in beauty and sanctity. It is also called the Mosque of the Women, because it contains a separate place assigned them for prayer; and Djamai Omar, or Mosque of the Kalif Omar, who used to pray in it. The place in which he performed

his devotions is still exhibited. This was anciently a church, and in the Christian days of the Holy City was called the Church of the Presentation, meaning thereby, of the infant Jesus; or of the Purification, meaning thereby, of the Virgin Mary. A narrow aisle on the right, off the body of the church, is shewn as the place where she presented her son in the temple. The mosque is in the form of a long square, and would answer very well for a Christian church at present, were it not for the superabundance of columns in the anterior, which assimilate it more to an Egyptian temple.

"The Mosque El Aksa lies to the south of the Sakhara, and close to the southern wall of the enclosure, which is also the wall of the city. It is nearly opposite to the Kob el Kebla, which is by far the finest door of the Sakhara. Between the two there is a beautiful fountain, called the orange fountain, from a clump of orange trees which grow near it. It has seven arches in front, which are slightly pointed; and three square abutments, which support the front of the building, look like so many square columns. These arches cover a piazza, which affords an agreeable walk all along the front of the building. The door of entrance is in the centre, and opens into the middle aisle of the mosque, which is remarkably clean and spacious, and covered with mats. The ceiling is flat, and supported by three rows of columns on each hand. The two middle rows are round, the others are square, and all are surmounted by arches, as in the Sakhara, and coarsely finished. Elegance is not the boast of this house of Moslem devotion. Three large lamps suspended from the ceiling, with three burners in each, served to light it up during the night. The apartment for the females is enclosed

on the left. At the further end of the aisle, fronting the door, there is a large pulpit, which is highly ornamented with pieces of variegated marble, as if it had formed part of a Christian altar, and adorned with two marble columns on each side, and arched over the top like an arcade. Standing immediately in front of this, we are directly under the Kob el Aksa, or dome of El Aksa, which is supported by four large columns, surmounted by arches, as in the Sakhara. The dome is painted of different colours, and lighted by windows in the side. The glass in these windows is also painted blue, yellow, red, and green. The light admitted through such a medium is softened and delightful, and calculated to inspire sentiments suited to a place of worship. To the right, near the pulpit, there is a small place enclosed with a wooden rail, and covered with green cushions, for the cadi. Near to this there is a separate place for the singers. Up a narrow stone stair, I was shewn a small room appropriated to the devotions of the Sultan; but the state of disrepair in which it then was, shews that the sublime potentate, or his representative, seldom visits this place of prayer. On the left, in a direct line from the pulpit, there is a long uncomfortable vault, in which the Kalif Omar used to pray. Between this and the apartment built off for the females, in a recess formed by building up the space between two of the columns, there is a niche in the wall at which the Mussulmans pray, called the door of mercy. We have now completed the examination of the interior of the Mosque El Aksa; and here my guide kneeling down, performed his devotions, having requested me to stand beside him till he had done, when we immediately sallied out of the mosque, and entered into some of the contiguous small houses, where the work-

men were engaged in mixing the lime, and preparing the plaster for the repair of the Sakhara. Though I was escorted by some of the principal Turks of the Holy City, yet I easily perceived their anxiety that I should be as little observed as possible; and although some of the Moslems whom I met, condescended to salute me in a friendly manner, yet others looked perfectly savage, and one of them even remonstrated with the chamberlain of Omar Effendi for bringing me there.

"Here I would beg leave to remark, that if this mosque, El Aksa, be built on the site of Solomon's temple, the Sakhara cannot occupy the site of the Holy of Holies; for the two are at a greater distance from each other than the whole length of Solomon's temple, which was only ninety feet. The door of mercy probably occupies the place of the mercy-seat; and the two large granite columns were probably exhibited in the days of its Romanism, as the successors of the two brazen pillars, Jachin and Boaz, that ornamented the porch of the temple of Solomon.

"From El Aksa we proceeded to the south-east corner of the enclosure; where the keeper having unlocked the door, we descended a flight of steps, and came into a small square chamber, which is called the grotto of Sidn Aisa, or grotto of the Lord Jesus. It contains the Sereer Sidn Aisa, the bed or tomb of the Lord Jesus, which is in the form of a sarcophagus, with a small round pillar erected on each angle, supporting a canopy above. The pillars are jagged or fretted both at top and bottom, and plain and polished in the middle. The bed or sarcophagus is of the common compact limestone of the country. It could never have been a bath, for it is not capacious enough to hold an adequate depth of water, and it is cut

and formed exactly in the same manner as the excavations for the reception of the bodies in what are called the tombs of the kings of Judah. The columns are of variegated marble, and are apparently of Roman workmanship, and seem to have been erected with the view of supporting a curtain to be drawn or withdrawn according as the object which it covered was to be seen or concealed. Why is this square chamber called the grotto of the Lord Jesus? and why is this stone trough called the bed of the Lord Jesus? These queries shall afterwards be considered. In the same chamber there were three other stone troughs of a similar description, but without any columns, which were severally denominated the beds of Mary, of John, and of Zacharias; the mother, the forerunner, and the father of the forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ: the three persons most particularly indicated in the New Testament as connected with the appearance of the Messiah. And, when we consider that Jerusalem, in the early ages of Christianity, was entirely a Christian city, perhaps we do not go too far in stating, that this grotto and these stone troughs were once exhibited by the religious hierophants, as the Holy Sepulchre, and the others as the tombs of the different individuals whose names they bear. When the Saracens captured the city, they took the Christian Church of the Purification, the grotto of Sidn Aisa, retained the tombs that they found within, and called them by the names which the Christians had given them, as the Turks still continue to do.

"From the grotto of Sidn Aisa, we descended another flight of steps, and came into what is called the Berca Solymon,—a subterranean colonnade, raised to support the lower edge of the enclosure called Harám Schereeff and a small superincumbent

building, appropriated for the devotion of the sect Hambali. The tops of the columns are surmounted by arches, the same as those in the Sakhára and El Aksa. The columns are about four feet and a half square, and consist of three stones each; each stone is about five feet long, and is bevelled at the ends and at the corners, so that the joinings form a small niche, like revealed rustic. The stones have been remarkably well cut; but they are much more disintegrated than they are likely to have become in the station that they at present occupy, during the period of eleven hundred years; and have a much older appearance than the arches which they support. The style of cutting and joining the stones that we see in these columns, is quite different from any other architecture in Jerusalem, and from any thing that I have ever seen, except in the foundation-stones in the temple or castle at Baalbec. The Turks ascribe the erection of these columns to Solomon, the son of David. We are informed that the inner court of Solomon's temple was built of three rows of hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams; and the order from Cyrus for rebuilding the temple, mentions three rows of great stones and a row of new timber. It is not improbable that these columns are constructed of the stones above-mentioned: the workmanship, in my opinion, is decidedly Jewish.

"Some of the arches appear to have been giving way, and are built up by a solid wall passing between the two columns. The different arches are characterised by different names. One is called the arch of Aaron, the brother of Moses; another is called the arch of the Apostles; and a third is called the arch of St. George. There was a small and apparently accidental opening, as if the earth had dropped through

from the harám or outer court of the enclosure. This they called the private entrance of Solomon, the son of David; and between the first row of columns and the wall on the right, whence I entered the colonnade, they shewed me a large slab that covers a stone chest, in which Solomon had shut up the devil, because he had neglected his orders to bring him his favourite queen Belgeess, at a time when he was very impatient to see her. I have told the tale as it was told to me, and as it is believed by every Mussulman in Jerusalem. The Koran sets forth, that sundry devils were under the command of Solomon, to dive to get him pearls, and do him other works besides. The whole of this subterraneous colonnade is called Habsul, or the hidden; and when we compare the accumulation of rubbish in other parts of the town with the depth of the rubbish in the Harám Schereeff, I think there is little doubt that the columns once were above ground. They rest upon rock or large coarse stones regularly laid. The Turks informed me that there are three thousand such columns under El Aksa. I saw the stair that leads down to them, but we did not enter; the key could not be found, as was the case when we wanted to enter the grotto under the Sakhara.

"Leaving the colonnade, we ascended the steps, passed through the grotto of Sidn Aisa, regained the open air, and proceeded along the side of the eastern wall of the Harám Schereeff to the house which contains the *Coursi* Solymon, or throne of Solomon: but still there was no key; and in looking at the window, I merely saw the five brass knobs that adorned the arms and top of the chair, looking through the curtain of green cloth with which it was covered. As we passed along to it from the subterraneous

colonnade above-mentioned, we saw, in two places where the ground had been turned up, several fragments of marble columns; and wherever the sward was broken, the ground below exhibited a conglomeration of rubbish of former buildings that had anciently adorned this sacred enclosure, now levelled and smoothed over for its present use.

"There are four sects amongst the Mussulmans who are accounted orthodox. The first, and at present the most respected, is that of the Hanifites, so named from Father Hanifah, its founder, who was born at Coufah, on the Euphrates, in the eightieth year of the Hedjra, and died in prison at Bagdadt in the seventieth year of his age. The Turks and Tartars, the sultans, kings, and judges, are of this sect. The last-mentioned hold public discussions, deliver public orations, and are called the followers of reason. If a person be liable to any sudden discharge of blood, and it should surprise him in the time of his devotions, by the laws of the sect he must not wait to finish them, but must immediately retire and wash; and when the hemorrhage is stopped, may return and conclude his prayers. If, however, he change his sect, which he may do to that of Shafei, he may continue his devotions notwithstanding the presence of his infirmity. Military or naval commanders are never of this sect. The elegant mosque of the Sakhara belongs to it, and is exclusively their appropriate place of prayer, though those of other sects occasionally frequent it.

"The second orthodox sect of Mussulmans is that of Malek, who was born in Medina about the ninetieth year of the Hedjra, and died there in the one hundred and seventy-eighth year of the same epoch. He is chiefly followed in Egypt, Barbary, and other

parts of Africa. They have a place of prayer in the south-west corner of the Harám Schereeff.

"The third orthodox sect is that of Shafei, who was born at Gaza, or Askelon, in the one hundred and fiftieth year of the Hedjra, was educated at Mecca, and died in Egypt in the two hundred and fourth year of the same epoch. The members of this sect say their prayers in El Aksa.

"The fourth orthodox sect is that of Hanbal, who was born in the one hundred and sixty-fourth year of the Hedjra, and died at Bagdadt in the year two hundred and forty-one of the same epoch. The place of prayer belonging to this sect is in the north-east corner of the Harám Schereeff; but there is none of them in Jerusalem at present. They are chiefly confined to Mecca, though some of them are still to be found in Nablous and Damascus.

"Notwithstanding that each of these sects has a separate place of prayer assigned to it within these holy precincts, yet, on Fridays, which is the Mussulman's Sabbath, they all pray together in El Aksa, and, in the times of their festivals, all pray on the platform, or Stoa Sakhara. I do not exactly know the particular points in which these four sects differ from each other. All are understood to be equally orthodox expounders of the Koran; and I believe the principal differences consist in the degrees of attention that each thinks it necessary to bestow on his person previously to engaging in the ceremonies of his religion."

Father Roger, a monkish traveller, who professes to have gained admission into the temple by stratagem, assigns a curious reason for the extreme jealousy manifested by the Turks with regard to any Christians setting foot within the enclosure. "If a Christian

were to gain access into the court of the temple, whatever prayers he might offer up in this place, according to the notion of the Turks, God would not fail to grant, were he even solicited to put Jerusalem into the hands of the Christians. For this reason, besides the prohibition issued against Christians, to enter not only the temple, but even the court, upon pain of being burned alive, or turning Mahommedans, they kept a vigilant guard."* Ali Bey says: "The Mussulman religion acknowledges but two temples, that of Mecca, and that of Jerusalem: both are named El Haram, and both are equally prohibited by the law to Christians, Jews, and every other person who is not a Mussulman. The mosques in Arabic are named *El Djammàa*, or the place of assembly: they are respectable places, it is true, but they are not consecrated by the especial presence of the Divinity. Entrance into them is not prohibited to infidels by any canonical precept: the people, however, do not like to see strangers in them; nor can the latter enter them except by virtue of an order from a public authority. For even at Constantinople, Christians enter the Mosque of St. Sophia, and the other mosques, when they are bearers of a firmaun granted by government. But no Mussulman governor dares permit an infidel to pass into the territory of Mecca, or into the Temple of Jerusalem. A permission of this kind would be looked upon as a horrid sacrilege; it would not be respected by the people, and the infidel would become the victim of his imprudent boldness."†

Dr. Richardson was indebted purely to his professional character for his influence with the Capo Verde, or Green Turban, the Mahommedan primate

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 118.
† Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 215.

of Jerusalem; and no other authority than his would have been sufficient to ensure him either an introduction to the temple, or protection. The character of the physician is held in such estimation by the Orientals, as to partake of a sort of ecclesiastical sanctity. He who is a physician, is pardoned for being a Christian: religious and national prejudices disappear before him, and even the recesses of harems are thrown open to him. "The physician who visits Jerusalem," says Dr. Richardson, "may assure himself of a cordial reception, provided he is properly recommended; and the best of all recommendations is that of travelling with a family of distinction. Both Turks and Arabs and Oriental Christians are perfect gluttons in physic, and place greater confidence in its wonder-working powers than the more enlightened people in Europe are disposed to do; but they have been so often gulled by pretenders to the art, that a solitary traveller declaring himself to be of that profession is looked upon with suspicion, and must work his way through lengthened files of gossipping quacks and anile competitors, fraught with legions of nostrums from every country under heaven, against every ailment with which the human body can be assailed, from a scratch of the finger to a scirrhous ulcer or a pestilential boil. But all their clamours are silenced by such an introduction; his prescriptions are received with unlimited confidence, and applications for advice are without end. Crowds of invalids,—the halt, the blind, the lame, and the sick of every disease, collected from all quarters of the country, assail him, so that unless he give his whole time up to them, he will find it impossible to satisfy their demands. It is the hardest of all refusals for a medical man at any time to decline giving advice for the

health of a fellow-creature, but more especially so in Jerusalem. The patients seize upon him as if only he stood between them and death: they fall down before him on the ground, grasp his legs, kiss his feet, and supplicate him, for the love of God, to look at them, and prescribe for their complaints. They rarely present him with silver or gold; but the father, the mother, the sister, the brother, or some friend or relation of the patient, stands by with a sheep, a lamb, or a goat, a chaplet of beads, a carved shell, or some other portion of his property, to reward him for his trouble. The soul is touched when the body suffers, and any thing for health. Whether he is in his lodgings, walks in the streets, or sits down in the market-place, the physician is equally beset; some needy sufferer finds him out, and comes up under the wing of some favoured Turk, who prefers an unnecessary request in behalf of the invalid: no sooner has he prescribed for one, than another victim of disease pathetically assails him; and thus he is kept in constant employ, and hunted, as if by a dog, both over town and country.

"The medical practitioner who travels in these countries, and wishes to be useful, which it is hoped every member of the profession does, should take along with him a set of surgical instruments, particularly such as are necessary for operations on the eye, and for laying open fistulous sores; also a chest of medicines well stored with calomel and jalap, bark, the liquor of ammonia, which, from the debilitated state of the digestive organs, occasioned by the excessive use of tobacco, he will find of great service; powders for making soda-water, and the spirits of nitrous ether, he will find universally called for; and a small quantity of them will be sufficient to secure him the temporary

friendship of any great man in the country; he ought also to take opium along with him, which, strange as it may appear, I hardly ever found good in those countries; and he will find the ointment of the nitrate of mercury of great service in the eruptive diseases on which he will often be consulted. Such other medicines as he may have occasion for, he will generally meet with in the convents or the shops of the country. If it fall to his lot, as it did to mine, he will have many eyes to operate upon, and many fistulous sores to lay open, most of them arising from neglected gunshot wounds, which are very frequent in those countries, where every man who carries a gun may fire it almost with impunity at any other man who comes in his way."

On leaving the Harám Schereeff, our favoured traveller passed out by the gate called Bab el Sette Mariam, which is close by the gate of the city called St. Stephen's gate; and, turning to the left, proceeded along a narrow street, which, in a short time, brought him to the *Serai*, or palace of the governor; an old irregular building, in bad repair, apparently of Roman architecture, *said* to occupy the site of Pontius Pilate's palace. The monks pretend to shew in this house the very room in which our Lord was kept in custody. The palace joins the wall of the Harám Schereeff; and from the south side of it, there is a delightful view of the sacred enclosure. A little onward is the arch called *Ecce Homo*. The street between the Serai and the church of the Sepulchre is the *Strada Dolorosa*, or mournful way; which the monkish cicerones of Jerusalem gravely point out as the way by which our Lord was led to his crucifixion. It crosses the road leading to the Damascus gate, and then proceeds up an ascent to what is now called

Calvary; which is described by Dr. Richardson as by no means high, but merely a bluff point on the lower slope of the mountain base, as it approaches the edge of the lower ground on which the centre of the city stands. To the north and west, the rock rises considerably above it. That is to say, the spot ignorantly fixed upon as the site of the crucifixion, so far from ever having been without the walls of the ancient city, (as, from the Scriptures, we know that Calvary was,) is on the lower part of the sloping hill which Josephus distinguished by the name of Acra, near where it was joined to Mount Moriah by the filling up of the interjacent ravine, under the Asmonean princes; consequently near the centre of the city.*

* The historical evidence in favour of the supposed identity of the sacred places, mainly rests on an assertion of Jerome's (*Epist. ad Paulinum de Instit. Monac.*), that "from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine, an interval of about 180 years, an image of Jupiter marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and a statue of Venus the place of the Resurrection; the persecutors of the Christians thinking to destroy the faith of the Cross, by thus polluting with idols the sacred places." This representation, as Dr. Clarke has remarked, is at direct variance with the assertion cited by Chateaubriand from the author of the "Epitome of the Holy Wars," that Adrian gave the Christians permission to build a church over the tomb of their God. Dion Cassius states, that Adrian built a city on the site of Jerusalem, giving it the name of Ælia Capitolina, and *that in the place where the Temple of God had been, he erected one to Jupiter.* Jerome seems to have confounded the site of the Temple with the place of the Resurrection. Gibbon says, on the authority of Jerome and Tillemont: "Either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ." There is no proof of any such design; nor could we, on the mere testimony of Sozomen, admit the credibility of such an accident. But the spot in question, as we have seen, could never have been either a burial-place or a place of crucifixion, not being without the city. Dr. Clarke supposes that the accidental fissure in the rock, which is shewn by the priests as the effect of the earth-

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is built partly on the low ground and partly on the ascent. It is not entered from the Via Dolorosa; the traveller has to ascend the next street, and then, turning to the left, to proceed along a winding descent, till he arrives at the large open court in front of the church, where he will find every thing his heart can wish in the form of crucifixes, carved shells, beads and bracelets, saints and sherbet; all exposed to sale, and the venders seated on the ground beside their wares. The court is bounded by the wings of the convent: that on the right contains Mount Calvary, and other supposititious sacred places; that on the left, the Greek chapel, and anciently the belfry. The door of the church faces the court; it is on the side of the building. It is open only on certain days in the week, and certain hours in each day. To get it opened at any other

quake, might lead the Empress Helena to fix on the spot now called Calvary, as the site of the crucifixion. The mode resorted to for discovering the cross, by inflicting tortures on the Jews, and the miracle which distinguished the true cross out of the three produced by the Jews, which are parts of the tale, betray the wretched ignorance and superstition of the principal agents in these transactions. Theodoret affirms, that Helena, on her arrival at Jerusalem, found the fane of Venus, and ordered it to be thrown down. The old lady was then about eighty years of age. If such fane existed, (Jerome, we have seen, says merely *statua ex marmore Veneris*,) a sufficient reason would be furnished for selecting the place: the pagan edifice, instead of being thrown down, would have been doubtless transformed into a Christian temple, and the legend be adapted to the locality. In like manner, the church of the Purification, which occupied the site of the mosque of El Aksa, was probably no other, originally, than the temple erected by Hadrian to Jupiter.

time, it is necessary to have an order of the two convents, the Latin and the Greek, with the sanction of the governor of the city. When open, the door is always guarded by Turks, who exact a tribute from all who enter. Once admitted, the visiters may remain all night, if they please. The crowd pressing for admittance on certain days is immense; and the Turks, who keep the door, treat them in the roughest manner, notwithstanding that they pay for admission, squeezing and beating them about like so many cattle. "It must be allowed," says Dr. Richardson, "that they are often extremely riotous, and conduct themselves in a manner very unbecoming their character of pilgrims."

"Having passed within these sacred walls, the attention is first directed to a large flat stone in the floor, a little within the door; it is surrounded by a rail, and several lamps hang suspended over it. The pilgrims approach it on their knees, touch, and kiss it, and, prostrating themselves before it, offer up their prayers in holy adoration. This is the stone on which the body of our Lord was washed and anointed, and prepared for the tomb. Turning to the left, and proceeding a little forward, we came into a round space immediately under the dome, surrounded with sixteen large columns that support the gallery above. In the centre of this space stands the holy sepulchre; it is enclosed in an oblong house, rounded at one end with small arcades or chapels for prayer in the outside of it, for the devotion of the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Syrian, Maronite, and other Christians, who are not, like the Roman Catholics, the Greeks, and the Armenians, provided with large chapels in the body of the church. At the other end it is squared off and fur-

nished with a platform in front, which is ascended by a flight of steps, having a small parapet wall of marble on each hand, and being floored with the same material. In the middle of this small platform stands a block of polished marble about a foot and a half square; on this stone sat the angel who announced the blessed tidings of the resurrection to Mary Magdalen, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James: 'He is not here, he is risen, as he said: come, see the place where the Lord lay.' Advancing a step, and taking off our shoes and turbans, at the desire of the keeper, he drew aside the curtain, and stepping down and bending almost to the ground, we entered, by a low narrow door, into this mansion of victory, where Christ triumphed over the grave, and disarmed death of all his terrors.

"The tomb exhibited is a sarcophagus of white marble, slightly tinged with blue; it is six feet one inch and three quarters long, three feet three quarters of an inch broad, and two feet one inch and a quarter deep, measured on the outside. It is but indifferently polished, and seems as if it had at one time been exposed to the pelting of the storm and the changes of the season, by which it has been considerably disintegrated: it is without any ornament, and is made in the fashion of a Greek sarcophagus, and not like the ancient tombs of the Jews, which we see cut in the rock for the reception of the dead; nor like those stone troughs, or sarcophagi, which, I have already mentioned, were called to me the beds of the Lord Jesus, of Mary, of John, and of Zacharias. There are seven silver lamps constantly burning over it, the gifts of different potentates, to illuminate this scene of hope and joy. The sarcophagus occupies about one half of the sepulchral chamber, and extends from one

end of it to the other. A space about three feet width in front of it, is all that remains for the reception of visiters, so that not above three or four can be conveniently admitted at a time."*

That the marble sarcophagus shewn as the sepulchre, has no pretensions to the distinction claimed for it, stands in no need of proof. The Evangelists inform us that the sepulchre in which the body of Jesus was laid, was hewn out of the rock, which is not marble, but compact limestone; a lateral excavation, in all probability, of the same kind as are still seen in the rocks round Jerusalem. The stone in the anti-room of the tomb, shewn as that which was rolled to the doorway of the sepulchre, and kissed and venerated by the holy fathers accordingly, was admitted by the guide, when strictly questioned, to be a substitute for the *real stone*, which was stolen by the Armenians,† and is exhibited by them in a chapel on Mount Zion: but the block of marble, it was said, served their purpose equally well. Dr. Richardson conjectures that, were the historians of the sacred premises to exercise the same degree of candour as their guide, it would turn out that the stone trough called the Sereer Sidn Aisa by the Turks, was the

* Ali Bey states, that the Mussulmans say prayers in all the holy places consecrated to the memory of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, except this tomb, which they do not acknowledge. "They believe that Christ did not die, but that he ascended alive into heaven, leaving the likeness of his face to Judas, who was condemned to die for him; and that, in consequence, Judas having been crucified, his body might have been contained in this sepulchre, but not that of Jesus Christ. It is for this reason that the Mussulmans do not perform any act of devotion at this monument, and that they ridicule the Christians who go to revere it."

† Maundrell mentions the fact as then of recent occurrence.

sarcophagus originally exhibited as the tomb of Christ.

The walls of the sepulchral chamber itself are of greenish marble, the species of breccia vulgarly called *verd-antique*. It is pretended that this exterior is only a casing to protect the internal surface of the rock, which externally has been cut into the shape, to use Dr. Clarke's expression, of a huge pepper-box; all the surrounding rock being *levelled* to the floor of the building, except this "grotto above ground," as Maundrell terms it. Thus, all that the pilgrim is permitted to see, is a marble casing of a supposed rock, which rock has, in fact, all the appearance of a building, as no doubt it really is.

From the sepulchre, the visiter is led to the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen; to the "chapel of apparition," where he appeared to the Virgin; and then to the Greek chapel facing the sepulchre, in the centre of which the Greeks have set up a globe, to mark out the spot as the centre of the earth; thus transferring, as Dr. Richardson remarks, the absurd notions of their ancient heathen priests respecting the navel of the earth, from Delphi to Jerusalem. A dark, narrow staircase of about twenty steps conducts the pilgrim to *Mount* Calvary.* Here are shewn the place where Christ was nailed to the cross, where the cross was erected, the hole in

* "On what authority," asks Mr. Buckingham, "is Calvary called a *mount*?" Assuredly on no scriptural authority. The Evangelists uniformly speak of it as the place (τοπον) called Calvary. That gentleman's object is to shew that this may be the site of Calvary, though it is not a mount, in which he wholly fails; but he is right in supposing that the *hill* of Calvary, or a mount of that name, is a mere figment. It would be a curious inquiry, when and how the expression, which has been so implicitly received, first originated?

which the end was fixed, and the rent in the rock, all covered with marble, perforated in the proper places. "To complete," says Dr. Clarke, "the naïveté of the tale, it is added, that the head of Adam was found within the fissure." "*Mount Calvary*" is, by that learned traveller, stated to be in fact a modern piece of masonry; a sort of altar, within the contracted dimensions of which are exhibited the marks or holes of the *three crosses*, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection.

Descending from Calvary, the pilgrim enters the chapel of St. Helena, in the low rocky vault beneath which the cross is said to have been found. In this murky den, the invention (or finding) of the cross is celebrated in an appropriate mass by the Latins on the 3d of May. It is large enough to contain about thirty or forty persons, wedged in close array, and on that occasion it is generally crowded. The year that Dr. Richardson was at Jerusalem, it happened that the day on which the festival was to be celebrated by the Latins, was the same as that on which it was to be celebrated by the Greeks; and he witnessed the tug of war between the ecclesiastical combatants, who, with brick-bats and clubs, teeth and nails, fought for their chapel like kites or crows for their nest. The Romans were routed. "The devil aids the Greeks," exclaimed the superior of the Latin Convent, panting from the effects of a blow; "they are schismatics; and you Englishmen, who live in our convent, see us beaten and do not assist us." "How can you expect it," it was rejoined, "when, if we fell in your cause, you would not allow us Christian burial?" The Greeks spent the night in *firing pistols and rejoicing*; and were fined by the cadi next morning for disturbing his repose.

The fathers of the Latin convent annually *perform* the crucifixion. Maundrell, who was present on one occasion, has given a particular description of the dramatic ceremonies.

"Their ceremony begins on Good Friday night, which is called by them the *nox tenebrosa*, and is observed with such an extraordinary solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular description of it.

"As soon as it grew dusk, all the friars and pilgrims were convened in the chapel of the Apparitions, (which is a small oratory on the north side of the holy grave, adjoining to the apartment of the Latins,) in order to go in a procession round the church. But, before they set out, one of the friars preached a sermon in Italian in that chapel. He began his discourse thus: *In questa notte tenebrosa, &c.*, at which words all the candles were instantly put out, to yield a livelier image of the occasion. And so we were held by the preacher, for near half an hour, very much in the dark. Sermon being ended, every person present had a large lighted taper put into his hand, as if it were to make amends for the former darkness; and the crucifixes and other utensils were disposed in order for beginning the procession. Amongst the other crucifixes, there was one of a very large size, which bore upon it the image of our Lord, as big as the life. The image was fastened to it with great nails, crowned with thorns, besmeared with blood; and so exquisitely was it formed, that it represented in a very lively manner the lamentable spectacle of our Lord's body, as it hung upon the cross. This figure was carried all along in the head of the procession; after which, the company followed to all the sanctuaries in the church, singing their appointed hymn at every one.

"The first place they visited was that of the pillar of Flagellation, a large piece of which is kept in a little cell, just at the door of the chapel of the Apparition. There they sung their proper hymn; and another friar entertained the company with a sermon in Spanish, touching the scourging of our Lord.

"From hence they proceeded in solemn order to the prison of Christ, where they pretend he was secured whilst the soldiers made things ready for his crucifixion; here, likewise, they sung their hymn, and a third friar preached in French.

"From the prison they went to the altar of the division of Christ's garments; where they only sung their hymn, without adding any sermon.

"Having done here, they advanced to the chapel of the Derision; at which, after their hymn, they had a fourth sermon (as I remember) in French.

"From this place they went up to Calvary, leaving their shoes at the bottom of the stairs. Here are two altars to be visited: one where our Lord is supposed to have been nailed to his cross; another where his cross was erected. At the former of these they laid down the great crucifix (which I but now described) upon the floor, and acted a kind of resemblance of Christ's being nailed to the cross; and after the hymn, one of the friars preached another sermon in Spanish, upon the crucifixion.

"From hence they removed to the adjoining altar, where the cross is supposed to have been erected, bearing the image of our Lord's body. At this altar is a hole in the natural rock, said to be the very same individual one in which the foot of our Lord's cross stood. Here they set up their cross, with the bloody crucified image upon it; and, leaving it in that posture, they first sung their hymn, and then the father-

guardian, sitting in a chair before it, preached a passion sermon in Italian.

" At about one yard and a half distance from the hole in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable cleft in the rock, said to have been made by the earthquake which happened at the suffering of the God of nature; when (as St. Matthew, chap. xvii. verse 51, witnesseth) ' the rocks rent, and the very graves were opened.' This cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a span wide at its upper part, and two deep; after which it closes; but it opens again below, (as you may see in another chapel, contiguous to the side of Calvary,) and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instruments.

" The ceremony of the passion being over, and the guardian's sermon ended, two friars, personating, the one Joseph of Arimathea, and the other Nicodemus, approached the cross, and with a most solemn, concerned air, both of aspect and behaviour, drew out the great nails, and took down the feigned body from the cross. It was an effigy so contrived that its limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real flesh; and nothing could be more surprising than to see the two pretended mourners bend down the arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the trunk, in such a manner as is usual in corpses.

" The body, being taken down from the cross, was

received in a fair large winding sheet, and carried down from Calvary; the whole company attending, as before, to the stone of unction. This is taken for the very place where the precious body of our Lord was anointed and prepared for the burial, John xix. 39. Here they laid down their imaginary corpse, and, casting over it several sweet powders and spices, wrapt it up in the winding sheet: whilst this was doing, they sung their proper hymn, and afterwards one of the friars preached in Arabic a funeral sermon.

"These obsequies being finished, they carried off their fancied corpse, and laid it in the sepulchre, shutting up the door till Easter morning. And now, after so many sermons, and so long, not to say tedious a ceremony, it may well be imagined, that the weariness of the congregation, as well as the hour of the night, made it needful to go to rest.

"The next morning nothing extraordinary passed, which gave many of the pilgrims leisure to have their arms marked with the usual ensigns of Jerusalem. The artists who undertake the operation, do it in this manner: they have stamps in wood of any figure that you desire, which they first print off upon your arm with powder of charcoal, then taking two very fine needles, tied close together, and dipping them often, like a pen, in certain ink, compounded, as I was informed, of gunpowder and ox-gall, they make with them small punctures all along the lines of the figure which they have printed; and then washing the part in wine, conclude the work. These punctures they make with great quickness and dexterity, and with scarce any smart, seldom piercing so deep as to draw the blood.

"In the afternoon of this day the congregation

was assembled in the area before the holy grave, where the friars spent some hours in singing over the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which function, with the usual procession to the holy places, was all the ceremony of this day.

"On Easter morning the sepulchre was again set open very early. The clouds of the former morning were cleared up, and the friars put on a face of joy and serenity, as if it had been the real juncture of our Lord's resurrection. Nor, doubtless, was this joy feigned, whatever their mourning might be, this being the day in which their Lenten disciplines expired, and they were come to a full belly again.

"The mass was celebrated this morning just before the holy sepulchre, being the most eminent place in the church, where the father-guardian had a throne erected; and being arrayed in episcopal robes, with a mitre on his head, in the sight of the Turks, he gave the host to all that were disposed to receive it: not refusing children of seven or eight years old. This office being ended, we made our exit out of the sepulchre, and, returning to the convent, dined with the friars."

Dr. Richardson was not in Jerusalem in time to witness the celebration of the crucifixion by the Latin Church, but was present at the service of the Greek Church, on their anniversary of the resurrection. "The rules of this Church," he remarks, "do not permit the exhibition of graven images in their worship; but, as some sensible representation of the body of our Saviour was deemed necessary, either in the way of mockery or devotion, one apparently lifeless was extended on a board, and carried round the sepulchre, with a mighty uproar; boys and men going alongside of it, striking fire from flint. The cere-

mony began about eleven o'clock; the church was full in every quarter. The conduct of many of the attendants shewed that they entered the holy place in a becoming frame of mind; these sat retired in the different chapels or recesses that surround the sepulchre, and were chiefly females. The galleries above were also crowded; many Turkish officers were present. The governor was expected, but did not arrive. The mob occupied the body of the house, and their behaviour was disorderly in the extreme; they hallooed and ran about, leaped on one another's shoulders, revelling in the most unseemly manner, more like bacchanals or unchained maniacs, or a set of rioters at a fair, than celebraters of the resurrection of the blessed Jesus. Numbers of Turkish soldiers were placed in the church to act as constables, and did their best to preserve order and decency; but, notwithstanding all their efforts in beating them with clubs, pulling and thrusting them about like so many disorderly animals, the noise and uproar continued till about two o'clock, when the grand quackery of the day began to be played off by the grand charlatan, the Greek bishop of Jerusalem; for, with all possible respect for his sacred office, I cannot designate him or his exhibition by any other names that will adequately describe their character. The juggle attempted to be played off, is usually denominated the Grecian fire, which, it is pretended, bursts from the holy-sepulchre in a supernatural manner, on the anniversary of this day, and at which all the pilgrims of this persuasion light their lamps and torches, believing that they have thus received fire from heaven.

"Before the ceremony commenced, the higher ecclesiastics entered the sepulchre, and in a little time light was perceived at a small window in its side. Thi-

ther all the people crowded in wild disorder, and lighted their torches at the flame, which, from the place where we stood, the station of the organ belonging to the Roman Catholic church, was distinctly seen to issue from a burning body, placed on the lower part of the window, within the tomb. This, when some of the wicks were of difficult accession, was raised up and pushed nearer; at other times the flame was lowered down, and was out of sight, intimating that Heaven required to draw its breath, and the fire to receive a fresh supply of combustible materials; when again raised up, it burned with greater brilliancy, and, on becoming fainter, was again lowered down as before; which shewed that the priests meant to be very artful, and were in reality very ignorant; for I am sure there is not a pyrotechnist in London who would not have improved the exhibition. Thus, however, they continued raising the light when strong, and lowering it when it became faint, till all the torches were lighted. No one, like the Druids of old, under the pain of excommunication, durst light his torch at that of another; all behoved to be regularly set on fire by the flame from the window, otherwise they were held in detestation all the year round. As soon, however, as this illumination was accomplished, the bishops and priests sallied forth from the tomb, and, joined by the other ecclesiastics who were waiting without in their canonicals, and with torches in their hands, all arranged themselves according to the precedency of their churches, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Syrians, &c. &c., and marched three times round the church, bearing their flaming torches high above their heads. The effect was particularly brilliant, more especially when they passed down or came up from

encompassing the Greek chapel. The torches, by this time, were either burnt out or extinguished, and here the ceremony closed. The priests laid aside their robes and their torches, and the multitude dispersed, more convinced of any thing, if they reasoned at all, than of the celestial origin of the fire by which their torches had been lighted up. Need we be surprised," adds this intelligent writer, "that monotheistical Moslems deride the Christian devotion, insult them to their face, and call them dogs and idolaters?"

In Maundrell's time, towards the end of the procession, "there was a pigeon came fluttering into the cupola over the Sepulchre, at sight of which there was a greater shout and clamour than before. This bird," he adds, "the Latins told us, was purposely let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the people into the opinion that it was a visible descent of the Holy Ghost." The Latins took a great deal of pains to expose the whole ceremony as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; "perhaps out of envy," he remarks, "that others should be masters of so gainful a business; but the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it, and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive; and it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostacy of their people."

It is impossible to calculate the extent of the evil resulting from this pernicious mummery, in its twofold character of a delusion on the minds of the pilgrims, and a stumbling-block in the way of the conversion of the Mahommedans. In the year 1820, upwards of 3000 pilgrims visited the Holy City. They

consisted of Greeks from Russia, Turkey, and Asia Minor, — Armenians, chiefly from Anatolia, — Copts, Syrians, and about fifty Roman Catholics from Damascus. Very few of them were able to read, and scarcely one had seen a copy of the Scriptures. The true character of their religion may be judged of from the fact, that the chief objects of the Greek pilgrims are, to obtain candles touched with the sacred fire, under the idea that, if burned at a person's funeral, they will assuredly save his soul from punishment; and to bathe themselves, and dip their linen in the Jordan, bringing these clothes back to be carefully preserved for their winding-sheet. "If this be not heathenism," it has been remarked, "what is Christianity?" Every friend of his species must devoutly wish that all the murky dens and grottoes of superstition, which profane and infest the once sacred city, were laid open to the day, and the whole system of scandalous imposture finally abolished.

The only genuine objects of interest in the Church of the Sepulchre were the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin: they are described by Chateaubriand as two stone coffins, supported by four little pillars, with Latin epitaphs in Gothic character. They had nothing to recommend them but their antiquity. Mr. Buckingham states, that they have been spitefully destroyed by the Greeks, so that not a vestige of them remains.

The reader must have had more than enough of the supposititious sacred places, and it cannot be necessary to particularise the absurd legends which affect to point out the precise spot on which every circumstance in the evangelical narrative occurred, down to the window out of which Dives looked upon Lazarus, and the place where Peter's cock crew. Whatever

objects of antiquarian interest Jerusalem may yet contain, remain to be brought to light by excavation, which, under present circumstances, is impracticable. By far the most interesting objects within the city are

THE JEWS.

THE Jews reside chiefly on the edge of Mount Zion, and in the lower part of the city, near the shambles, which, in summer, are dreadfully offensive. Here, again, we shall avail ourselves of the account given of the present condition of the Jews of Jerusalem by Dr. Richardson. He reports their number to be 10,000; an amazing increase, if, correct, within the past thirty years.*

"Many of the Jews are rich and in comfortable circumstances; and possess a good deal of property in Jerusalem; but they are careful to conceal their wealth, and even their comfort, from the jealous eye of their rulers, lest, by awakening their cupidity, some vile, indefensible plot should be devised to their prejudice. In going to visit a respectable Jew in the holy city, it is a common thing to pass to his house over a ruined foreground and up an awkward outside stair, constructed of rough unpolished stones, that totter under the foot; but it improves as you ascend, and at the top has a respectable appearance, as it ends in an agreeable platform in front of the house. On entering the house itself, it is found to be clean and well furnished; the sofas are covered with Persian carpets, and the people seem happy to receive you. The visiter is entertained with coffee and tobacco, as is the

* Mr. Buckingham was told, that, previously to the invasion of Syria by Buonaparte, a law existed among the Turks, that there should be no more than 2000 Jews in Jerusalem, on pain of death to those who exceeded that number.

custom in the houses of the Turks and Christians. The ladies presented themselves with an ease and address that surprised me, and recalled to my memory the pleasing society of Europe. This difference of manner arises from many of the Jewish families in Jerusalem having resided in Spain or Portugal, when the females had rid themselves of the cruel domestic fetters of the East, and, on returning to their beloved land, had very properly maintained their justly acquired freedom and rank in society. They almost all speak a broken Italian, so that conversation goes on without the clumsy aid of an interpreter.

"It was the feast of the Passover, and they were all eating unleavened bread; some of which was presented to me as a curiosity, and I partook of it merely that I might have the gratification of eating unleavened bread with the sons and daughters of Jacob, in Jerusalem; it is very insipid fare, and no one would eat it from choice. For the same reason I went to the synagogue, of which there are two in Jerusalem, although I visited only one. The form of worship is the same as in this country, and I believe in every country which the Jews inhabit. The females have a separate part of the synagogue assigned to them, as in the synagogues in Europe, and in the Christian churches all over the Levant. They are not, however, expected to be frequent or regular in their attendance on public worship. The ladies generally make a point of going on the Sunday, that is the Friday night or Saturday morning, after they are married; and being thus introduced in their new capacity, once a year is considered as sufficient compliance, on their part, with the ancient injunction to assemble themselves together in the house of prayer. Like the votaries of some

Christian establishments, the Jewesses trust more to the prayers of their priests than to their own.

"The synagogues in Jerusalem are both poor and small, not owing to the poverty of their possessors, but to the prudential motives above-mentioned.

"The Jewesses in Jerusalem speak in a decided and firm tone, unlike the hesitating and timid voice of the Arab and Turkish females; and claim the European privilege of differing from their husbands, and maintaining their own opinions. They are fair and good-looking; red and auburn hair are by no means uncommon in either of the sexes. I never saw any of them with veils; and was informed that it is the general practice of the Jewesses in Jerusalem to go with their faces uncovered; they are the only females there who do so. Generally speaking, I think they are disposed to be rather of a plethoric habit; and the admirers of size and softness in the fair sex, will find as regularly well-built fatties, with double mouldings in the neck and chin, among the fair daughters of Jerusalem, as among the fairer daughters of England. They seem particularly liable to eruptive diseases; and the want of children is as great a heart-break to them now as it was in the days of Sarah.

"In passing up to the synagogue, I was particularly struck with the mean and wretched appearance of the houses on both sides of the streets, as well as with the poverty of their inhabitants. Some of the old men and old women had more withered and hungry aspects than any of our race I ever saw, with the exception of the caverned dames at Gornou, in Egyptian Thebes, who might have sat in a stony field as a picture of famine the year after the flood. The

sight of a poor Jew in Jerusalem has in it something peculiarly affecting. The heart of this wonderful people, in whatever clime they roam, still turns to it as the city of their promised rest. They take pleasure in her ruins, and would lick the very dust for her sake. Jerusalem is the centre around which the exiled sons of Judah build, in airy dreams, the mansions of their future greatness. In whatever part of the world he may live, the heart's desire of a Jew, when gathered to his fathers, is to be buried in Jerusalem. Thither they return from Spain and Portugal, from Egypt and Barbary, and other countries among which they have been scattered; and when, after all their longings, and all their struggles up the steeps of life, we see them poor, and blind, and naked in the streets of their once happy Zion, he must have a cold heart that can remain untouched by their sufferings, without uttering a prayer that the light of a reconciled countenance would shine on the darkness of Judah, and the day-star of Bethlehem arise in their hearts.

"The Jews are the best cicerones in Jerusalem, because they generally give the ancient names of places, which the guides and interpreters belonging to the different convents do not. They are not forward in presenting themselves, and must generally be sought for."

ICHNOGRAPHY, POPULATION OF THE CITY, &c.

CHATEAUBRIAND gives the following statement of the ichnography of the city. The three principal streets are, *harat** *bab el hamond* (the street of the gate of the column, or Damascus gate), crossing the city

* More properly *tarrek*, street, *harat* signifying lane.

from north to south; *souk el kebir*, the street of the great bazar, running from east to west; and *harat el allam*, the *Via Dolorosa*, running from St. Stephen's gate to Calvary. Besides these, he enumerates seven other smaller streets: *harat el Muslmin*, the street of the Turks; *harat el Nassara*, the street of the Christians, leading from the church of the Sepulchre to the Latin convent; *harat el Arman*, the street of the Armenians, to the east of the castle; *harat el Youd*, the street of the Jews, in which are the shambles; *harat bab hotta*, the street near the temple; *harat el zahara*, the public quarter; and *harat el Maugrabé*, the street of the Maugrabins. These Maugrabins, he states, are the people of the west of Barbary. "Among them are included some descendants of the Moors, driven from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. These exiles were charitably received in the Holy City; a mosque was built for their use; and bread, fruits, and money, are yet distributed among them. The heirs of the proud Abencerrages, the elegant architects of the Alhambra, are become porters at Jerusalem, who are sought after on account of their intelligence, and as couriers are esteemed for their swiftness. What would Saladin and Richard say, if, suddenly returning to the world, they were to find the Moorish champions transformed into the door-keepers of the holy sepulchre, and the Christian knights represented by brethren of the mendicant order!" *

The Mussulmans reside chiefly round the *harám schereeff;* the Christians, in the neighbourhood of their own convents. Those of the Roman Catholic persuasion live near the convent of St. Salvadore, in the north-west corner of the city. Those of the Greek

* Travels in Greece, &c. vol. ii. p. 89.

church reside lower down the hill, towards the south-east, near the small and ruined convent of St. John, which is at present occupied by Syrian Christians. To the south, and nearly on the summit of Mount Zion, stands the Armenian convent of St. James, by far the most magnificent in Jerusalem, having a spacious walled garden attached to it. The Armenian patriarch, a dignified old man, resides in the convent, together with the bishop, and a number of the inferior clergy. The apartments are small, but well furnished with sofas and rich Persian carpets. "Every thing belonging to it," says Dr. Clarke, "is Oriental." The usual dress of the Armenian clergy is dark blue; they even carry it so far as to wear pocket handkerchiefs of the same colour. "The dresses in which they officiate are the most sumptuous," says Dr. Richardson, "I ever saw, excepting on some of the dignitaries in St. Peter's at Rome." Their church is also the richest, and largest, and most numerously attended of all the Christian churches. According to Maundrell, there are two altars set out with extraordinary splendour, "being decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses both silver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utensils without number. In the middle of the church, is a pulpit made of tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it, of the same fabric. The tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl are so exquisitely mingled and inlaid in each other, that the work far exceeds the material." Mr. Buckingham does not notice the pulpit, but describes *three* altars, fronting the door of entrance; these are, he concurs in stating, as splendid as wealth could make them. "The church," he says, "though small, is of a lofty height, and crowned by a central dome, and being entirely free of pews or stalls of any de-

scription, looks considerably larger than it really is. The walls are every where covered with pictures executed in the worst taste; yet, from the mere profusion of their numbers, and the gayety of their colouring, they produce on the whole an agreeable effect. The pillars both of the church and the offices of the sacristy, as well as the portals of the door leading to it, and the inner walls, are all cased with porcelain tiles, painted in blue with crosses and other sacred devices. The mosaic pavement is the most beautiful of its kind. The whole is carefully covered with rich Turkey carpets, excepting only a small space before the great altar. In a small recess on the left is shewn the sanctuary of St. James, thought to be on the spot on which he was beheaded; and this is ornamented with sculpture in white marble, with massy silver lamps, and gilding, and painting, producing altogether a surprising richness of effect. The door which leads to this, is still more beautiful, and is composed entirely of tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, gold, and silver, all exquisitely inlaid."* Hasselquist dwells on the ornaments of this church as "well worth seeing, being, past all doubt, the richest and most valuable that any church in the East can boast of, and perhaps equal to the ornaments of the largest and richest Christian churches in Europe. The ornaments of the Latins," he says, "are magnificent, and perhaps in a better taste; but they themselves own that the Armenians are richer. The Greeks in this respect are not to be compared with either of them." He tells us that the Armenian convent had 1000 chambers for pilgrims, besides those of the monks; and that not a year passed, but more

* Travels, vol. i. pp. 370, 371.

than that number arrived from Armenia, Persia, and Turkey, who never leave it without considerable alms."* The disposition of the worthy Naturalist to deal in round numbers, however, is shewn by his stating Jerusalem to contain among its inhabitants about 20,000 Jews. Pilgrims of the above persuasion come in great numbers from Constantinople, Armenia, Egypt, and all parts of the Levant, to keep the feast of Easter, and dip their shirts in the Jordan.

The Armenians are described by Dr. R. as "a strong, good-looking race of people, highly dignified in their deportment, civil and industrious. There are many of them settled at Jerusalem in comfortable circumstances. Their houses are well kept and well furnished. On visiting them, the stranger is received with a warmth unusual even among the Greeks, and it is the more agreeable for being sincere. He is treated with coffee and a pipe of tobacco, a glass of liquor, cakes, biscuits, and different kinds of sweetmeats, which are handed to him by the mistress of the family, her daughter, or servant; all being usually in attendance, although there should be only one guest to be served. They take the cup or glass from him when he has done with it, and kiss his hand as they receive it. They pour water on his hands for him to wash after he has done eating, and give him a towel to dry them; on receiving which, they again lay hold of the hand and kiss it, and then retire to their station with the servant near the door. Mother, daughter, and man-servant, are all alike candidates to take the

* "Three years ago," says Hasselquist (in 1751,) "an Armenian from Persia paid for the *first fire*, (that is, the first to receive the sacred fire on Easter eve from the bishop,) 30,000 sequins; a sum which perhaps never was given for an answer from the Delphian Oracle."—*Travels*, p. 138.

cup and kiss the hand; and, in point of etiquette, it matters not to which of them the guest delivers it. They seldom sit down in his presence, and never without much entreaty, even though the state of their health should be such as to render it improper for them to stand; afraid that by so doing they should be thought deficient in respect to their visiter. The Armenian ladies have a sedate and pleasant manner, with much of the Madonna countenance; their eyes are generally dark, their complexion florid, but they are rarely enriched with that soft intelligent expression which characterises the eye of the Greek or Jewish female."

The present population has been variously estimated from 20,000 to 30,000 souls, and can only be conjectured: in fact, the numbers are continually fluctuating. Dr. Richardson classes the inhabitants thus: 5,000 Mussulmans, 5,000 Christians, and 10,000 Jews. Mr. Buckingham says, the Mahommedans are the most numerous; but he must have been misinformed respecting the number of Jews. He was told, he says, by Moallim Zacharias, the banker of the governor, and chief of the Jews at Jerusalem, that there were not one thousand male Jews within the city, but at least three thousand females. "No male Jews," he said, "came hither, but such as were contented to live poorly, or had money to let out at interest for their subsistence, as there was no commerce practised in the place; and all, therefore, were either rabbies, or students, or devout persons. Widows, however, from all countries, if they could get to Jerusalem, were sure of being maintained by the community of their own religion; and accordingly, as many as could get together the means of doing so, flocked here for that purpose.

The great happiness of the people," he added, "was to die at Jerusalem, and to be buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat."* There might be motives for concealing the real number of the Jewish population. If, however, the fixed Jewish population be taken at this low estimate of about 5,000, the number may very probably be raised by occasional inhabitants to 10,000. The Mahommedans consist of nearly equal portions of Osmanli Turks from Asia Minor; descendants of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arab blood by intermarriages; and pure Syrian Arabs. Of Christians, the proportions are as follow: the Roman Catholics consist of the few monks of the Franciscan convent, who are chiefly Spaniards, and the still fewer Latin pilgrims who occasionally repair thither; the Greeks are the most numerous; the Armenians rank next to the Greeks as to numbers, but far exceed them in wealth and influence; the Copts are reduced almost to nothing; and the other sects, Abyssinians, Maronites, &c. are lost in the crowd.† The period during

* Buckingham's Travels, second edition, 8vo. vol. I. p. 399.

† Mr. Jolliffe gives the supposed numbers as follow:

Jews ... from 3,000 to	4,000
Roman Catholics	800
Greeks	2,000
Armenians	400
Copts	50
Mahommedans	13,000
	20,250

In this calculation the Jews and the Armenians are certainly under-rated; the Latins and Mussulmen are over-estimated. Mr. Jolliffe's information was confessedly drawn from very imperfect sources; probably the Christians; Mr. Buckingham's informant was a Jew; Dr. Richardson's was Turkish authority. This may partly explain the variations.

which the city is most populous, is from Christmas to Easter: at the latter festival, it is crowded, and the spectacle of the motley population is such as can scarcely be paralleled.

BEAD AND RELIC TRADE.

In Jerusalem, there is scarcely any trade, and but few manufactures: the only flourishing one is that of crucifixes, chaplets, beads, shells, and relics, of which whole cargoes are shipped from Jaffa, for Italy, Spain, and Portugal.* The shells are of the kind called mother-of-pearl, ingeniously though coarsely sculptured into various shapes. Those of the largest size, and the most perfect, are formed into clasps for the zones of the Greek women. Such clasps are worn by the ladies of Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and other islands of the Archipelago. All these, after being purchased, are taken to the church of St. Sepulchre, where they undergo the process of benediction or consecration, and are then fit for use. In like manner, beads and crosses purchased at Loretto, are placed in a wooden bowl belonging to the house of the Virgin, to be consecrated for the purpose of being worn as amulets.† The beads are manufactured either from date stones, or from a very hard kind of wood called *Mecca fruit:* when first wrought, it appears of the colour of box; it is then dyed yellow, black, or red. They are of various sizes; the smaller are the most esteemed, on account of the greater number used to fill a string; and rosaries sell at higher prices when they have been long worn, because the beads acquire a polish by

* Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 6. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 306.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. 8vo. p. 304.

friction. Strings of beads are in request equally among the Moslems and the Christians. The custom of carrying them appears to have been in use long before the Christian era, and still prevails in the East. This is but one instance among many, of the Heathen origin of the Romish customs. The shell worn as a badge by pilgrims had probably a similar origin: it was an ancient symbol of Astarte, the Syrian Venus. Rosaries and amulets are made also of the black fetid lime-stone of the Dead Sea, to be worn as a charm against the plague. Amulets of the same mineral substance have been found in the chambers below the pyramids of Sakhara, in Upper Egypt: the effluvia is owing to the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen. The Armenians and the Jews are the chief traders in these sacred wares.

The local government of Jerusalem consists of the *mozallam*, or military governor; the *moula cadi*, or chief of the police; the *mufti*, the head of the ecclesiastical and judicial departments; the *capo verde*, or agent for the mosque of Omar; and the *soubaski*, or town-major. All these, with the exception of the mufti, hold their appointment at the pleasure of the pacha of Damascus.

MOUNT SION.

THE Armenian convent, with its church and gardens, occupies the whole of that part of Mount Sion which is now within the walls: the greater part is now excluded from the city; and for the best description of this interesting site, we must avail ourselves of Dr. Richardson's Travels.

"Passing out by Zion gate, or, as it is more frequently denominated, the gate of David, the first

object that meets the eye of the traveller, is a long dingy-looking Turkish mosque, situated on the middle of Mount Zion. It is called the mosque of the prophet David, and is said to be built over his tomb, which is still exhibited in the interior, and is held in the greatest possible veneration by the Mussulmans. The Santones belonging to the mosque in Mount Zion, are the most powerful in Jerusalem. Part of this building was anciently the church of the Cœnaculum, where our Saviour ate the last supper with his disciples; and I was shewn into an upper room in the front of the building, which both the Santon and the Ciceroni affirmed to be the identical room in which this memorable event, to which the Christian world owes the institution of the Holy Sacrament of the Supper, took place. I should probably have believed them, had I not learnt from higher authority, that, thirty-nine years thereafter, not only the walls, but every house in Jerusalem, had been rased from its foundations, and the ground ploughed up by the Roman soldiers, in order that they might discover the treasures which they supposed the unfortunate Jews had hidden under their feet.

"To the right of the mosque, and between it and the gate of the city, there is a small Armenian chapel, built on the spot where formerly stood the palace of Caiaphas. It is remarkable for nothing but that the stone which closed up the door of the holy sepulchre, is built in an altar at the upper end of it, and exposed in several places to be kissed and caressed, like other precious relics. It is an unpolished block of compact lime-stone, the same with the rock on which the city stands, and does not, like the block of polished marble in present use, carry in its face the refutation of its once having served the office

assigned to it, though I confess there is almost as little probability that it ever did.

"A few paces to the west of the chapel, there is a Christian burying-ground; and among the lettered tomb-stones are several inscribed in the language of our own country. They record the names, and cover the ashes of Englishmen, who are reported to have met their deaths in a way not very creditable to the Franciscan convent. A little to the south of this is shewn the place where the Virgin Mary expired; and on the north side of the gate is shewn—what? The place where the cock crew to Peter.

"Such is the sum total of the information which the traveller receives from his guide respecting the topography of this interesting spot, Mount Zion. At the time when I visited this sacred ground, one part of it supported a crop of barley, another was undergoing the labour of the plough, and the soil turned up consisted of stone and lime mixed with earth, such as is usually met with in the foundations of ruined cities. It is nearly a mile in circumference, is highest on the west side, and towards the east falls down in broad terraces on the upper part of the mountain, and narrow ones on the side, as it slopes down towards the brook Kedron. Each terrace is divided from the one above it by a low wall of dry stone, built of the ruins of this celebrated spot. The terraces near the bottom of the hill are still used as gardens, and are watered from the pool of Siloam. They belong chiefly to the inhabitants of the small village of Siloa immediately opposite. We have here another remarkable instance of the special fulfilment of prophecy: 'Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps.' —Micah iii. 12.

"Mount Zion is considerably higher than the ground on the north, on which the ancient city stood, or that on the east leading on to the valley of Jehoshaphat, but has very little relative height above the ground on the south and on the west, and must have owed its boasted strength principally to a deep ravine, by which it is encompassed on the east, south, and west, and the strong high walls and towers by which it was enclosed and flanked completely round. This ravine, or valley, as the term has been rendered, though the word trench or ditch would have conveyed a more correct idea of its appearance, seems to have been formed by art on the south and on the west, the surface of the ground on each side being nearly of equal height, though Mount Zion is certainly the highest, yet so little so that it could not have derived much additional strength from its elevation. The breadth of this ditch is stated by Strabo, to be about 150 feet, and its depth, or the height of Mount Zion above the bottom of the ravine, to be about sixty feet. The measurement, in both instances, is nearly correct, and furnishes one among many proofs that we derive from other sources, that the places now called by these names are the same as those that were anciently so denominated. The bottom of this ravine is rock, covered with a thin sprinkling of earth, and, in the winter season, is the natural channel for conveying off the water that falls into it from the higher ground; but, on both sides, the rock is cut perpendicularly down, and most probably it was the quarry from which the greater part of the stones were taken for building the city. The precipitous edge of the ravine is more covered with earth on the side of Mount Zion than on the other side, which is probably owing to the barbarous custom

of razing cities from their foundations, and tumbling both earth and stone into the ditch below. The loose stones have been all removed from it for building the present city. This ravine extends further north than the present wall of the city, and ends in a gradual slope of deep earth, so as to countenance the opinion that it once extended further than it does now."

PLACES WITHOUT THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

It only remains to describe the objects of antiquarian curiosity, which present themselves without the walls of modern Jerusalem. We have by anticipation described the royal sepulchres, which lie to the north, in examining the boundaries of the ancient city. Before we descend into the valley of Jehoshaphat, we must stop to notice, close by St. Stephen's gate, the supposed remains of the pool of Bethesda. Maundrell gives the measurement — 120 paces long, forty broad, and at least eight deep; but, he adds, void of water. "At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up. These, some will have to be the five porches in which sate that multitude of lame, halt, and blind. (John v.) But the mischief is, instead of five, there are but three of them." Pococke, in speaking of the same place, makes the following sensible remarks: "There seems to have been a deep fossée to the north of Mount Moriah," (by which no doubt it was divided from Bezetha,) "the east part of which is still to be seen, and is called by the monks the pool of Bethesda. At the east end of it, at the entrance to the court of the temple, are remains of some buildings of very large hewn stone, particularly an entablature in a good taste, which might be part of an entrance that Hadrian might have made to his new grove. If this fossée was car-

ried all along to the north of Mount Moriah, it must have passed where the house of Pilate is now shewn, which part might be filled up with the ruins of the Temple. If the Christians, when they had possession of Jerusalem, had dug here and in other parts, especially to the east of the Temple, and to the south of Mount Zion, they might, without doubt, have found great remains of the materials of the Temple and of the palaces on Mount Zion, and probably have been able to pass some judgement on the architecture of them. This fossée does not seem to be the pool of Bethesda, which, by all accounts, must have been to the south, or about the south-west of Mount Moriah. In St. Jerome's time, there were two pools, one filled by the rain; the other was of reddish water, as if it retained the colour of the sacrifices; and I suppose it was about the gardens to the south of the church of the purification, which is within the site of the court of the Temple; and the quarter called Ophel was also probably in this part of the city. For it was at the south corner of the Temple, where the Nethinims lived, who had the care of the sacrifices, and might extend to the north part of the hill or valley."*

Descending into the valley from St. Stephen's gate, the traveller comes to the bed of the brook Kedron, which is but a few paces over. This brook is stated by Pococke, to have its rise a little way further to the north, but its source does not appear to have been ascertained. Like the Ilissus, it is dry at least nine months in the year; its bed is narrow and deep, which indicates that it must formerly have been the channel for waters that have found some other and

* Pococke's Travels, book i. chap. 3.

probably subterranean course. There is now no water in it, except after heavy rains. A bridge is thrown over it a little below the gate of St. Stephen; and they say, that when there is water, unless the torrent swells much, which very rarely occurs, it all runs under ground to the north of this bridge. The course of the brook is along the valley of Jehoshaphat, to the south-west corner of the city, and, then, turning to the south, it runs to the Dead Sea.

Passing over this bridge, a descent of several steps to the left conducts the traveller to the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin; a lofty and spacious vault or cave, (Chateaubriand terms it a subterraneous church,) hewn with surprising labour in a stratum of hard compact lime-stone, and there can be no doubt that the persons here interred, must have been held in high veneration, or of distinguished rank. Neither Eusebius, Epiphanius, nor Jerome, however, mentions a syllable to authorise the tradition. The earliest notice of this sepulchre as that of the Virgin, occurs in the writings of Adamnanus, the Irish monk, who described it from the testimony of Arculfus, in the seventh century; and it is mentioned by another writer, who lived in the beginning of the eighth.* These are authorities undeserving of attention, when opposed to the negative evidence supplied by the silence of the above-mentioned writers, and the high improbability that, at the period of the Virgin's death, the early Christians should have had it in their power to pay this magnificent tribute of veneration for her memory.† Pococke, upon the authority of authors

* Clarke's Travels, 8vo. vol. iv. chap. 8. p. 368.

† Chateaubriand says: "Though Mary did not die at Jerusalem, yet, according to the opinion of several of the fathers, she was miraculously buried at Gethsemane by the apostles. Enthy-

whom he has not named, thinks it probable that it was the sepulchre of Melisendis, queen of Jerusalem. You descend to it by a flight of fifty (Maundrell says forty-seven) marble steps, each step twenty feet wide: these are conjectured by Dr. Clarke to be of less high antiquity than the sepulchre itself, which is the largest of all the *cryptæ* or caves near Jerusalem, and no era can be with any certainty fixed upon as the date of its construction. "It ranks," he remarks, "among those colossal works which were accomplished by the inhabitants of Asia Minor, of Phenicia, and of Palestine, in the first ages; works which differ from those of Greece, in displaying less of beauty, but more of arduous enterprise; works which remind us of the people, rather than of the artist; which we refer to as monuments of history, rather than of taste." Appropriate chapels within this same cave, distinguish the supposed tombs of Anna, Joachim, and Joseph also. In that of the Virgin, the different Christian sects have each their altar, and even the Turks have an oratory here.

Proceeding along the valley, at the foot of Mount Olivet is the garden of Gethsemane; an even plat of ground, says Maundrell, not above 57 yards square, where are shewn some old olive trees, supposed to identify the spot to which our Lord was wont to resort. (John xviii. 1, 2.) To the south of this spot, in the rocks on the eastern side, are what are called the sepulchres of the Patriarchs: these are four in number, and are severally distinguished as the se-

mius relates the history of this marvellous funeral. St. Thomas having caused the coffin to be opened, nothing was found in it but a virgin robe, the simple and mean garment of that queen of glory, whom the angels had conveyed to heaven." !!! The identity of the sepulchre may be judged of by the legend.

pulchre of Jehoshaphat, of Absalom, of St. James, and of Zachariah. In those of Absalom and Zachariah, the rock has been cut away so as to form an area, in the centre of which appears a monument of prodigious size, seeming to consist of a single stone, although standing as if erected by an architect, and adorned with columns appearing to support the edifice, of which they are in fact integral parts; the whole of each mausoleum being of one mass of stone, hewn, and not built. The ornaments of Absalom's sepulchre consist of twenty-four semi-columns of the Doric order, not fluted; six on each front of the monument, which stands about fifteen feet from the rock out of which it has been hewn. "On the capital is the frieze, with the triglyph; and above the frieze rises a socle, which supports a triangular pyramid, too lofty for the total height of the tomb. The pyramid is not of the same piece as the rest of the monument." * There is a room cut out of the rock in Absalom's pillar, considerably above the level of the ground on the outside. In the sides of this room are niches, apparently designed to receive corpses or coffins.† It is an extraordinary circumstance, that to these two sepulchres there is at present no perceptible entrance; the only way of gaining admittance into the interior of that of Absalom, is through a hole recently broken for the purpose; to that of Zachariah there is none. Pococke conjectures, that if the former served as a sepulchre, there might originally have been some under-ground entrance, now closed up—"as I was informed," he adds, "there is to the tomb of Zachariah, which, they say, is known to the Jews, and that they privately carry their dead to it." This latter sepulchre is described by Chateaubriand as terminating

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 100. † Pococke, book i. chap. 6.

in a point bending a little back, like the Phrygian caps, or a Chinese monument. The sepulchre of Jehoshaphat is a grot, the door of which, in a very good style, is its principal ornament. Over this are sepulchres of the Jews. The cave of St. James has a handsome portico of four columns, which do not rest upon the ground, but are placed at a certain height in the rock, in the same manner as the colonnade of the Louvre rises from the first story of the palace.

It has never been determined when or by what people these sepulchres were hewn. They are described by Dr. Clarke as a continuation of one vast cemetery, extending along the base of the mountainous elevations which surround Jerusalem on its southern and eastern sides; and which, independently of every other consideration, would indicate the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people. To relate the legends of the monks respecting them, would, he remarks, be worse than silence. Even Chateaubriand admits that their architecture contradicts the tradition, and proves that they cannot date so far back as the earliest period of Jewish antiquity. "If I were required," he says, "to fix precisely the age in which these mausoleums were erected, I should place it about the time of the alliance between the Jews and the Lacedemonians, under the first Maccabees. The Doric order was still prevalent in Greece; the Corinthian did not supplant it till half a century later, when the Romans began to overrun Peloponnesus and Asia. In naturalising at Jerusalem the architecture of Corinth and Athens," he adds, "the Jews intermixed it with the forms of their peculiar style. The tombs in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the sepulchres of the kings (north of the city), display a manifest alliance of the Egyptian and Grecian taste:

from this alliance resulted a heterogeneous kind of monuments, forming, as it were, the link between the Pyramids and the Parthenon."* Dr. Clarke, who cites these observations with high approbation of their judiciousness and accuracy, remarks that the columns are of that ancient style and character which yet appear among the works left by Ionian and Dorian colonies in the remains of their Asiatic cities, particularly at Telmessus.

Crossing the brook Kedron, the traveller next arrives at a fountain on the right, thought by some (says Pococke) to be the Dragon-well, mentioned by Nehemiah (c. ii. 13.), but commonly called the fountain of the Blessed Virgin, where, the monks say, she washed our Saviour's linen! There is a descent down to it of many steps, and a channel is cut from it under the rock, which might convey the water to the city. "It may be considered," he adds, "whether this was not really the ancient fountain of Siloah, which was so far under the hill, that it could not be commanded in time of war by such as were not masters of that part of the city. This fountain seems to have flowed into a basin called the pool of Siloam, and probably is the same as the lower pool." At this point the valley extending towards the west, is much wider than in the other parts.

Adhering to Pococke as our guide, a little beyond this fountain, the shallow vale between Mount Sion and Moriah begins, called the Valley of Millo; which is much higher than that through which the Kedron runs. There is a gentle ascent by it up to the city walls; and going into this ravine about a hundred paces, you come to the pool of Siloam. "The entrance of it is towards the city; and there is a descent by

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. pp. 101, 102.

several steps to a pool about twenty feet wide, fifty-five feet long, and ten feet deep from the stairs, having a bench on each side of it, and eight pillars. The water runs into it from a channel cut under the rock, and they say comes from the Temple and other parts where they wash, and therefore is not fit to be drunk. *Possibly this might be the pool of Bethesda*, which may be the same as that which Nehemiah says was the pool that was made, and Josephus calls the pool of Solomon." Maundrell, referring apparently to the same spot, says: "When we were there, a tanner made no scruple to dress his hides in it."

It seems difficult to recognise in this description,

> Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God.

Chateaubriand speaks of the fountain *and pool* of Siloam as at the foot of Mount Zion, and says: "The *spring* issues from a rock, and runs in a silent stream, according to the testimony of Jeremiah, which is contradicted by a passage in St. Jerome." The French author does not say which testimony he considers the most to be relied on. He adds: "It has a kind of ebb and flood, sometimes discharging its current like the fountain of Vaucluse, at others retaining and scarcely suffering it to run at all. The water of the spring is brackish, and has a very disagreeable taste." Dr. Richardson's description is more distinct, but still less consistent with Pococke's. After noticing "the well of Nehemiah,"* which is described as an ordinary-sized deep well, provided with tolerably good water, at the south-east corner of Mount Zion, at the entrance of the valley of Santa Saba (or Jehosha-

* Pococke found it, by a plummet, to be 122 feet deep, and the water was 88 feet high; they told him that sometimes it overflowed.

phat)—he represents the pool of Siloam as occurring higher up the valley, towards the north, a little beyond the village of Siloa, and nearly opposite the tombs of Jehoshaphat and Zachariah. "This pool," he says, "receives a strong current of water by a subterraneous passage cut in the north side of Mount Zion, and which seems as if it came by a conduit cut through the rock from the pool of Hezekiah, on the west side of the city. This pool is also called *the fountain of the stairs*. A flight of sixteen steps leads down to a platform, and another flight of thirteen steps leads down to the water, *which is fresh and good*. The passage by which the water comes out, has obviously been formed by art, and is so large that a person, by stooping a little, may walk along it under the mountain. The water is about three feet deep, and seems to be stagnant in the pool; but there is a considerable stream constantly flowing from it, by a passage which is also cut in the rock for a good way down, and goes to water the gardens on the lower slopes of Mount Zion. There are the remains of a Christian church that once adorned the entrance to this pool, which, like the fountain of Castalia or the spring of Arethusa, seems in days of yore to have been treated with signal respect." The spring, however, rises within the city, at no great distance from the Latin convent.*

On comparing these varying accounts with Dr. Richardson's ichnographical plan of Jerusalem, it should seem that what Pococke has taken for the Virgin's well, yet conjectures to be the ancient fountain of Siloa, is the same as Dr. Richardson and Chateaubriand correctly describe under the latter

* Travels, vol. ii. pp. 357, 358.

appellation; while Pococke's pool of Siloam, which he is disposed to identify with the ancient pool of Bethesda, is the same as Dr. R. calls, in his plan, the King's pool, though he has not described it in the text. Concerning the Virgin's claim to either fountain he is silent. Maundrell agrees with Richardson as to the situation of the supposed well of Nehemiah; "so called because reputed to be the same place from which that restorer of Israel recovered the fire of the altar, after the Babylonish captivity, (2 Macc. i. 19)." He places it at the entrance of the valley of Jehoshaphat, near the (white mulberry) tree supposed to mark the place where Isaiah was sawn asunder by order of Manasseh, — another senseless legend. The pool of Siloam (Dr. Richardson's King's pool), he places a hundred paces higher (northward), on the same side; and the fountain of the Blessed Virgin (the real pool of Siloam), about a furlong further. Pococke has probably been misled by this in general accurate traveller.* Over against this latter fountain, on the other side of the valley, is the small and comfortless village now called Siloa; consisting, according to Richardson, of small huts, partly built and partly dug in the rock; but, according to Pococke, who was shewn every thing in this part by the sheikh of Siloa, of a great number of grottoes, some of which have porticoes, and are adorned with the plain Egyptian

* Chateaubriand places the fountain of Siloa at the foot of Mount Zion. He says: "The pool, or *rather the two pools* of the same name, are quite close to the spring: they are still used for washing linen as formerly." At the foot of the village Siloa, he places "the fountain Rogel," and *opposite to this*, "a *third* which receives its name from the Blessed Virgin." This fountain, he says, mingles its stream with the fountain of Siloah.

cornice: "they call it a village," he says, "because these grots are now inhabited by Arabs, but they seem to be ancient sepulchres."

Southward of this village, and nearly facing the valley or ravine which runs to the south of Mount Zion, there rises from the bed of the Siloa, a mountain which appears to have been neither named nor examined by any of our travellers. Proceeding along the ravine, the traveller has on his left hand the elevation which the old travellers denominate the Hill of Evil Counsel, and which Dr. Clarke, with more ingenuity than accuracy, attempts to identify with the Zion of Scripture. It is described by Dr. Richardson as a low rocky flat, the termination of the high ground which lies to the south-west of Jerusalem, and consequently *not* a separate hill, as Zion was: it is, moreover, of inferior elevation to Mount Zion, which would of itself negative Dr. Clarke's hypothesis, and could with ease have been approached from the west. It never would have been chosen, therefore, as the site of a citadel. Whereas Mount Zion has a ravine on three of its sides, while the Tyropæon running in a transverse direction, separated it from the hill sustaining the lower city.

On this high ground, Sandys noticed the relics of no mean buildings. Dr. Richardson says, it contains the remains of a ruined village, which is generally called the *Casa di Mal Consiglio*, or Hill of Evil Counsel; because here, it is said, the Pharisees took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. No traveller appears to have explored it. About half-way down the ravine, which has been generally mistaken for the valley of Hinnom, on the side of the mountain, is what is called Aceldama, Campo Santo, and the Potter's Field. "In the midst hereof," says Sandys,

"a large square room was made by the mother of Constantine, the south side walled with the natural rock, flat at the top, and equal with the upper level, out of which arise certain little cupolas, open in the midst to let down the dead bodies. Through these we might see the bottom all covered with bones, and certain corses but newly let down, it being now the sepulchre of the Armenians. A greedy grave, and great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. For they say, and I believe it, that the earth thereof, within the space of eight and forty hours, will consume the flesh that is laid thereon." Pococke mentions the same supposed sarcophagous virtue in the earth. He describes it as an oblong cavern, about twenty-six paces long, by twenty broad, and seemingly about twenty deep. The dead are stripped and thrown in naked in heaps, as at Naples, Palermo, and other places. Through the orifices, both Maundrell and Dr. Richardson say, the bodies are to be seen in all the stages of decomposition. "From which," shrewdly remarks the former, "it may be conjectured that this grave does not make that quick despatch with the corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported."

Beyond this, the sepulchres begin, which extend along the side of the ravine to the south-west and west of Mount Zion, and which, like those in the valley of Jehoshaphat, are grottoes or excavations in the rock. Of these, Dr. Clarke has given the fullest description. He recognised them as similar to those which he had seen in the ruins of Telmessus in the gulf of Glaucus, and as answering to Shaw's account of the *cryptæ* of Laodicea, Jebilee, and Tortosa. They are described as a series of subterranean chambers, "hewn with marvellous art, each containing one or

many repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock, upon the sides of these chambers." The doors are so low, that, to look into any one of them, it is necessary to stoop, and, in some instances, to creep on hands and knees. These doorways are grooved for the reception of immense stones, squared and fitted to the grooves, which once closed the entrance. "Of such a nature, indisputably," adds the learned traveller, "were the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ." Upon all these sepulchres there are inscriptions in Hebrew and in Greek. The Hebrew, which are by the side of the doors, are so effaced, that it is difficult to make any tolerable copy; they appear to have been designedly obliterated by being covered with some chalky substance.* The Greek inscriptions are more legible: they consist of large letters deeply carved on the face of the rock, but only contain the words, "Of the holy Zion." Dr. Richardson considers them to be of modern date and apocryphal authority; but agrees with Dr. Clarke that these are, in all probability, the sepulchres of the city of David, referred to Nehem. iii. 16. It is remarkable, that there are no tombs in the side of the ravine on which the city stands: these were clearly out of the city, and here it would have been more rational to fix upon a site for the holy sepulchre. But "neither the Apostles nor the early Christians appear to have had any regard whatever for the sepulchre of our Lord. It is not once mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, or in any of the Epistles. The Apostle Paul, in all

* One which Dr. Clarke copied, exhibited a mixture of Hebrew and the arrow-headed character, and is supposed to be Arabic, as the mode of writing corresponds to that used by Arabian Jews in their inscriptions on the hills near Jerusalem.

his visits to the Holy City, in all his meetings with the Christians, never once names Calvary, or the sepulchre of Christ. The minds of these holy men seem to have been solely intent on the spread of the Gospel. In all their forcible appeals to the hearts and understandings of their hearers, the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ, are constantly mentioned, but the places where these glorious events occurred, are never referred to. Having satisfied themselves that the body of the Messiah did not remain in the tomb after the third day, they ceased to frequent it, or to seek the living among the dead." *

The only other object of interest in the ravine on the west of the city, besides these sepulchres, is the large square cistern, mentioned by Dr. Richardson as a little to the south of the Jaffa gate; evidently of Jewish workmanship. Pococke describes it as a basin about 250 paces long and 100 broad. "The bottom is very narrow, and the rock on each side appears like steps. This basin is made by building a wall across the valley. It is commonly called the pool of Bathsheba,† but seems to be the lower pool of Gihon. It is generally dry, but probably was designed to receive not only the rain waters, but also the superfluous waters from the upper pool of Gihon. (See 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.) At the north end of it is a causeway, which leads to the road to Bethlehem. There is a channel on it from Solomon's aqueduct, which supplies a cistern on each side of the causeway, and one at the end of it, where there is plenty of water. Above this, the valley is not so deep, but capable of receiving a great quantity of water. About

* Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 338.

† There is another 'pool of Bathsheba' within the city, near the Jaffa gate.

100 paces to the north, the aqueduct from Solomon's pool crosses the vale, the water running part of the way on nine arches, from four to six feet high: it is then conveyed round the hill on the west side of Mount Zion, and so round to the city and temple by a covered channel under ground. Nearly a mile to the N.N.W. is the pool of Gihon, which I suppose to be the upper pool. It is a very large basin, and, if I mistake not, is cut down about ten feet into the rock, there being a way down to it by steps. It was almost dry at that time, and seems designed to receive the rain waters which come from the hills about it. There is a canal from the pool to the city, which is uncovered part of the way, and, it is said, goes to the pool in the streets near the holy sepulchre; and when there is a great plenty of water, it runs to the pool already mentioned, to the west of the city. For the design of these pools seems to have been to receive the rain water for the common uses of the city, and even to drink in case of necessity. The fountain of Gihon probably arose either in the upper pool, or out of the high-ground above it."*

The situation of Jerusalem, then, appears to have been by no means disadvantageous in respect to the supply of water. There were probably wells, besides that of Nehemiah, both within and without the city, which are now filled up or dry; and, besides these, the pools and aqueducts, together with the little stream of Kedron, must have been amply sufficient, not only to supply the wants of the population, but to serve the purpose of irrigation, on which, in this climate, the fertility of the soil depends. It is very probable, that the subterraneous passage which has

* Travels, book i. chap. 6.

its outlet in the pool of Siloam, and which Dr. Richardson describes as a conduit cut in the rock from the pool of Hezekiah above described, on the west side of the city, was formerly partly open, running in the line of the Tyropæon, or valley of Cheesemongers, described by Josephus as separating the upper from the lower city, and terminating at the pool of Siloam.

MOUNT OLIVET.

HAVING now completed the circuit of the city, we have yet to ascend Mount Olivet; that consecrated hill from which the Redeemer of the world looked down on the guilty city, — on the scene of his passion and crucifixion, — and predicted the destruction of Jerusalem; that hill, from the summit of which he afterwards ascended, in the sight of his disciples, "far above all heavens."

The Mount of Olives forms part of a ridge of limestone hills, extending to the north and the south-west. Pococke describes it has having four summits. On the lowest and most northerly of these, which, he tells us, is called *Sulman Tashy*, the stone of Solomon, there is a large domed sepulchre, and several other Mohammedan tombs. The ascent to this point, which is to the north-east of the city, he describes as very gradual, through pleasant corn-fields planted with olive-trees. The second summit is that which overlooks the city: the path to it rises from the ruined gardens of Gethsemane, which occupy part of the valley. About half way up the ascent is a ruined monastery, built, as the monks tell us, on the spot where our Saviour wept over Jerusalem. From this point, the spectator enjoys, perhaps, the best view of

the Holy City. On reaching the summit, an extensive view is obtained towards the east, embracing the fertile plain of Jericho, watered by the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, enclosed by mountains of considerable grandeur. Here there is a small village, surrounded by some tolerable corn-land.* This summit is not relatively high, and would more properly be termed a hill, than a mountain: it is not above two miles distant from Jerusalem. At a short distance from the summit is shewn the supposed print of our Saviour's *left* foot—Chateaubriand says the mark of the *right* was once visible, and Bernard de Breidenbach *saw* it in 1483—this is the spot fixed upon by the mother of Constantine, as that from which our Lord ascended, and over which she accordingly erected a church and monastery, the ruins of which still remain. Pococke describes the building which was standing in his time, as a small Gothic chapel, round within, and octagon without, and tells us that it was converted into a mosque. The Turks, for a stipulated sum, permit the Christian pilgrims to take an impression of the foot-print in wax or plaster, to carry home. "Twice," says Dr. Richardson, "I visited this memorable spot, and each time it was crowded with devout pilgrims, taking casts of the holy vestige. They had to purchase permission of the Turks; but, had it not been in the possession of the Turks, they would have had to purchase it from the more mercenary and not less merciless Romans or Greeks." On Ascension eve, the Christians come and

* This seems to be the village which Pococke supposes to be the site of Bethphage: he describes it as about half a mile from 'the summit of the Ascension,' before you come to Bethany by that road.

encamp in the court, and that night they "*perform* the offices of the Ascension." Here, however, as with regard to Calvary and almost all the supposed sacred places, superstition has blindly followed the blind. That this is *not* the place of the Ascension, is certain from the words of St. Luke, who says that our Lord led out his disciples "*as far as Bethany*, and lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up to heaven." Acts i.

Bethany is a small village to the east of the Mount of Olives, on the road to Jericho, not further from Jerusalem than the pinnacle of the hill. There are two roads to it; one passes over the Mount of Olives; the other, which is the shorter and easier, winds round the eastern end, having the greater part of the hill on the north or left hand, and on the right the elevation called by some writers the Mount of Offence, which is, however, very little above the level of the valley of Jehoshaphat. The village of Bethany is small and poor, and the cultivation of the soil is much neglected; but it is a pleasant and somewhat romantic spot, sheltered by Mount Olivet on the north, and abounding with trees and long grass. The inhabitants are Arabs. Here they shew the ruins of a sort of castle as the house of Lazarus, and a grotto as his tomb, which, of course, is much frequented by pilgrims. On the eminence above is a small Turkish mosque. The house of Simon the leper, of Mary Magdalene, and of Martha, who, it seems, did not reside with her brother, and the identical fig-tree which our Lord cursed, are among the monkish curiosities of the place.

The third summit of the hill is further towards the south. Here Pococke noticed two heaps of ruins,

one of which, the Arabs told him, had been a convent of Armenians. The fourth summit, still further south, had also an Armenian convent: it was called, he says, by the Arabs, *Gorek-Nertebet.*

Dr. Clarke has described some subterranean chambers on the highest summit of Mount Olivet, which are not noticed by any preceding traveller. One of them, he says, has the shape of a cone of immense size, the vertex alone appearing level with the soil, and exhibiting a small circular aperture like the mouth of a well; the sides extending below to a great depth. These were lined with a hard, red stucco, like the substance covering the walls of the subterranean galleries in the Isle of Aboukir. Dr. Clarke calls this place a crypt and a subterranean pyramid, and supposes it may have been appropriated to the idolatrous worship of Ashtaroth at an early period of the Jewish history, and subsequently made a receptacle for the bones of men.

The olive is still found growing in patches at the foot of the mount to which it gives its name; and "as a spontaneous produce, uninterruptedly resulting from the original growth of this part of the mountain, it is impossible," says Dr. Clarke, "to view even these trees with indifference." Titus cut down all the wood in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but there would seem to have been constantly springing up a succession of these hardy trees. "It is truly a curious and interesting fact," adds the learned traveller, "that, during a period of little more than two thousand years, Hebrews, Assyrians, Romans, Moslems, and Christians, have been successively in possession of the rocky mountains of Palestine; yet, the olive still vindicates its paternal soil, and is found, at this day, upon the same spot which was called by

the Hebrew writers Mount Olivet and the Mount of Olives, eleven centuries before the Christian era."*

The valley of Jehoshaphat, which lies between this mountain and the hills on which Jerusalem is built, is still used as a burial-place by the modern Jews, as it was by their ancestors. It is, generally speaking, a rocky flat, with a few patches of earth here and there, about half a mile in breadth from the Kedron to the foot of Mount Olivet, and nearly of the same length from Siloa to the garden of Gethsemane. It is filled with tombs every where dug in the rock, some of them large, indicating the superior condition of their ancient possessors, but the greater part are small and of the ordinary size. Many of the stones are covered with Hebrew inscriptions; and, to the learned in Rabbinical lore, this ancient grave-yard would furnish an interesting field for investigation. The Jews have a tradition, evidently founded on taking literally the passage Joel iii. 12, that this narrow valley will be the scene of the Final Judgment. The prophet Jeremiah evidently refers to the same valley under the name of the valley of the Son of Hinnom, or the valley of Tophet, the situation being clearly marked as being by the entry of the east gate.†

BETHLEHEM.

From the scene of our Lord's crucifixion and ascension, the pilgrim proceeds to visit the place of his nativity. There are two roads from Jerusalem to

* 2 Sam. xv. 30. Zech. xiv. 4.

† Jer. xix. 2, 6. Pococke places the valley of Hinnom to the south of Jerusalem, but thinks it might include part of that to the east. It formed part of the bounds between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, (Jos. xv. 8. xviii. 16.) but the description is somewhat obscure.

Bethlehem. That which is used at present is the shortest; the old road is more to the west. Passing out of the Jaffa gate, the traveller turns to the left, and, descending the sloping bank into the ravine, leaves on his right the pool of Hezekiah; he then ascends the rocky flat on the other side, and proceeds, in a south-west direction, over rocky and barren ground, exhibiting, in a few cultivated patches, some scanty crops of grain, and, in other parts, a covering of grass and wild flowers. The first part of the road possesses little interest. The ruined tower of Simeon, the Greek monastery of Elias, and the tomb of Rachel, are pointed out by the guides: the last is a Turkish oratory with a rounded top, like the whitened sepulchre of an Arab sheikh, and the Turks are said to have a superstitious regard for the spot as a burial-place. Dr. Clarke describes the first view of Bethlehem as imposing. The town appears covering the ridge of a hill on the southern side of a deep and extensive valley, and reaching from east to west. The most conspicuous object is the monastery erected over the supposed "Cave of the Nativity;" its walls and battlements have the air of a large fortress. From this same point, the Dead Sea is seen below on the left, seemingly very near, "but," says Sandys, "not so found by the traveller; for these high, declining mountains are not to be directly descended." The road winds round the top of a valley which tradition has fixed on as the scene of the angelic vision which announced the birth of our Lord to the shepherds; but different spots have been selected, the Romish authorities not being agreed on this head.

Bethlehem, the ancient Ephrath, or Ephrata, (called in the New Testament Bethlehem Ephrata and Bethlehem of Judea, to distinguish it from Bethlehem of

Zabulon,) is situated on a rising ground, about two hours' distance, or not quite six miles from Jerusalem. Here the traveller meets with a repetition of the same puerilities and disgusting mummery which he has witnessed at the church of the sepulchre. "The *stable*," to use the words of Pococke, "in which our Lord was born, is a *grotto* cut out of the rock, according to the eastern custom." It is astonishing to find so intelligent a writer as Dr. Clarke, gravely citing St. Jerome, who wrote in the fifth century, as an authority for the truth of the absurd legend by which the "Cave of the Nativity" is supposed to be identified. The ancient tombs and excavations are occasionally used by the Arabs as places of shelter; but the Gospel narrative affords no countenance to the notion that the Virgin took refuge in any cave of this description. On the contrary, it was evidently a manger belonging to the inn or khan: in other words, the upper rooms being wholly occupied, the holy family were compelled to take up their abode in the court allotted to the mules and horses, or other animals. To suppose that the inn, or the stable, whether attached to the inn or not, was a grotto, is to outrage common sense. But the New Testament was not the guide which was followed by the mother of Constantine, to whom the original church owed its foundation. The present edifice is represented by Chateaubriand as of undoubtedly high antiquity; yet Doubdan, an old traveller, says that the monastery was destroyed in the year 1263 by the Moslems; and in its present state, at all events, it cannot lay claim to a higher date. The convent is divided among the Greek, Roman, and Armenian Christians, to each of whom separate parts are assigned as places of worship and habitations for the monks; but, on certain days, all may perform

their devotions at the altars erected over the consecrated spots. The church is built in the form of a cross; the nave being adorned with forty-eight Corinthian columns in four rows, each column being two feet six inches in diameter, and eighteen feet high, including the base and the capital. "As the roof of the nave is wanting, the columns support nothing but a frieze of wood, which occupies the place of the architrave and the whole entablature. Open timber-work rests on the walls, and rises into the form of a dome to support a roof that no longer exists, or that perhaps was never finished."* The remains of some paintings on wood and in mosaic, are here and there to be seen, exhibiting figures "in full face, upright and stiff, but having a majestic effect." The nave, which is in possession of the Armenians, is separated from the three other branches of the cross by a wall, so that the unity of the edifice is destroyed. The top of the cross is occupied by the choir, which belongs to the Greeks. Here is "an altar dedicated to the Wise Men of the East," at the foot of which is a marble star, corresponding, as the monks say, to the point of the heavens where the miraculous meteor became stationary, and directly over the spot where the Saviour was born in the subterranean church below! A flight of fifteen steps, and a long narrow passage, conduct to the sacred crypt or grotto of the Nativity, which is thirty-seven feet six inches long, by eleven feet three inches in breadth, and nine feet high. It is lined and floored with marble, and provided on each side with five oratories, "answering precisely to the ten cribs or stalls for horses that the stable in which our Saviour was born contained." The precise spot of the birth is

* Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 393.

marked by a glory in the floor, composed of marble and jasper encircled with silver, around which are inscribed the words, *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est.* Over it is a marble table or altar, which rests against the side of the rock, here cut into an arcade. The *manger* is at the distance of seven paces from the altar; it is in a low recess hewn out of the rock, to which you descend by two steps, and consists of a block of marble, raised about a foot and a half above the floor, and hollowed out in the form of a manger. Before it is the altar of the Magi. The chapel is illuminated by thirty-two lamps, presented by different princes of Christendom. Chateaubriand has described the scene in his usual florid and imaginative style.

"Nothing can be more pleasing, or better calculated to excite devotional sentiments, than this subterraneous church. It is adorned with pictures of the Italian and Spanish schools, which represent the mysteries of the place. The usual ornaments of the manger are of blue satin, embroidered with silver. Incense is continually burning before the cradle of our Saviour. I have heard an organ, touched by no ordinary hand, play during mass, the sweetest and most tender tunes of the best Italian composers. These concerts charm the Christian Arab, who, leaving his camels to feed, repairs, like the shepherds of old, to Bethlehem, to adore the King of kings in the manger. I have seen this inhabitant of the Desert communicate at the altar of the Magi, with a fervour, a piety, a devotion, unknown among the Christians of the West. The continual arrival of caravans from all the nations of Christendom; the public prayers; the prostrations; nay, even the richness of the presents sent here by the Christian princes, altogether produce feelings in

the soul, which it is much easier to conceive than to describe."*

Such are the illusions which the Roman superstition casts over this extraordinary scene. But this is not the whole of the pious show. In another subterraneous chapel, tradition places the sepulchre of "the Innocents." From this, the pilgrim is conducted to the grotto of St. Jerome, where they shew the tomb of that father, (although his relics were translated to Rome,) that of Eusebius, and those of Santa Paula and her son, St. Eustachius.† This pious Roman lady owes the high distinction of having her tomb in this consecrated place, to having built and endowed several monasteries in the neighbourhood, all of which are now in ruins. St. Jerome passed great part of his life in this place; and in the grotto shewn as his oratory, is said to have translated that version of the Bible which has been adopted by the Church of Rome, and is called the Vulgate. He died at the advanced age of 91, A.D. 422.

The village of Bethlehem contains about 300 inhabitants, the greater part of whom gain their livelihood by making beads, carving mother-of-pearl shells with sacred subjects, and manufacturing small tables and crucifixes, all which are eagerly purchased by the pilgrims. The monks of Bethlehem claim also the exclusive privilege of marking the limbs and bodies of the devotees with crosses, stars, and monograms, by means of gunpowder; a practice borrowed from the customs of heathenism; and noticed by Virgil and Pomponius Mela.‡ Pococke says: "It is remarkable

* Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. i. p. 396.

† Chateaubriand says, "St. Paula and St. Eustochium, *two* illustrious Roman ladies." The latter was the son.

‡ Æneid. lib. iv. ver. 146. Pomp. Mela, lib. xxi.

that the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John's, and Nazareth, are worse than any other Christians. I was informed that the women of Bethlehem are very good; whereas those at Jerusalem are worse than the men, who are generally better there than at the other places. This may be occasioned by the great converse which the women have there with those of their own sex who go thither as pilgrims; and I will not venture to say, whether too great a familiarity with those places in which the sacred mysteries of our Redemption were acted, may not be a cause to take off from the reverence and awe which they should have for them, and lessen the influence they ought to have on their conduct."

At about an hour's distance to the south of Bethlehem, are the pools of Solomon. They are three in number, of an oblong figure, and are supported by abutments. The antiquity of their appearance entitles them, Dr. Richardson thinks, to be considered as the work of the Jewish monarch: "like every thing Jewish," he says, "they are more remarkable for strength than for beauty." They are situated at the south end of a small valley, and are so disposed on the sloping ground, that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. That on the west is nearest the source of the spring, and is about 480 feet long; the second is about 600 feet in length, and the third about 660; the breadth of all three being nearly the same, about 270 feet.* They are lined with a thick coat of plaster, and are capable of containing a great quantity of water, which they discharge into a small aqueduct that conveys it to Jerusalem. This aqueduct is built

* Maundrell says, ninety paces broad; their length 160, 200, and 220 paces.

on a foundation of stone: the water runs through round earthen pipes, about ten inches in diameter, which are cased with two stones, hewn out so as to fit them, and they are covered over with rough stones, well cemented together. The whole is so much sunk into the ground on the side of the hills round which it is carved, that in many places nothing is to be seen of it. In time of war, however, this aqueduct could be of no service to Jerusalem, as the communication could be easily cut off. The fountain which supplies these pools, is at about the distance of 140 paces from them. "This," says Maundrell, "the friars will have to be that sealed fountain to which the holy spouse is compared, Cant. iv. 12." And he represents it to have been by no means difficult to seal up these springs, as they rise under ground, and have no other avenue than a little hole, "like to the mouth of a narrow well."— "Through this hole you descend directly down, but not without some difficulty, for about four yards; and then arrive in a vaulted room fifteen paces long and eight broad. Joining to this, is another room of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these rooms are covered with handsome stone arches, very ancient, and perhaps the work of Solomon himself. You find here four places at which the water rises. From these separate sources it is conveyed by little rivulets into a kind of basin, and from thence is carried by a large subterraneous passage down into the pools. In the way, before it arrives at the pools, there is an aqueduct of brick pipes, which receives part of the stream, and carries it by many turnings and windings to Jerusalem. Below the pools, here runs down a narrow rocky valley enclosed on both sides with high mountains. This the friars will have to be "the enclosed garden" alluded to in the same

place of the Canticles. As to the pools, it is probable enough they may be the same with Solomon's; there not being the like store of excellent spring-water to be met with any where else throughout Palestine. But, for the gardens, one may safely affirm, that if Solomon made them in the rocky ground which is now assigned for them, he demonstrated greater power and wealth in finishing his design, than wisdom in choosing the place for it." *

This is supposed to have been the Etam, Etham, or Epham of the Scriptures. Josephus says, that there were very pleasant gardens, abounding with water, at Etham, about fifty furlongs, or a little more than six miles from Jerusalem, to which Solomon used to resort; † and the Talmudists mention that the waters from the fountain of Epham were brought to Jerusalem by Solomon. ‡ Etam is mentioned in connexion with Bethlehem and Tekoa, as one of the cities built by Rehoboam: || it was therefore, doubtless, in this neighbourhood. If any stress could be laid on the monkish traditions, the ruined village on the side of the hill below the aqueduct, still bears the name of the village of Solomon. Altogether, it is highly reasonable to conclude, that this was the site of one of king Solomon's houses of pleasure, where he made him "gardens, and orchards, and pools of water." §

Tekoa is stated by Pococke to be about six miles to the south of Bethlehem. There are considerable ruins, he says, on the top of the hill, which is about half a mile long, and a furlong broad. At the north-east corner are ruins of remains of a large castle,

* Maundrell. † Josephus, Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 7.
‡ Reland, cited by Pococke.
|| 2 Chron. xi. 6. § Eccl. ii. 5, 6.

" which some call a church; but that," he says, " seems to have been about the middle of the hill. In it there is a deep octagon font of red and white marble: I saw also in several parts, pieces of broken pillars of the same kind of marble." These remains are possibly as ancient as the time of the Crusades, as tradition has perpetuated the name of the Frankish conquerors in this neighbourhood. The hill affords a view of the Dead Sea to the south-east, of Bethlehem to the north-west, and of the Mount of Bethulia to the west-north-west. Towards the north-west corner of the hill, a little below the top, is a grotto or cave, in which " there is a fountain that never fails." On another elevation, about a mile to the south, are the ruins of a large church, " dedicated to St. Pantaleone;" and to the east of Tekoa, on the side of another steep hill, Pococke lodged in a ruined castle, to which he gives the name of Creightoun. " A little beyond this place, the valley runs east and west; and on the right hand is a very large grotto, which the Franks call a labyrinth, and the Arabs *El Maama*, or the hiding-place. The high rocks on the side of the valley are almost perpendicular, and the way to the grotto is by a terrace formed in the rock, which, either by art or nature, is very narrow. The rock is supported by great natural pillars; the top rises in several parts like domes. The grotto is perfectly dry; and there are no petrifactions or stalactites in it. We went along a very narrow passage for a considerable way, but did not find the end. There is a tradition, that the people of the country, to the number of 30,000, retired into this grotto to avoid a bad air; which probably might have been the hot winds that are sometimes very fatal in these countries. This place is so strong, that one would imagine it

to be one of the strong holds at Engaddi, to which David with his men fled from Saul; and possibly it may be that very cave in which he cut off Saul's skirt; for David and his men might with great ease have lain hid here, and not have been seen by him. Beyond this cave there is a spring of water that drops from the rocks."

The Mountain of the Franks, called also the Mount of Bethulia, from a village of that name near it, (though no such place is mentioned by ancient authors as in this part of Palestine,) is "a single hill, very high: the top appears like a large mount formed by art. The hill is laid out in terraces, the first rising about ten yards above the foot of the hill: above this the hill is very steep, and on one side there is a gentle ascent made by art. As the hill was not so steep to the south, they cut a deep fosse on that side, to add a greater strength to it: the foot of the hill was encompassed with a wall. There was a double circular fortification at top; the inner wall was defended by one round tower, and three semi-circular ones at equal distances, the first being towards the east. At the foot of the hill, to the north, there are great ruins of a church and other buildings. On a hanging-ground to the west of them, there is a cistern, and the basin of a square pond, which appears to have had an island in the middle of it, and probably there was some building on it. These improvements were also encompassed with a double wall; and they say, that there are remains of two aqueducts to it, one from the sealed fountain of Solomon, and another from the hills south of that fountain." Dr. Pococke, from whom this account is taken, conjectures, from the relative position of this city, as near Tekoah, that it is the ancient Bethhaccerem, mentioned by the

prophet Jeremiah as the proper place for a beacon. (Jer. vi. 1.) The works of the church, however, are no doubt referrible to the time of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem. The tradition which gives name to the mountain, is, that the knights of Jerusalem held this place forty years after the fall of the sacred city. Captain Mangles says: "The place is too small ever to have contained even half the number of men which would have been requisite to make any stand in such a country; and the ruins, though they may be those of a place once defended by Franks, appear to have had an earlier origin, as the architecture seems to be Roman.—We found it hollow on the top, with walls round it, and four towers, all much in ruins." There can be little doubt that this is, in fact, one of the works of Herod; and its distance seems to agree with that of Herodium. That citadel was distant from Jerusalem about sixty furlongs. It was built on "a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a further height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a straight ascent up to it." Water was brought thither from a great distance, and at a vast expense, the place being destitute of water. All which exactly answers to the description.*

All these places may be considered as in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Another excursion usually taken by the traveller, is to

ST JOHN'S IN THE DESERT,

Which is computed to be about six miles to the north-north-west of Bethlehem. The road from Bethlehem crosses the Valley of Rephaim. In about half

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 13, § 9; lib. xv. cap. 9, § 4.

an hour, the traveller comes to a village called Bootesshallah, a village of Greeks; which for some time they succeeded in keeping to themselves, by stoutly maintaining that no Turk could live in it above two years. Maundrell states, that no Turk was willing to stake his life in experimenting the truth of it. But, a few years before Dr. Pococke visited the place, three or four of the inhabitants had become converts to the Mahommedan religion, and yet had the courage to continue in the village: thus destroying the convenient spell. Nothing of interest occurs in this route, unless it can be thought worth while to mention another "Virgin's Fountain," and a village and fountain of St. Philip, where, of course, the monks tell us he baptized the Ethiopian eunuch. Dr. Richardson took a different route to St. John's, as he went directly from Jerusalem; and we shall therefore avail ourselves of his account, as furnishing a further illustration of the immediate vicinity of the sacred city.

"I went out by the gate of Bethlehem, and turning to the right, crossed the line of the ravine, and proceeded in a westerly direction. In about ten minutes we came to a cistern, with very little water, said to be the upper fountain of Gihon. It is dug in the rock, in the same manner as the pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem, plastered within, and supported by buttresses, and is not much inferior to the smallest of them in dimensions. Here we are informed that Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anointed Solomon king over Israel. A small burial-ground lay down to the left; a flock of sheep were feeding around; their shepherd had taken his station on an elevated rock, encompassed with ruins, that rises on the right, to catch the beams of the morning sun, and with his almost tuneless reed was toiling at a native

air. It hardly required the vicinity of Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, or a recollection of the wisest of men, to render this a most interesting scene. We proceeded over the hill, and in about twenty minutes arrived at the convent of the Holy Cross, which is pleasantly situated on the edge of a deep ravine; and there is a hole under the great altar in the church, where the tree grew of which the true cross was made. * This convent, to the great annoyance of the Romish, is in possession of the Greek monks.

"We next passed the tombs of the illustrious Maccabees, situated on the summit of a lofty hill on our right, and had a distant view of the interesting country of Samuel the seer; and in about an hour after leaving the convent in Jerusalem, we arrived at the convent of St. John. This monastery is built over the spot where John the Baptist, the forerunner of our blessed Saviour, was born. How this place came to be ascertained as the birth-place of John I do not know.†

* "This convent," says Maundrell, "is very neat in its structure, and in its situation delightful. But that which most deserves to be noted in it, is the reason of its name and foundation. It is because here is the earth, that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber, that made the cross. Under the high altar you are shewn a hole in the ground where the stump of the tree stood: and it meets with not a few visitants so much verier stocks than itself, as to fall down and worship it."

† The present Convent of St. John stands at about three furlongs' distance from the ruined convent shewn as the house of Elizabeth. "If," shrewdly remarks Maundrell, "you chance to ask, how it came to pass that Elizabeth lived in one house, when she was with child, and in another when she brought him forth? the answer you are like to receive is, that the former was her country-house, the latter her city habitation; and that it is no wonder for a wife of one of the priests of better rank to be provided with such variety." The Convent of St. John had, at the time of his visit (1696), been rebuilt from the ground within the preceding four years. The church he speaks of as eminently beautiful, consisting

However, in the church belonging to the convent, we read on the left of a splendid altar, the following inscription: *Hic præcursor Domini natus est*—Here the forerunner of the Lord was born. On the right is the altar of Zacharias, and that of the Visitation. The church is well proportioned, with a number of handsome columns, some tolerably good mosaic in the floor, and a portrait of John the Baptist stuck up against the wall; but it has a poor and deserted appearance, as if its votaries were few, and but little concerned about preserving its ancient grandeur. The situation, however, is exceedingly pleasant; the monks are provided with excellent apartments, and the refectory furnished me with a comfortable breakfast of coffee and melted butter.

"The prospect from the top of the convent presented to the eye a small cultivated valley, with the sides of the rising ground terraced, and planted with the olive, the vine, and the fig-tree, and many indications that this species of agriculture had been at one time much more extensive than at present. The lofty Modin falls also within the range of vision; it is crowned with the ruined palace of the Maccabees, and the burial-place of the same illustrious family.*

"Having examined this memorable spot, we proceeded through the village, crossed a small stream that trickled along the valley, and wound our way over a barren track, which industry has cultivated in terraces, and which, though called the desert, is really

of three aisles, with a handsome cupola. Artificers were still employed on the convent; and yet, the friars gave out that not a stone had been laid but cost them a dollar.

* Pococke says that this is a blunder; that Modin, where the Maccabees were born and interred, was in the tribe of Dan. The village on the hill is, he says, called Zuba. The tradition he regards as unfounded.

better cultivated, and more numerously inhabited, than any part in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Having travelled about three-quarters of an hour in a north-west direction, we came to a casale, or country village, named Colonia, which lay down on our right. Small fields of grain occur in different places; the olive, the vine, and fig-trees abound; and here, at least, the desert may be said to bud and blossom like the rose. About a quarter of an hour farther, and in the same direction, but without any regular track to guide our steps, we arrived, in company with a native of Colonia, at the cave of St. John. It is situated on the edge of a deep rocky ravine, abounding in trees, among which are many of those called locust trees.* Close by the cave there is a small fountain of fresh water, supplied by a stream from the rock, and the ruins of a small monastery that had been built over the early residence of the messenger of Christ. A small cave, about ten feet square, and the scattered fragments of a small edifice, are all that remain to testify the splendour with which the middle ages decorated this interesting spot. The vicinity of a village, and the cultivation consequent upon it, have taken away much of the desert appearance which it once possessed; for now, a residence in this place would not be any greater banishment from the society of man, than in the neighbourhood of any town or village in Judea.

"From the cave of St. John we descended the hill in an easterly direction; and, having crossed a culti-

* "The monuments," justly remarks Maundrell, "of the ignorance of the middle times." The tree alluded to, called by Pococke the caroub-tree, by others the carob, or St. John's bread, is the *ceratonia siliqua*, an evergreen of the order *polygamia dioecia*. Nothing but the consummate ignorance of the monks could have led to the invention of this legend. Locusts are expressly mentioned as lawful food, Levit. xi. 21, and are still eaten by the Arabs.

vated valley, of a tolerable size for these parts, we arrived in about twenty minutes at the place in the Valley of Turpentine, which is recorded as the scene of conflict between David and Goliath. Nothing can be better described than the ground occupied by the two opposing armies is in the language of Scripture: 'And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the Valley of Elah (Turpentine), and set the battle in array against the Philistines; and the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side, and there was a valley between them.' This valley is the Valley of Elah; it is a small valley, and the place of their encampment is pointed out where it narrows into a broad, deep ravine; part of it was in crop, and part of it under the plough, which was drawn by a couple of oxen. A small stream, which had shrunk almost under its stony bed, passes through it from east to west, from which we are informed that David chose out five smooth stones, and hasted and ran to meet the haughty champion of Gath. A well of water under the bank, with a few olive-trees above, on the north side of the valley, are said to mark the spot of the shepherd's triumph over his boasting antagonist. Saul and his men probably occupied the side of the valley which is nearest to Jerusalem; on which the ground is higher and more rugged than on the other side, which was occupied by the Philistines, who, after their defeat, retreated to Ekron; and David brought the head of the Philistine to Jerusalem. From Elah, we returned along a pleasant and picturesque road to the convent of St. John, and thence retraced our steps to Jerusalem, which we entered a little before sun-set."

The uncertainty, however, in which the topography

of Palestine has been involved by the misappropriation of names of places, affords room to doubt every thing that rests on monkish authority. This Vale of Elah, which the Scripture narrative describes as lying between Shochoh and Azekah, Pococke makes to be much further west. To identify the scene, it will only be necessary to ascertain the site of those two ancient towns: Azekah, we know, was between Beth-horon and Bethlehem;* and if the former be the same as the modern Bethoor, the Terebinthine Vale, or Valley of Elah, might seem to be correctly placed between Bethoor and Bethlehem.

Besides the route generally taken by the pilgrims, by way of Jericho and the Jordan, there is a more direct way to the Dead Sea by way of

SANTA SABA,

WHICH was taken by Dr. Pococke, and which crosses the track from Jericho to Hebron.

"We went," says the learned traveller, "to the south-east,† along the deep and narrow valley in which the brook Kedron runs: it has high rocky hills on each side, which are shaped into terraces, and doubtless produced formerly both corn and wine; some of them are cultivated even at this time. After travelling about two miles, we passed by a village on a hill to the right called Bethsaon, which is seen also from Bethlehem. This possibly might be the strong castle of Bethsura, mentioned in the history of the Maccabees;‡ though it is extraordinary that a place of such im-

* See Josh. x. 10, 11.

† This must be inaccurate; and it is not a little remarkable, that this learned and otherwise correct traveller is extremely apt to give erroneous bearings, owing to some fault in the manner of his taking his observations.

‡ 2 Macc. xi. 5.

portance, which was only five furlongs from Jerusalem, should be mentioned in no other writings. About six miles from Jerusalem we ascended a hill to the south, from which we had a prospect of Sion, the Mount of Olives, and Bethlehem. We soon came to a ruin called Der Benalbede; which, from the name, seems to have been an old convent. We went about an hour on the hills, and descending a little to the south, came to a lower ground, where we had the first view of St. Saba. Then turning east, in less than a mile we arrived at that convent, which is situated in a very extraordinary manner on the high rocks over the brook Kedron. There are a great number of grottoes about it, supposed to have been the retreats of hermits. The monastic and hermits' life was instituted here in the fourth century by St. Saba. They say that there have been 10,000 recluses here at one time; and some writers affirm that, in St. Saba's time, there were 14,000. The monks of this convent never eat flesh; and they have such privileges, that no Mahommedan can enter the convent, under the penalty of paying 500 dollars to the mosque of the Temple of Solomon. There are some ruins of a building in the way down to the brook Kedron, which probably are remains of the novitiate for breeding up young men to the monastic life, which is mentioned as belonging to the convent. John Damascenus, Euphemius, and Cyril the Monk of Jerusalem, lived in this retirement: which is computed to be equally distant from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the Dead Sea; that is, about three hours from each of them."

There are two other places in the environs of Jerusalem which remain to be noticed: Emmaus, which is within two hours' ride of the city, to the N.W. of Modin, and Hebron, which is five hours to the S.W.

of Bethlehem. The latter was formerly one of the places regularly resorted to by the pilgrims; but so far back as when Dr. Pococke was in Palestine, it was no longer deemed safe to venture in its neighbourhood; it will, however, occur in the route to the Dead Sea. Emmaus, according to Pococke, is now called by the Arabs Coubeby, or Djebeby. It lies about three miles to the W. of Rama, or Ramathaim-Zophim, the town and burial-place of Samuel; which still is called Samuele by the Arabs, and contains a mosque erected over the supposed sepulchre of the prophet. To the right of the modern village of Emmaus, on a rising ground, Dr. Pococke observed great ruins of the old town, among which is a church, erected, as the reader will anticipate, on the identical site of the house of Cleophas. But there are here no objects of interest. To the north of Samuele is a very fine valley, probably the Valley of Ajalon, from which rise two hills; that to the west has two summits, on the most northern of which is a village called Geb, perhaps Gibeon.

An annual procession of pilgrims takes place after the celebration of the Greek Easter, to the river Jordan; and many proceed as far as the Dead Sea, performing their ablutions in both. But we shall now lay aside the cockle-shell and pilgrim's weeds, and take a final leave of the environs of the Holy City; as in the tracts of country which it remains to explore, to the west and south of Jerusalem, Quaresmius and Doubdan, Sandys and Chateaubriand, and even our faithful Maundrell and Pococke, can afford us no aid. Our knowledge of a large portion of the ancient kingdom of Judea is almost entirely derived from the enterprising labours of modern English travellers.

Let us cast back one look on the most interesting spot in the world,—where once stood the metropolis

of Judea. *Fuit Hierosolyma.* To conceive of its ancient aspect, we must endeavour to shut our eyes to the domes, and minarets, and castellated towers which now revolt every pleasing and sacred association — we must forget the Turks, the Arabs, and the monks, and blot out from the picture the holy sepulchre, with all the horrible mummery connected with it. We must imagine ourselves looking down from Mount Olivet on a well-peopled and strongly-fortified city, occupying the oblong area of two sloping hills, about four miles in circumference, and sheltered on almost every side by more commanding elevations, cultivated in terraces, and clothed to their very summits with the olive, the fig-tree, and the palm. We must bear in recollection, that artillery was not invented when Jerusalem was approached by the Roman armies; and that its natural position, as surrounded on three sides with deep ravines, and on the fourth side with a triple wall, rendered it all but impregnable. In point of strength, therefore, the site was admirably chosen; while its numerous springs and water-courses, a circumstance of the first importance in that country, rendered it "beautiful for situation,"—imparting fertility to the rich alluvial soil of the surrounding valleys, where the Jews had their gardens, according to the custom of the East; the gardens and burying-places which environ the towns, as at Gaza and Jaffa, being their greatest ornament. It was in a garden thus situated, that Joseph of Arimathea had hewn out a sepulchre in the rock which rose from the other side of the valley — probably in some part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, through which flowed the river Kedron, with its little tributaries, the Siloa and the Gihon, "making glad the city of God." * The city

* Psalm xlvi. 4. Isa. viii. 6. John xviii. 1.

itself, if it could not boast of a Parthenon, was probably equal, in architectural decoration, to any one then standing in the world.* It could not, indeed, compare with Babylon or Nineveh, or the hundred-gated metropolis of Egypt, either in extent or magnificence; but its two temples — the one built by Solomon, and the other repaired and completed by Herod — were successively the admiration of the world. Of the latter, Josephus has left us a description, which, making every allowance for his national partiality, must be held to prove that it was every way worthy of the founder of Cesarea and Sebaste, and the other cities which attest the greatness of the Jewish monarch. The stupendous foundations on which the terrace rested, at the height of 600 perpendicular feet from the valley, which was formed to extend the area of the temple, still remain to indicate the gigantic nature of the work. From the temple the city had the appearance of an amphitheatre, the slope of the hill being just sufficient to present it to the greatest advantage. At certain distances, towers of not less strength than architectural beauty, broke the line of the walls; while on the left, the acropolis of Zion overlooked the whole city. Modern Jerusalem, though now disfigured by intervals of waste ground and ruined heaps, still suggests the idea of "a compact city;" † but when every part was built upon, it must have peculiarly deserved this appellation. Its ancient populousness we read of with surprise; its gates received an influx of strangers from all parts; and the wealth thus poured into it, rendered it probably one of the richest cities in the world. If to these topographical and political advantages, we add the local

* Psalm xlviii. 12, 13. † Psalm cxxii. 3.

sanctity which dignified the scene of so many proud historical recollections, and connect with the bulwarks, and palaces, and gardens of the metropolis of Judea, its consecrated character as the peculiar abode of Deity—the chosen mountain of Jehovah—the "city of God;" we shall obtain some idea of the aspect which it once presented, when the light of Heaven, which *no* where comes with a purer ray, shone on a free and favoured people, and the voice of joy and thanksgiving was heard ascending from the dwellings of her citizens.

ROUTE FROM JERUSALEM TO HEBRON AND THE DEAD SEA.

Of that part of the ancient kingdom of Judah which lay between the country of the Philistines and the western coast of the Dead Sea, little or nothing was known, till the enterprising spirit of Burckhardt, Seetzen, and our distinguished countryman Mr. Bankes, led them to forsake the beaten track of pilgrimage, and penetrate into regions concealed during more than five centuries from European observation. Yet, within this district are comprised sites of peculiar interest; among others Hebron, one of the most ancient cities in the world,* the burial-place of the patriarch Abraham,† for several years the capital of king David,‡ and the birth-place of John the Baptist. § To this interesting spot, situated in the heart of the hill-country of Judea, there is a route from Gaza, referred to by Sandys, but unexplored by any modern traveller. The whole of the intermediate country, including some places of ancient note, remains to be examined.

* Num. xiii. 22. † Gen. xxiii. 2; xlix. 31.
‡ 2 Sam. ii. 11. § Luke i. 39, *compare with* Josh. xxi. 11.

Here we must look for Gath, one of the five Philistine satrapies, and the furthest inland, which lay on the road from Gaza to Eleutheropolis; and here we must look for that episcopal city, from which Eusebius and Jerome estimate the distances and positions of other cities.* Through the same tract of country, in a longitudinal direction, a Roman road ran from Jerusalem to Aila or Ælana, from which the Gulf of Akaba received its classical name; and at this point, geographers place the ancient Eziongeber, to which the dominion of Solomon extended, as its extreme south-eastern boundary. On this line were situated several Roman stations; the names are specified of Elusa, Eboda, Lysa, Gypsaria, and Rasa. The southernmost city of the Holy Land, however, was Beersheba, about twenty miles below Hebron, and more to the west: it was given to the tribe of Simeon, whose territory lay between that of Judah and the coast. A line drawn from the southern border of the Dead Sea to "the river of Egypt," † (supposed to be the stream which falls into the Mediterranean between Dair and Gaza,) gives the ancient border of Judah and Edom. But, subsequently, the boundaries became

* Its distance, of twenty miles from Jerusalem, is given by Josephus. Antoninus, in his Itinerary, describes it as twenty-four miles from Askelon, and eighteen from Lydda, while Eusebius places it five miles from Gath, six from Lachish, twenty-five from Gerar, twenty from Jattir, and eight from Keilah. Jerome states it to have been the metropolis of the Horites—*ubi antea habitaverunt Horæi, qui interpretantur liberi, unde et ipsa urbs postea sortita vocabulum est.*

† Joshua xv. 1—4. Some have supposed, that by this expression the Nile was intended, but this notion is at variance with the precise boundaries laid down by the sacred historian. It was probably so named as the boundary of Egypt. Dair is perhaps the ancient Adar.

involved, by invasion and conquest, in considerable uncertainty, and the Roman province of Idumea trenched on the territory of Judea. Hebron itself is spoken of by Josephus as belonging to Edom. Disregarding, therefore, the indefinite division of these once hostile territories, we shall do best to consider the whole of Idumea as an integral part of the Holy Land: it was, in fact, included within the dominions of Solomon: it formed a province of Herod's kingdom, whose father was an Edomite; and its Christian bishops are described in ecclesiastical history as having their dioceses in the third Palestine.

Hebron used to be frequented by Christian pilgrims, till, as some travellers tell us, an Englishman unfortunately rode over a child, or some other reason, real or pretended, led the monks of Jerusalem to dissuade all Europeans from venturing to the south of Bethlehem.* Sandys describes it (apparently from

* The fact appears to be, that the Bethlehemites and the Hebronites are at constant variance. Ali Bey met, on the road to Bethlehem, a band of Christian shepherds, who were going to Jerusalem to lay a complaint against the Mussulman shepherds of El Hhalil, or Hebron, who had carried off a part of their cattle. "They had with them two camels, which they had taken from the Mussulmans as reprisals. The principal shepherd related the affair to one of the most respectable schereefs of Jerusalem, who accompanied me; and he explained himself in such energetic terms, that my imagination pictured to itself the quarrels of Abraham's shepherds with those of Lot, the war of the Five Kings, &c. They still preserve the same character, manners, and customs; as also the same costume, which consists of a shirt of reddish white wool, bound round the waist by a girdle or leathern belt, a black cloth thrown over the shoulders, and a piece of white cloth round the head." (Travels, vol. ii. p. 231.) Hasselquist states, that the Bethlehemites "are almost in constant quarrels with the Hierosolymytes, or with the inhabitants of Hebron, or some other of the neighbouring villages,

report only) as in his time "utterly ruinated." "Hard by," he adds, "there is a little village, seated in the field of Machpelah, where standeth a goodly temple, erected over the cave of their burial (that of the patriarchs) by Helena, the mother of Constantine; converted now into a mosque." This does not accurately correspond to the position of Hebron, which is situated on the slope of a hill; but the church of Helena remains. Ali Bey, who visited Hebron in 1807, passed as a Mussulman, and was consequently admitted into the mosque, which is jealously guarded by the Turks. He gives the following description of the interior. "The sepulchres of Abraham and of his family are in a temple that was formerly a Greek church. The ascent to it is by a large and fine staircase, that leads to a long gallery, the entrance to which is by a small court. Towards the left is a portico, resting upon square pillars.* The vestibule of the temple contains two rooms; the one to the right contains the sepulchre of Abraham, and the other, to the left, that of Sarah. In the body of the church, *which is Gothic*, between two large pillars

and their differences are seldom adjusted without the effusion of blood. Five or six year ago (1751), the inhabitants of Bethlehem and Hebron carried on such a war as destroyed the greatest part of the best inhabitants of both villages; and the neighbourhood of Bethlehem was entirely laid waste."

* The lower part of the outer wall, Captain Mangles states, is evidently antique, being built of great stones, some of them upwards of twenty-five feet in length. "It has sixteen pilasters on each side, and eight on either end, without capitals, excepting a sort of ornamental summit, which extends along the whole building, and is a species of cornice: above this is a continuation of modern masonry." The approach to the entrance is by a long flight of steps, which connect the edifice with other ruined buildings.

on the right, is seen a small house, in which is the sepulchre of Isaac; and in a similar one, upon the left, is that of his wife. The church, which has been converted into a mosque, has a *meherel*, the tribune for the preacher on Fridays, and another tribune for the *mueddens*, or singers. On the other side of the court is another vestibule, which has also a room on each side. In that upon the left is the sepulchre of Jacob, and in that upon the right, that of his wife. At the extremity of the portico of the temple, upon the right, is a door which leads to a sort of long gallery, that still serves as a mosque. From thence I passed into another room, in which is the sepulchre of Joseph, who died in Egypt, and whose ashes were brought hither by the people of Israel. All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk, magnificently embroidered with gold: those of their wives are red, embroidered in like manner. The sultans of Constantinople furnish these carpets which are renewed from time to time. I counted nine, one over the other, upon the sepulchre of Abraham. The rooms also which contain the tombs are covered with rich carpets. The entrance to them is guarded by iron gates, and wooden doors plated with silver, with bolts and padlocks of the same metal. There are reckoned to be more than a hundred persons employed in the service of the temple; it is consequently easy to imagine how many alms must be paid." *

Is this the cave of the field of Machpelah, which was before Mamre? As truly so, no doubt, as the church of the Holy Sepulchre is the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. The Moslems, in this instance also,

* Travels, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

seem only to have adopted the sacred places which they found already designated by the Christians. Joseph, we know, was not buried at Hebron, but at Sichem; and the ignorance which has assigned him a sepulchre here, affects the credibility of the whole legend. But the local features of the place, so far as we can gather from the above description, are at entire variance with the history. Here would seem to be no cave, no grotto, but a Gothic edifice, approached by a long flight of steps, consequently on an elevation, Hebron itself being on the slope of a hill. It is not said that any part of the gallery or of the rooms is excavated: the exterior is clearly a building; not, as in other cases, a building over a crypt, but enclosing the supposed tombs on its elevated level. The whole appears to be only a repetition of the pious mummery which we have met with at Jerusalem and at Bethlehem. The empress Helena never condescended to consult even probabilities.

But it may be thought that, although the stable of Bethlehem, the spot where the cross was erected, and the place where Peter's cock crew, could not be identified, the situation of the sepulchre of Abraham must have been preserved by tradition; and the Christians could not have imposed a contradictory legend on the Jews. Even supposing, however, that it was known to the natives in the fourth century, we have no reason to believe that they were consulted by the priests of Helena; except, indeed, in one notorious instance, when a Jew was put to the torture in order to induce him to find the Cross; and they would have been disposed to conceal, rather than to disclose, the site of the patriarch's sepulchre. We do not know whether the modern Jews acknowledge the mosque at Hebron to be the site of Abraham's tomb; but, if

they do, their consummate ignorance nullifies their authority. It so happens, indeed, that they give the name of "the House of Abraham" to the ruins of "a small old convent" which stands in the plain between Sipheer and Hebron; and it would be difficult to shew why the testimony of tradition should be relied upon in the one case, and rejected in the other. Yet, we have good reason for believing that Abraham never lived in a house of any kind. It is just possible, however, that there may be some reason for their bestowing this name on the building in question; and, were it nearer Hebron, it might seem to promise the discovery of the sepulchral cave.

Mr. Bankes, who, with Captains Irby and Mangles and Mr. Legh, passed through Hebron on their way to Kerek in May 1818, were the first Englishmen who had been there for many centuries. Their route from Jerusalem was through Bethlehem and Tekoa, and thence through a cultivated plain to a village called Sipheer, by the side of a valley. Here they noticed nine sepulchral caves, apparently of Roman workmanship. On leaving this village they crossed a rugged road into another plain, where are the ruins of the small convent already mentioned, to which the Jews give the name of the House of Abraham. The road then ascends the hills, passing between vineyards, each having its watch-tower for the remainder of the way. The whole distance from Tekoa to Hebron is described as a much prettier country than that near Jerusalem, the sides of the hills being richly studded with the prickly oak, the arbutus, and the Scotch fir, with other dwarf trees and flowering-shrubs.

Hebron, now called El Hhalil, is not a town of large dimensions, but the population is considerable. According to Ali Bey, it contains about 400 families

of Arabs; but he does not notice either the Jews, who are numerous, or the Turks. He describes it as situated on the slope of a mountain, and having a strong castle. Provisions, he says, are abundant, and there is a considerable number of shops. The streets are winding, and the houses unusually high. The country is well cultivated, to a considerable extent. Captain Mangles states that they passed in their route many camps of cultivating Arabs. The sheikh of Hebron, who has the title of *Hakim*, is himself a native Arab. The town is stated, by the last-mentioned writer, to contain a hundred Jewish houses; and their quarters are said to be remarkably clean, the walls being neatly whitewashed. They have here a synagogue, and their priest appears to be in the confidence of the motsellim, or Turkish *governor*. The latter personage, on observing the Tartar attendant of Mr. Legh, said, with a good-humoured air, that "a few years ago, if a Tartar had come to Hebron, he would have had his head cut off, but that it was not so now." There is here a manufactory of glass lamps, which are exported to Egypt. A regular party of merchants and pilgrims set out every year, without any escort, so as to fall in with the great Damascus hadj near to or at Mecca, which is stated to be at thirty days' distance. Hebron is computed to be twenty-seven miles S.W. of Jerusalem.

At about three days' distance from Hebron, to the south, the travellers were informed of extensive ruins at Abdi in the Desert. On leaving Hebron for Kerek, their road, turning towards the Dead Sea, leads, in a S.E. direction, through a tolerably well cultivated, but uninteresting country, presenting numerous ruined sites, some with excavated tombs in their immediate vicinity; till, at about three hours' distance, or some-

what less, the cultivated land is succeeded by a desert country, abandoned to the wandering Arabs. Near where this change of aspect begins to present itself, is a place called by the natives El Baid, where there is a fountain in the rock, and a second pool of greenish water: an ancient site to the N.W. of this spot, exhibits a wall of large construction and some good masonry.

The travellers, at some distance from this halting-place, fell in with a camp of Jellaheen Arabs, who stated that in years of scarcity they retired to Egypt; a custom which would seem to have been handed down from the days of the patriarchs, or dictated by the same necessity which compelled the sons of Jacob to adopt a similar expedient. Among them was an Arab tailor, employed in making coats of sheep-skins, which he dyed red with ochre, or some such substance.*

At about eight hours' distance from El Baid, in a deep barren valley, very rugged and full of great stones, there are the ruins of an old Turkish fort, standing on a single rock to the left of the track; and on the right there is a pool of green water, about fifteen feet wide, tolerable for horses. Further on, the cliff is excavated, at a considerable height, into loop-holes, and the pass appears to have been a sort of barrier, where duties were probably levied on the traveller. The place is called El Zoar. From hence, a gravelly ravine, studded with bushes of acacia and other shrubs, conducts to the great sandy plain at the southern end of the Dead Sea. On entering this plain, the traveller has on his right a continued hill, composed partly of salt, and partly of hardened sand,

* Exod. xxv. 5.

running S.E. and N.W.; till, after proceeding a few miles, the plain opens to the south, bounded, at the distance of about eight miles, by a sandy cliff, from sixty to eighty feet high, which traverses the valley of El Ghor, like a wall, forming a barrier to the waters of the lake when at their greatest height. The existence of that long valley, which, under the names of El Ghor and El Araba, extends from the Dead Sea to the Ælanitic gulf, was first ascertained by the indefatigable Burckhardt. This prolongation of the valley of the Jordan is considered by his learned editor as clearly indicating that that river once discharged itself into the eastern branch of the Red Sea; thus "confirming the truth of that great volcanic convulsion described in Gen. xix., which interrupted the course of the river, which converted into a lake the fertile plain occupied by the cities of Adma, Zeboin, Sodom and Gomorrah, and which changed all the valley to the southward of that district into a sandy desert."* The sandy cliff, described by Captains Irby and Mangles, was probably either thrown up at the time of that convulsion, or has been subsequently formed by accumulation, like the sand-hills of Egypt.

Many of our older travellers have described the north-western shores of the Dead Sea, to which the pilgrims are accustomed to repair from Jerusalem; but we are now, for the first time, put in possession, by the publication above referred to, of correct information respecting its southern boundary, and the singular phenomena which its shores present.

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pref. vi.

THE DEAD SEA.

THIS celebrated lake, which the prevailing passion for the marvellous long invested with imaginary horrors, and of which the natives themselves still speak with a degree of terror, has received different names expressive of its character and origin. In Scripture, it is called the sea of the Plain, the Salt Sea, and the East Sea.* By Josephus, and the Greek and Roman writers, it is spoken of under the appellation of Lake Asphaltites, that is, the Bituminous Lake. St. Jerome styles it the Dead Sea, because, according to the tradition, nothing could live in it. The Arabs call it *El Amout* (the dead), and *Bahr Louth*, or the Sea of Lot; and the Turks, according to Chateaubriand, *Ula Deguisi*. It is a lake lying between two ranges of mountains, which enclose it on the east and the west; on the north it receives the Jordan from the plain of Jericho; while, on the south, it is equally open, its margin being the plain already described; and yet it has no outlet for its waters. Reland, Pococke, and other travellers, have supposed that it must throw off its superfluous waters by some subterraneous channel; but, although it has been calculated that the Jordan daily discharges into it 6,090,000 tons of water, besides what it receives from the Arnon and several smaller streams, it is now known, that the loss by evaporation is adequate to explain the absorption of the waters.† Its occasional rise and

* Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49. Num. xxxiv. 3. Josh. xv. 5. Ezek. xlvii. 18. Joel ii. 20.

† "For, provided the Dead Sea should be, according to the general computation, seventy-two miles long and eighteen broad,

fall at certain seasons, is doubtless owing to the greater or less volume which the Jordan and the other streams bring down from the mountains. Pococke noticed the evident effect of recent inundations of the sea, on trees which had been killed by the salt-water. At such seasons it spreads itself into what Captain Mangles describes as the backwater. The high-water mark, at the period of his visit, (the beginning of June,) was a mile distant from the water's edge. The backwater, however, is never quite dry. This periodical rise and fall may possibly explain, in some degree, the different accounts which have been given of the extent of the lake. Pliny makes it 100 miles long, twenty-five miles broad in the widest part, and six where it is narrowest. Josephus states, that it is seventy-two miles and a half long, by eighteen miles and three quarters broad; with which the account given by Diodorus Siculus very nearly agrees. Reckoning the *stadium* as equal to our furlong, his statement would make it above seventy-two miles in length and nearly nineteen in breadth.* Whereas, the observations taken by Mr. Bankes and his companions, from several elevated heights, enabled them, they say, to ascertain that the utmost extent of the lake, including the backwater, does not exceed thirty miles. Yet the ancients were

then, by allowing, according to Dr. Halley's observation, 6914 tons of vapour for every square mile, there will be drawn up every day above 8,963,000 tons."—SHAW'S *Travels*, folio, p. 374.

* Adopting a different estimate of the *stadium* from Dr. E. D. Clarke, Dr. Pococke makes Diodorus say, that it is only sixty-two miles and a half long, and seven and a half broad; which he thought near the truth. But he judged only by its appearance to the eye.

well acqnainted with the sea. Josephus, Julius Africanus, and Pausanias describe it from their own ocular evidence. Are we to conclude that the lake has contracted its dimensions, so as to be only half its ancient length? Supposing any change to have taken place in the depth of its basin, in the lapse of ages, during which the bituminous stores contained in the subterranean chambers of the abyss have been in a process of decomposition,—this is not impossible. For, as the whole of the plain extending from the backwater to the sandy wall which traverses the Ghor, is a flat, on a level with the sea, it is extremely probable that the waters anciently covered that whole extent; and a comparatively slight subsidence of the sea would convert the shallow into a marshy, and at length arid, plain. This supposition would not, indeed, according to Captain Irby's estimate of the distance of the cliff, add more than eight or ten miles of length to the lake; but it would at least lessen the discrepancy between the conflicting authorities. Even if the whole of the lake should prove to be a shallow, the diminution of its waters might be accounted for by changes in the course of the torrents, or in the volume of water which formerly supplied its constant waste by evaporation. It is probable, however, that, in the low estimation of its length, sufficient allowance has not been made for its winding or curved direction. Pococke says, it did not appear to him above a league broad; and Mr. Jolliffe thought the expanse could not exceed five or six miles in breadth; but both speak of its northern extremity, where it ends in a sort of bay. As it advances southwardly, it increases in breadth, assuming the form of a curve, or, according to Chateaubriand, the shape of a bow. Its course is visible from the northern shore only for

about ten or fifteen miles, in a S.S.E. direction, disappearing in a curve towards the East.

The Jordan, at its embouchure, is deep and rapid, rolling a volume of waters from two to three hundred feet in width, with a current so violent, that an expert swimmer, who attended Mr. Jolliffe, found it impracticable to cross it. Dr. Shaw describes it, indeed, as not more than thirty yards broad, and Maundrell, as only about twenty yards over; but they speak of its appearance at some distance from the mouth, where the pilgrims bathe. The former affirms that it runs about two miles an hour,—while the latter speaks of its violent and turbid current, "too rapid to be swam against." It was the old opinion, that the waters of the river passed through the lake without mingling with it; and "I thought I saw," says Pococke, "the stream of a different colour." The fact is, that the water of the lake is clear and of the colour of the sea, while that of the Jordan is muddy, and of course discolours the lake with its yellow current.

The specific gravity of the waters of the Dead Sea is supposed to have been much exaggerated by the ancient writers, but their statements are now proved to be by no means very wide of the truth. Pliny says, that no living bodies would sink in it; and Strabo, that persons who went into it were borne up to their middle. Josephus states, that Vespasian tried the experiment, by ordering some persons who could not swim, to be thrown into the water with their hands tied behind them, and that they all floated, as if impelled upwards by a subterranean current. Maundrell says; "Being willing to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that

men wading into it were buoyed up to the top as soon as they go as deep as the navel, I found it by experiment not true." Pococke, however, says: "I was much pleased with what I observed of this extraordinary water, and stayed in it near a quarter of an hour. I found I could lay on it in any posture, without motion, and without sinking. It bore me up in such a manner, that, when I struck in swimming, my legs were above the water, and I found it difficult to recover my feet. I did not care to venture where it was deep, though these effects would probably have been more remarkable further in. They have a notion that if any one attempted to swim over, it would burn up the body; and they say the same of boats, for there are none on the lake." Van Egmont and Heyman state, that, on swimming to some distance from the shore, they found themselves, to their great surprise, lifted up by the water. "When I had swam to some distance, I endeavoured to sink perpendicularly to the bottom, but could not; for the water kept me continually up, and would certainly have thrown me upon my face, had I not put forth all the strength I was master of, to keep myself in a perpendicular posture; so that I walked in the sea as if I had trod on firm ground, without having occasion to make any of the motions necessary in treading fresh water; and when I was swimming, I was obliged to keep my legs the greatest part of the time out of the water. My fellow-traveller was agreeably surprised to find that he could swim here, having never learned. But his case and mine proceeded from the gravity of the water, as this certainly does from the extraordinary quantity of salt in it." Mr. Jolliffe says, he found it very little more buoyant than other seas, but he did not go out of his depth. "The

descent of the beach," he says, "is so gently gradual, that I must have waded above a hundred yards to get completely out of my depth, and the impatience of the Arabians would not allow of time sufficient for this." Captain Mangles says: "The water is as bitter and as buoyant as the people have reported. Those of our party who could not swim, floated on its surface like corks. On dipping the head in, the eyes smarted dreadfully." The question of its specific gravity, indeed, has been set to rest by the chemical analysis of the waters made by Dr. Marcet, and published in the London Philosophical Transactions for 1807. In 1778, Messrs. Lavoisier, Macquer, and Le Sage had concluded, by experiment, that a hundred pounds of the water contain forty-five pounds six ounces of salt; that is, six pounds four ounces of common marine salt, and thirty-eight pounds two ounces of marine salt with an earthy base. But Dr. Marcet's more accurate analysis has determined the specific gravity to be 1,211, (that of fresh water being 1000,) a degree of density not to be met with in any other natural water; and it holds in solution the following salts, in the stated proportions to 100 grains of the water:

Muriate of lime	3,920 grains.
Muriate of magnesia	10,246
Muriate of soda	10,360
Sulphate of lime	0,054
	24,580

So that the water of the lake contains about one-fourth of its weight of salts, supposed in a state of perfect desiccation; or if they be desiccated at the temperature of 180° on Fahrenheit's scale, they will amount to forty-one per cent. of the water. Its other general properties are, that, 1. As stated by all travel-

lers, it is perfectly transparent. 2. Its taste is extremely bitter, saline, and pungent. 3. Re-agents demonstrate in it the presence of the marine and sulphuric acids. 4. It contains no alumine. 5. It is not saturated with common salt. 6. It did not change the colours of the infusions commonly used to ascertain the prevalence of an acid or an alkali, such as litmus, violet, and turmeric.

The water of the Jordan, when analysed, exhibited results strikingly dissimilar. It is soft, has no saline taste, and 500 grains evaporated at 200°, left 0,8 grains of dry residue; that is, only $\frac{1}{300}$ part of the proportion of solid matter that is contained in the water of the lake. Carbonate of lime was detected in the water of the river, of which there is no trace in the salt water; and two other precipitates were produced, one of them magnesian. It is impossible to account for this remarkable difference, on any other principle than that which refers the origin of the lake to the convulsion recorded in the Scripture narrative.

With regard to the agents employed in this catastrophe, there might seem reason to suppose that volcanic phenomena had some share in producing it; but Chateaubriand's remark is deserving of attention. "I cannot," he says, "coincide in opinion with those who suppose the Dead Sea to be the crater of a volcano. I have seen Vesuvius, Solfatara, Monte Nuovo in the lake of Fusino, the peak of the Azores, the Mamalif opposite to Carthage, the extinguished volcanoes of Auvergne; and remarked in all of them the same characters; that is to say, mountains excavated in the form of a tunnel, lava, and ashes, which exhibited incontestible proofs of the agency of fire." After noticing the very different shape and position of the Dead Sea, he adds: "Bitumen, warm springs,

and phosphoric stones are found, it is true, in the mountains of Arabia; but then, the presence of hot springs, sulphur, and asphaltos is not sufficient to attest the anterior existence of a volcano."* The learned Frenchman inclines to adopt the idea of Professors Michaelis and Büsching, that Sodom and Gomorrah were built upon a mine of bitumen; that lightning kindled the combustible mass, and that the cities sank in the subterraneous conflagration. M. Malte Brun ingeniously suggests, that the cities might themselves have been built of bituminous stones, and thus have been set in flames by the fire of heaven. We learn, from the Mosaic account, that the Vale of Siddim, which is now occupied by the Dead Sea, was full of "slime pits," or pits of bitumen.† Pococke says: "It is observed, that the bitumen floats on the water, and comes ashore after windy weather; the Arabs gather it up, and it serves as pitch for all uses, goes into the composition of medicines, ‡ and is thought to have been a very great ingredient in the bitumen used in embalming the bodies in Egypt: § it has been much used for cerecloths, and has an ill smell when burnt. It is probable that there are subterraneous fires, that throw up this bitumen at the bottom of the sea, where it may form itself into a mass, which may be broken by the motion of the water occasioned by high winds; and it is very re-

* Travels in Greece, &c. vol. i. pp. 413, 414.

† Gen. xiv. 3, 10.

‡ Dr. Clarke states, that the monks of St. Salvador (the Latin convent of Jerusalem) keep the water of the Dead Sea in jars, together with the bitumen of the same lake, among the articles of their pharmacy, both being alike esteemed for their medicinal properties. (Vol. iv. p. 308.)

§ This is expressly affirmed by Pliny.

markable, that the stone called the stone of Moses, found about two or three leagues from the sea, which burns like a coal, and turns only to a white stone, and not to ashes, has the same smell, when burnt, as this pitch; so that it is probable, a stratum of the stone under the Dead Sea is one part of the matter that feeds the subterraneous fires, and that this bitumen boils up out of it."

To give force to this last conjecture, however, it would be requisite to ascertain, whether bitumen is capable of being detached from this stone, in a liquid state, by the action of fire. The stone in question is the black fetid limestone, used at Jerusalem in the manufacture of rosaries and amulets, and worn as a charm against the plague.* The effluvia which it emits on friction, is owing to a strong impregnation of sulphuretted hydrogen. If the buildings were constructed of materials of this description, with quarries of which the neighbouring mountains abound, they would be easily susceptible of ignition by lightning. The Scriptural account, however, is explicit, that "the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from heaven;"† which we may safely interpret as implying a shower of inflamed sulphur, or nitre. At the same time it is evident, that the whole plain underwent a simultaneous convulsion, which seems referrible to the consequences of a bituminous explosion. In perfect accordance with this,

* Hasselquist describes this mineral as "quartz stones in the form of slate — one of the rarest natural curiosities," he says, "I got in my travels. If it was burnt, it smelt like bitumen, which proves that it had its origin from it, like all the slate of this country."—*Voyages and Travels*, p. 131. See Dr. Clarke's Geological Authorities, vol. iv. p. 307.

† Gen. xix. 24.

view of the catastrophe, we find the very materials, as it were, of this awful visitation still at hand in the neighbouring hills; from which they might have been poured down by the agency of a thunder-storm, without excluding a supernatural cause from the explanation of the phenomena. Captains Irby and Mangles collected, on the southern coast, lumps of nitre and fine sulphur, from the size of a nutmeg up to that of a small hen's egg, which, it was evident from their situation, had been brought down by the rain: "their great deposite must be sought for," they say, "in the cliff."

Dr. Shaw supposes that the bitumen, as it rises, is accompanied with sulphur, "inasmuch as both of them are found promiscuously upon the wash of the shore." But his conjecture is not founded on observation. The statement he gives, is founded on hearsay evidence; we cannot, therefore, admit him as (in this case) an original authority. "I was informed," he says, "that the bitumen, for which this lake hath been always remarkable, is raised, at certain times, from the bottom, in large hemispheres; which, as soon as they touch the surface, and so are acted upon by the external air, burst at once with great smoke and noise, like the *pulvis fulminans* of the chemists, and disperse themselves round about in a thousand pieces. But this happens only near the shore; for, in greater depths, the eruptions are supposed to discover themselves only in such columns of smoke as are now and then observed to arise from the lake."* Chateaubriand speaks of the puffs of smoke "which announce or follow the emersion of asphaltos, and of fogs that are really unwholesome like all other fogs." These he considers

* Travels, folio, p. 374.

as the supposed pestilential vapours said to arise from the bosom of the lake. But it admits of question, in the deficiency of more specific information, whether what has been taken for columns of smoke, may not be the effect of evaporation.* From the very interesting account furnished by Captains Irby and Mangles, we obtain some further particulars of this astonishing scene, which may seem to justify the conjecture.

On entering upon the plain to the southward of the lake, exclusive of the saline appearance left by the retiring of the waters, they noticed lying on the ground, several large fragments of rock-salt, which led them to examine the hill on the right of the ravine by which they had descended. This has been described as composed partly of salt, partly of hardened sand: the salt in many instances was hanging from the cliffs, in clear perpendicular points resembling icicles. They observed also strata of salt of considerable thickness, having very little sand mixed with it, generally in perpendicular lines. During the rainy season, the torrents apparently bring down immense masses of this mineral. Strabo mentions, that to the southward of the Dead Sea there are towns and cities built entirely of salt; and "although," adds the writer, "such an account seems strange, yet, when we contemplated the scene before us, it did not seem improbable. The sea had thrown up at high-water mark a quantity of wood, with which the travellers attempted to make a fire, in order to bake some bread; but it was so impregnated with salt, that all their efforts were un-

* "As soon as we came to the pass, which commands an extensive prospect of the Dead Sea, we could observe the effect of the evaporation arising from it in broad transparent columns of vapour, not unlike water-spouts in appearance, but very much larger."—IRBY and MANGLES, p. 447.

availing. The track, after leaving the salt hill, led across the barren flats of the backwater — then left partially dry by the effects of evaporation. They passed six drains running into the sea: some were wet, and still draining the dreary level which they intersected; others were dry. These had a strong marshy smell, similar to what is perceivable on most of the muddy flats in salt-water harbours, but by no means more unpleasant. The water on the main body of the lake is perfectly free from any smell. Besides these salt-water drains, several little torrents descending from the eastern mountains find their way into the sea. At about half an hour from the first drain, and three hours from the western cliff of the Ghor, is the Nahr-el-Hussan, or Horse River; which, traversing the plain in a N.N.W. direction, falls into the backwater at its southern edge. Three hours further, keeping the line of the coast, the Nahr-el-Assel, or Honey River, falls into its eastern border. From thence, at four hours' distance, the Nahr-el-Derrah (or Darah) crossing the valley on the eastern side of the backwater, runs northward into a bay of the Dead Sea, formed by an elevated tongue of land, extending some miles into the lake: between which and its western shore is the strait or outlet into the backwater. At the narrowest part of this strait, where a low promontory projects from the opposite or western shore, is a ford, which the natives state to be at no season impassable: here the route crosses which is taken by the caravan from Terek. This description exactly answers to the concise account cited by Chateaubriand from the narrative of Daniel, Abbot of St. Saba, the only person then known to have made the tour of the lake. "The Dead Sea, at its extremity," he says, "is separated as it were into two parts; and

there is a way by which you may walk across it, being only mid-leg deep,—at least in summer. The land at that point rises and bounds another small lake, of a circular or rather oval figure, surrounded with plains and mountains of salt."

In the plain bordering upon the lake are high rushes, which give way to a variety of bushes and wild plants; among others, several species of acacia, the dwarf mimosa, the tamarisk, the wild cotton plant, the doom, and the oschar. Captain Mangles describes also a very curious tree, which abounds here; its fruit resembling the currant in its growth, but with the colour of a plum; having a strong aromatic taste resembling mustard, and, if taken in any quantity, producing the same irritability in the nose and eyes. The leaves have the same pungent flavour in a less degree. On the borders of the Derrah, they observed another peculiar shrub, its branches inclining downwards, of a dull green, with little or no foliage; the fruit about the size of an almond in its green husk, and not very dissimilar in colour, but seamed or ribbed. When ripe, it becomes soft and juicy, like a green gage, but the skin retains its roughness. It contains a stone. The taste has a sort of sweetness, mixed with a strong bitter; the smell is sickly and disagreeable. It is said by the natives to be poisonous, children being reported to have frequently been disordered, and even to have died, after eating it. Near the Nahr-el-Hussan there was plenty of corn growing in the open grounds between the bushes. Proceeding along the foot of the mountains which bound the east side of the plains, the track is rugged and barren in the extreme, presenting innumerable fragments of red and grey granite, grey, red, and black porphyry, serpentine, a beautiful black basalt, breccia,

and other kinds of stone from the neighbouring mountains, scattered in all directions. The Nahr-el-Derrah waters a beautiful shady ravine: its banks being clothed in profusion with the palm, acacia, aspine, and oleander, afford a refreshing contrast to the desert appearance of the neighbourhood. The rocks above, which are composed chiefly of a dark sand-stone and various kinds of marble, present hardly a vestige of vegetation. Near where the Derrah opens from its glen into the plain to the northward, there is very clearly to be perceived an ancient site. Stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, with bricks and fragments of pottery, are strewed over the uneven surface, for at least half a mile quite down to the plain. Captain Mangles noticed a column, and a pretty specimen of antique variegated glass. The hare and the partridge of the desert, or quail, abound in the thickets, and there were observed frequent tracks of the wild boar. Several villages of Ghorneys, a sort of Mahommedan Pariahs, are scattered about the plains. Near the sea, the vegetation consists chiefly of the tamarisk and the cane, so high and so thickly set as to render many parts wholly impassable. The rotten and marshy ground, during the winter season especially, renders the passage very difficult. The foliage has a salt dew hanging on it, which is greasy to the touch. A narrow, pebbly beach separates the jungle from the sea, which encroaches more or less on the shore, according to the season. The highest point which it reaches, is marked by an extensive deposite of timber of all sizes. It dries off into shallows and small pools, which deposite a salt as fine and well bleached, in some instances, as that in regular salt-pans. The travellers found several of the natives peeling off a solid layer of salt, seve-

ral inches thick, with which they loaded their asses. In some parts the ground is treacherous, being only glazed over with a thin crust, not unlike the sediment of mud which is in some parts left by the Nile; and towards the strait, where the water, being more shallow, retires rapidly, a considerable level is left, encrusted with a salt that is but half dried and consolidated, appearing like ice in the commencement of a thaw, and giving way nearly ancle deep. At the northernmost point of the cape, some rotten branches were found standing up, so encrusted with salt that they had the appearance of fine white coral.

It was long a received tradition, that no living thing could pass over this lake without being suffocated by the vapours, and that no fish could endure the deadly waters. Captains Irby and Mangles found on the shores a great number of dead locusts, which might almost seem, they remark, to lend some countenance to the tale, were it not a spectacle sufficiently common upon other shores, as about El Arisch, and in Sicily. These, however, had not become putrid, nor had they any smell, as when cast up by any other sea, being completely penetrated and encrusted with salt; and they had lost their colour. Of the fabulous nature of one part of the tradition, the travellers had ocular demonstration; first, in a pair of Egyptian geese, and afterwards in a flight of pigeons, which passed over the sea.* And Maundrell saw several birds, he does

* Van Egmont and Heyman carried with them two sparrows, for the purpose of ascertaining the alleged fact, and having plucked out a few feathers from each wing, so that they could not fly long, set them at liberty. "After a short flight, they fell into, or rather upon the sea; but so far were they from dying there, that they both got safe ashore; though, had there been any such noxious effluvia, they were long enough on the surface of the water to have felt its deleterious effect."

not say of what species, flying about and over the sea, without any visible harm. The latter part also of the report, he adds, "I have some reason to suspect as false; having observed among the pebbles on the shore two or three shells of fish, resembling oyster-shells. These were cast up by the waves, at two hours' distance from the mouth of the Jordan; which I mention, lest it should be suspected that they might be brought into the sea that way."* Seetzen, too, speaks of some snail-shells he found on the coast, as proving that there are living creatures in the lake. And Captain Irby and his companions found, besides snail-shells, a small spiral species. But these were invariably without fish, and had not apparently been occupied for a long time. Pococke justly remarks, that it is not probable that the fresh-water fish of the Jordan could live in the salt-water; but he was told that *a monk* had seen fish caught in the lake—a most indubitable testimony! M. Chateaubriand, moreover, heard at midnight a noise upon the lake, which, he was told by the Bethlehemites, proceeded from legions of small fish which come and leap about on the shore—doubtless seeking to be delivered from the pestilential waters. This was, we apprehend, nothing more than a hoax upon the learned Frenchman. Hitherto, we are without any satisfactory evidence that the lake contains any living creatures. Captain Mangles mentions it as remarkable, how few living things, whether birds, insects, or reptiles, are to be seen on its shores. The want of vegetable matter and of fresh water is a very sufficient reason.

* Hasselquist says: "The Arabs say, there are no fish in this sea; however, I doubt the truth of this, as there are shell-fish" (on the shore).

M. Seetzen imagined that he had discovered an island of some extent in the Dead Sea; but this our English travellers ascertained beyond all doubt to have no existence. One evening, however, about sunset, they were themselves deceived by a dark shadow on the waters, which assumed so exactly the appearance of an island, that, even after looking at it through a telescope, they concluded it to be one. "It is not the only time," they say, "that such a phenomenon has presented itself to us: in two instances, looking up the sea from its southern extremity, we saw it apparently closed by a low dark line, like a bar of sand, to the northward; and on another occasion, two small islands seemed to present themselves between a long sharp promontory on the western shore." They profess themselves at a loss to account for these appearances, which they suppose to be what deceived M. Seetzen; but they suggest it as just possible, that he might see "one of those temporary islands of bitumen which Pliny describes as being several acres in extent." Is it not possible that M. Seetzen's island, and the appearances observed by the English travellers, were shallows?—This suggests an interesting inquiry.

Chateaubriand says: "Several travellers, and, among others, Troilo and D'Arvieux, assert, that they remarked fragments of walls and palaces in the Dead Sea. This statement seems to be confirmed by Maundrell and Father Nau. The ancients speak more positively on this subject. Josephus, employing a poetic expression, says, that he perceived on the banks of the lake, the shades of the overwhelmed cities. Strabo gives a circumference of sixty *stadia* to the ruins of Sodom, which are mentioned also by Tacitus. I know not whether they still exist; but, as

the lake rises and falls at certain seasons, it is possible that it may alternately cover and expose the skeletons of the reprobate cities."* Mr. Jolliffe mentions the same story. "We have even," he says, "heard it asserted with confidence, that broken columns and other architectural ruins are visible at certain seasons, when the water is much retired below its usual level; but of this statement, our informers, when closely pressed, could not adduce any satisfactory confirmation." We are afraid that, notwithstanding the authority of Strabo, we must class this legend with the dreams of imagination; or perhaps its origin may be referred to some such optical delusion as led to the mistake respecting the supposed island. In the travels of Egmont and Heyman, however, there is a statement which may throw some light on the subject. They say: "We also saw here a kind of jetty or prominence, which appears to have been a heap of stones from time to time thrown up by the sea; but it is a current opinion here, that they are part of the ruins of one of

* Travels in Greece, &c. vol. i. p. 415. Maundrell's alleged confirmation is worth little. "Being desirous to see the remains (if there were any) of those cities anciently situate in this place, and made so dreadful an example of the Divine vengeance, I diligently surveyed the waters as far as my eye could reach; but neither could I discern any heaps of ruins, nor any smoke ascending above the surface of the water, as is usually described in the writings and maps of geographers. But yet I must not omit what was confidently asserted to me by the father guardian and the procurator of Jerusalem, both men in years, and seemingly not destitute either of sense or probity, viz. that they had once actually seen one of these ruins; that it was so near the shore, and the water so shallow at that time, that they, together with some Frenchmen, went to it, and found there several pillars and other fragments of buildings. The cause of our being deprived of this sight, was, *I suppose*, the height of the water." It is not difficult to perceive, from this dry remark, that our traveller's incredulity was not overcome by his grave authorities.

the towns which are buried under it." The bare possibility, that any wreck of the guilty cities should be brought to light, is sufficient to excite an intense curiosity to explore this mysterious flood, which, so far as appears from any records, no bark has ever ploughed,* no plummet ever sounded. Should permission ever be obtained from the Turks, to launch a vessel on the lake, its navigation, if practicable, would probably lead to some interesting results.

There yet remains to be noticed, in connexion with this subject, the far-famed apples

> "which grew
> Near that bituminous lake where Sodom stood."

Tacitus and Josephus both mention this fruit as beautiful to the eye, but crumbling, at the touch, to dust and bitter ashes.† Reland, Maundrell, and Shaw, all express themselves as sceptical concerning its existence. But none of them explored the borders of the lake sufficiently to entitle them to give a decided opinion on the subject, having only seen its northern shore. Pococke is inclined to lay more stress on the ancient testimonies; and he supposes the apples to be pomegranates, "which having a tough, hard rind, and being left on the trees two or three years, the inside may be dried to dust, and the outside may remain fair." Hasselquist, however, the pupil of Linnæus, pronounces the *Poma Sodomitica* to be the fruit of the *Solanum melongena*, (egg-plant nightshade, or mad-apple,) which he states to be found in great abundance

* Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus speak of rafts, composed of interwoven reeds, on which the Arabs used to go to collect asphaltos.

† See also Wisdom x. 7.

round Jericho, in the valleys near the Jordan, and in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. "It is true," he says, "that these apples are sometimes full of dust, but this appears only when the fruit is attacked by an insect (*tenthredo*), which converts the whole of the inside into dust, leaving nothing but the rind entire, without causing it to lose any of its colour." M. Seetzen, differing from Hasselquist in opinion, supposes the apple of Sodom to be the fruit of a species of cotton-tree, which, he was told, grows in the plain of El Ghor, in appearance resembling a fig-tree, and known by the name of Abeschaez. The cotton is contained in the fruit, which is like a pomegranate, but has no pulp. Chateaubriand follows with his discovery of what he concludes to be the long-sought fruit. The shrub which bears it, he says, grows two or three leagues from the mouth of the Jordan: it is thorny, with small taper leaves, and its fruit is exactly like the little Egyptian lemon both in size and colour. "Before it is ripe, it is filled with a corrosive and saline juice: when dried, it yields a blackish seed, which may be compared to ashes, and which in taste resembles bitter pepper." He gathered half a dozen of these fruits, but has no name for them, either popular or botanical. Next comes Mr. Jolliffe. He found in a thicket of brushwood, about half a mile from the plain of Jericho, a shrub five or six feet high, on which grew clusters of fruit, about the size of a small apricot, of a bright yellow colour, "which, contrasting with the delicate verdure of the foliage, seemed like the union of gold with emeralds. *Possibly*, when ripe, they may crumble into dust upon any violent pressure." Those which this gentleman gathered *did not* crumble, nor even retain the slightest mark of indenture from the touch; they would seem to want, therefore, the

most essential characteristic of the fruit in question. But they were not ripe. This shrub is probably the same as that described by Chateaubriand. Lastly, Captains Irby and Mangles have no doubt that they have discovered it in the oskar plant, which they noticed on the shores of the Dead Sea, grown to the stature of a tree; its trunk measuring, in many instances, two feet or more in circumference, and the boughs at least fifteen feet high. The filaments enclosed in the fruit, somewhat resemble the down of a thistle, and are used by the natives as a stuffing for their cushions; "they likewise twist them, like thin rope, into matches for their guns, which, they assured us, required no application of sulphur to render them combustible." This is probably the same tree that M. Seetzen refers to. But still, the correspondence to the ancient description is by no means perfect; there being little resemblance between cotton or thistle-down, and ashes or dust. M. Chateaubriand's golden fruit, full of bitter seed, comes the nearest to what is told us of the deceitful apple. If it be any thing more than a fable, it must have been a production peculiar to this part of Palestine, or it would not have excited such general attention. On this account, the oskar and the solanum seem alike unentitled to the distinction; and for the same reason, the pomegranate must altogether be excluded from consideration. The fruit of the *solanum melongena*, which belongs to the same genus as the common potatoe, is white, resembling a large egg, and is said to impart an agreeable acid flavour to soups and sauces, for the sake of which it is cultivated in the south of Europe. This could hardly be what Tacitus and Josephus referred to. It is possible, indeed, that what they describe, may have originated, like the oak-galls, in this country, in the work

of some insect: for these remarkable productions sometimes acquire a considerable size and beauty of colour. Future travellers will be inexcusable if they leave this question undecided.

The usual route by which travellers have reached the northern shores of the Dead Sea, is by Jericho and Santa Saba. Before we finally quit the land of Judea, we must notice the interesting sites which occur in this track.

THE ROAD TO JERICHO AND THE JORDAN.

Soon after leaving Bethany, the road descends the other side of Mount Olivet, having a valley to the right: it then leads for three or four miles along the valley, and at length turns northward into a mountainous desert which the ancients have fixed upon as a fit place in which to lay the scene of our Lord's temptation. "A most miserable, dry, barren place it is," says Maundrell, "consisting of high rocky mountains so torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion, in which its very bowels had been turned outward. On the left hand," continues this accurate traveller, "looking down into a deep valley, as we passed along, we saw some ruins of small cells and cottages, which they told us were formerly the habitations of hermits retiring hither for penance and mortification. And certainly, there could not be found in the whole earth a more comfortless and abandoned place for that purpose. From the top of these hills of desolation we had, however, a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plain of Jericho; into which last place we descended, after about five hours' march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up

on the left hand, and going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; which, they say, is the mountain into which the devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only difficult but dangerous. It has a small chapel at the top, and another about half way up, founded upon a prominent part of the rock. Near this latter are several caves and holes in the side of the mountain, made use of anciently by hermits, and by some at this day, for places to keep their Lent in, in imitation of that of our blessed Saviour. In most of these grots we found certain Arabs quartered with fire-arms, who obstructed our ascent, demanding two hundred dollars for leave to go up the mountains. So we departed without further trouble, not a little glad to have so good an excuse for not climbing so dangerous a precipice. *

* Hasselquist attempted to reach the summit of "the mountain where Christ fasted and was tempted," but found it too perilous an adventure. "The mountain," he says, "is high and pointed; and on our left, as we ascended, was a deep valley, towards which the rock was perpendicularly steep. It consists of a loose white limestone, mixed with another that is greyish and harder. The way up to the highest point is dangerous beyond imagination. It is narrow, steep, and full of rocks and stones, which obliged us frequently to creep over them before we could accomplish our design. The difficulty is increased by the valley on one side, which, besides its terrible aspect, is dangerous in case one should slip, as in such case it would be impossible to escape death. Near the top of the mountain are the ruins of an old Greek convent, which shew how the monks and anchorites of the old Christians lived, and what places they inhabited. The Greeks preserve the ancient dwellings of their forefathers in Mount Sinai, Saba, St. Elias, and other places in the East. I went as far up on this terrible mountain of temptation as prudence would permit; but ventured not to go to the top, whither I sent my servant to bring what natural

"Turning down from hence into the plain, we passed by a ruined aqueduct, and a convent in the same condition, and in about a mile's riding, came to the fountain of Elisha; so called, because miraculously purged from its brackishness by that prophet, at the request of the men of Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 19. Its waters are at present received in a basin, about nine or ten paces long, and five or six broad; and from thence issuing out in good plenty, divide themselves into several small streams, dispersing their refreshment to all the field between this and Jericho, and rendering it exceeding fruitful. Close by the fountain grows a large tree spreading into boughs over the water; and here in the shade we took a collation, with the father guardian, and about thirty or forty friars more, who went this journey with us.

"At about one third of an hour's distance from hence is Jericho, at present only a poor nasty village of the Arabs. We were here carried to see a place where Zaccheus's house is said to have stood; which is only an old square stone building, on the south side of Jericho."

According to Pococke, the mountains to which the absurd name of Quarantania has been arbitrarily given, are the highest in all Judea; and he is probably correct: they form part of a chain extending from Scythopolis into Idumea. The fountain of Elisha he states to be a soft water, rather warm; he found in it some small shell-fish of the turbinated kind. Close by the ruined aqueduct are the remains of a fine paved way, with a fallen column, supposed to be a Roman

curiosities he could find, whilst I gathered what plants and insects I could find below. Of the latter, I found a very curious and new *cimex* or *bug!!*"—*Travels*, p. 128.

milestone. The hills nearest to Jerusalem consist, according to Hasselquist, of a very hard limestone; and different sorts of plants are found on them, in particular the myrtle, the carob-tree, and the turpentine-tree; but further towards Jericho, they are bare and barren, the hard limestone giving way to a looser kind, sometimes white and sometimes greyish, with interjacent layers of a reddish micaceous stone (*saxum purum micaceum*). The vales, though now bare and uncultivated, and full of pebbles, contain good red mould, which would amply reward the husbandman's toil. Nothing can be more savage than the present aspect of these wild and gloomy solitudes — the very road in which is laid the scene of that exquisite parable, the Good Samaritan, * and from that time to the present, the haunt of the most desperate bandits, being one of the most dangerous in Palestine. Sometimes the track leads along the edges of cliffs and precipices, which threaten destruction on the slightest false step: at other times it winds through craggy passes, overshadowed by projecting or perpendicular rocks. At one place, the road has been cut through the very apex of a hill, the rocks overhanging it on either side. Here, in 1820, an English traveller, Sir Frederick Henniker, was attacked by the Arabs with fire-arms, who stripped him naked, and left him severely wounded. "It was past mid-day, and burning hot," says Sir Frederick; "I bled profusely; and two vultures, whose business it is to consume corpses, were hovering over me. I should scarcely have had strength to resist, had they chosen to attack me." At

* Luke x. 30. "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves (robbers), who stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half-dead."

length the janissary who attended him, and who had galloped away in panic fear, returned, together with his Greek servant: they lifted him on a horse, and he was thus carried to Jericho, where the secretary of the governor, "the only Christian" there, provided him with a shirt; and some women, who came with their pitchers to the pool near which he was laid, in spite of his being a Christian, brought him a lemon and some milk, —justifying the testimony borne by Mungo Parke to the universal character of woman. The monks have given the name of the field of Abdonim, or blood, to a small, round, grassy valley, which they have been pleased to fix upon as the real spot where the facts supposed in the parable took place; and here, two hundred years ago, Brocardus "fell among thieves." *

The modern village of Jericho is described by Mr. Buckingham as a settlement of about fifty dwellings, all very mean in their appearance, and fenced in front with thorny bushes, while a barrier of the same kind, the most effectual that could be raised against mounted Arabs, encircles the town. A fine brook flows by it, which empties itself into the Jordan: the nearest point of that river is about three miles distant. The grounds in the immediate vicinity of the village, being fertilized by this stream, bear crops of dourra, Indian corn, rice, and onions. The population is entirely Mahommedan, and is governed by a sheikh; their habits are those of Bedouins, and robbery and plunder form their chief and most gainful occupation. They call the place Rihhah, which signifies in Arabic *Odour*; and it is from the near correspondence of this name of the place, both in sound and signification, to the Hebrew

* Quaresmius, cited by Henniker, p. 285.

Rahab, (the name of the harlot who here entertained the spies sent by Joshua) that it has been considered as the identical site of Jericho, notwithstanding that not a trace remains of the ancient city.*

Three or four miles, however, nearer Jerusalem, at the very foot of the mountains, Mr. Buckingham noticed the ruins of apparently a place of consequence. Several large *tumuli* were observed, evidently the work of art; and near them "a large square area, enclosed by long and regular mounds," seeming to mark the course of the walls. Foundations of walls, shafts of columns, and a capital of the Corinthian order, are described as lying in other directions. It is here, he thinks, rather than at Rihhah, that the site of Jericho must be fixed; its local situation, as well as its distance from Jerusalem, exactly answering to the description given by Josephus of the once flourishing "city of palms."† At the present time there is not a tree of any description, either palm or balsam, and scarcely any verdure to be seen about the spot; but for this, the desolations of war, the want of water occasioned by the destruction of the aqueducts, and the neglect of cultivation, sufficiently account, as the

* —— "the famous city of Jericho, but at present so far from retaining any thing of its former lustre, that one would question whether there had ever been a city or town thereabouts; all that is now to be seen being only some hovels of dried mud, the dwellings of husbandmen and shepherds."—VAN EGMONT'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 332.

† "It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain of a very great length hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, and as far as the country of Sodom and the utmost limit of the lake Asphaltites southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness." "This place is 150 furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan."—JOSEPH. *Jew. Wars*, lib. iv. cap. 8.

fertility of the soil depended entirely on irrigation.* The whole valley was once esteemed the most fruitful in Judea; and the obstinacy with which the Jews fought here to prevent the balsam-trees from falling into the possession of the Romans, attests the importance which was attached to them. This tree Pliny describes as peculiar to the vale of Jericho, and as "more like a vine than a myrtle." It was esteemed so precious a rarity, that both Pompey and Titus carried a specimen to Rome in triumph; and the balsam, owing to its scarcity, sold for double its weight in silver, till its high price led to the practice of adulteration. Justin makes it the chief source of the national wealth. He describes the country in which it grew, as a valley like a garden, environed with continual hills, and, as it were, enclosed with a wall. "The space of the valley contains 200,000 acres, and is called Jericho. In that valley, there is wood as admirable for its fruitfulness as for its delight, for it is intermingled with palm-trees and opobalsamum. The trees of the opobalsamum have a resemblance to fir-trees;† but they are lower, and are planted and husbanded after the manner of vines. On a set season of the year they sweat balsam.‡ The darkness of the place is besides as wonderful as the fruitfulness of it; for although the sun shines nowhere hotter in the world, there is naturally a moderate and perpetual gloominess

* "*Locus ferax, palmis abundans, totus irriguus.*"—STRABO.

† Strabo describes it as resembling the turpentine-tree and the laburnum—"*cytiso et terebintho, persimilis.*"

‡ Josephus says: "the sprouts being cut with sharp stones, at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears."—*Jew. Wars*, book i. chap. 7. Strabo describes it as resembling milk, but it became thicker from standing; and he speaks of its aromatic odour.

of the air." According to Mr. Buckingham, this description is most accurate. "Both the heat and the gloominess," he says, "were observed by us, though darkness would be an improper term to apply to this gloom."

In a small wood to the south-east of Jericho, Dr. Pococke noticed another singular shrub, which he supposes to be the myrobalanum of Josephus and Pliny. It is called by him the zoccum-tree; but Maundrell, describing apparently the same "thorny bush," says that the Arabs call it *zacho-ne*. The bark is like that of the holly; it has very strong thorns, and the leaf is something like that of the Barbary tree. It bears a green nut resembling, both in shape and colour, a small unripe walnut: it is ribbed, has a thick shell, and a very small kernel. Maundrell says, that the Arabs bray the kernels in a mortar, and then, putting the pulp into scalding water, skim off the oil which rises. Pococke's account varies: they grind the whole, he tells us, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam. "This oil they take inwardly for bruises," adds the former traveller, "and apply it outwardly to green wounds, preferring it before balm of Gilead. I procured a bottle of it, and have found it upon small trials a very healing medicine." What is called the rose of Jericho, a species of *thlaspi*, was not to be found at that season.

Beyond the modern village of Rihhah, the plain extending to the Jordan becomes very barren, producing nothing but a kind of samphire and other marine plants. "I observed," says Maundrell, "in many places of the road, where puddles of water had stood, a whiteness upon the surface of the ground, which, upon trial, I found to be a crust of salt, caused

by the water to rise out of the earth, in the same manner as it does every year in the Valley of Salt near Aleppo, after the winter's inundation. These saline efflorescences I found at some leagues' distance from the Dead Sea; which demonstrates that the whole valley must be all over plentifully impregnated with that mineral." Chateaubriand compares the appearance of the soil to the bottom of a sea that had long retired from its bed,—" a beach covered with salt, dry mud and moving sands, furrowed as it were by the waves. Here and there, stunted shrubs with difficulty vegetate upon this inanimate tract; their leaves are covered with salt, which has nourished them, and their bark has a smoky smell and taste. Instead of villages you perceive the ruins of a few towers. Through the middle of this valley flows a discoloured river, which reluctantly creeps towards the pestilential lake by which it is engulfed. Its course amid the sands can be distinguished only by the willows and the reeds that border it; and the Arab lies in ambush among these reeds, to attack the traveller, and to plunder the pilgrim."

Less poetical, but more distinct, is the account given by the Swedish Naturalist. He reached the Jordan at three leagues' distance from the Dead Sea. The river was then about eight paces over; " the shores perpendicular, six feet high; the water deep, muddy, rather warm than cold, and much inferior in goodness to the Nile. On the shores grew *rhamnus*, *vitex agnus castus*, a willow of which pilgrims make staves. The plain reaches to the Dead Sea, and is three leagues long, level, with some small rising-grounds * in different places, between which are nar-

* Maundrell says, these hillocks resemble those places in England where there have been anciently lime-kilns. " Whether

row vales, uncultivated and barren. The soil is a greyish, sandy clay, so loose that our horses often sunk up to the knees in it. The whole surface of the earth was covered with salt, in the same manner as in Egypt. The soil, therefore, is Egyptian, and might be as fruitful if it were tilled; and without doubt it was so in the time of the Israelites. The river had thrown up a quantity of willow at its mouth. The shore consists of the same clay as the plain we had passed over. In several places were perpendicular strata of a reddish brittle earth, which will, without doubt, in time become slate inclosed in limestone. The stones on the shore were all quartz, of different colours and sizes."

About half a mile from the river Jordan, near the part where the Latin pilgrims bathe, there are the ruins of a church and convent dedicated to John the Baptist, — "founded," says Maundrell, "as near as could be conjectured, on the very place where he had the honour to perform his sacred office." The schismatical Greeks, however, are of a different opinion, and where the Latins turn to the N.E., they turn to the S.E., to a part of the river three or four miles lower down. The convent was built chiefly of hewn stone, on the brow of a descent over the plain; and "it is thought" that formerly the river Jordan overflowed to the foot of this height. But, says Pococke, "as the banks are about fifteen feet high, I should hardly have imagined that it ever overflowed them, nor could I be informed that it does at present." The learned traveller is here speaking of the higher or outer bank of the river, *from* which there is a descent

these might be the pits at which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings, Gen. xiv. 10, I will not determine."

in many places to a lower ground, only four or five feet above the water. There is no doubt that anciently, at certain seasons, (in particular in the first month of the Hebrew year, March,) the river overflowed its inner bank.* But at present, says Maundrell, "whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way, it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness; for we could discern no sign or probability of such overflowings when we were there, which was the 30th of March, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel." Pococke was there at the same time of year, the last week in March; Hasselquist about a fortnight later; Chateaubriand in October. This accounts for his different account of the current of the Jordan, which he represents as sluggish,—reluctantly creeping to the Dead Sea. Pococke describes it, on the contrary, as "deep and very rapid, wider than the Tiber at Rome, and perhaps about as wide as the Thames at Windsor; the water turbid." He adds, that the pilgrims who dip in the river are obliged to hold by the boughs of the trees, "because the bank is both soft and steep, and the stream so rapid, that there is some danger of being carried away by it, if any one ventured in without holding by the boughs; for in that case a person must be skilful in swimming, in order to recover the bank, some pilgrims having been drowned, who unadvisedly ventured into the river." The women, therefore, stand on the bank, and "being stripped to their under-garment, get the

* Joshua iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Jer. xii. 5.

people to pour the water on them. The Rev. Mr. Connor, who accompanied the Greek pilgrims to the Jordan, in April 1820, says that, at the spot where they bathed, the water appeared turbid, but *not deep*. Its breadth, he thinks, may be about *twenty yards*. "Some Turkish horsemen dashed through the river, and rode to and fro in the grove on the opposite side, to protect the pilgrims from the guns of the Bedouins, many of whom were assembled to watch the ceremony." The Jordan here, he adds, is beautifully picturesque. Van Egmont too says: "The Greeks and Armenians, both men, women, and children, *rush into* this river with the greatest raptures; and some, who affect a more than ordinary devotion, have water poured on their heads, in memory of our Saviour's baptism." He notices the remarkable rapidity of the current. But this apparent contradiction is easily reconciled. Pococke accompanied the *Latin* pilgrims to a part of the river, between three and four miles higher up, where the stream is narrower, and consequently deeper and more rapid. The Greeks have chosen the more convenient bathing-place.

The periodical rise of the river must vary, indeed, according to the duration or quantity of the rains; but it is still very considerable, although, according to Maundrell's accurate conjecture, its channel is no doubt worn deeper, and it may have suffered a diminution in its waters from other circumstances. Mr. Buckingham crossed the Jordan in the last week in January: the river was then at its lowest ebb, flowing between banks fourteen or fifteen feet high. At the point where he crossed, which was a little more to the northward, it did not appear above twenty-five yards in breadth, and was easily fordable by horses. The stream was still "exceeding rapid," but, "from its

flowing over a bed of pebbles, tolerably clear" and sweet. Assuming these various statements to be correct, it would seem that, between the end of January and the end of March, the Jordan rises at this part, from nine to ten perpendicular feet—a height quite sufficient to produce a very extensive inundation, when its channel was shallower. This rise appears to be rapid, being occasioned by the mountain torrents formed by the early and the latter rains. The second bank (which is, according to Maundrell, about a furlong distant from the outer one, but the width of this lower plain varies) is " so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisk, willows, oleander, &c., that you can see no water till you have made your way through them. In this thicket anciently," he adds, " and the same is reported of it at this day, several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river, gave occasion to that allusion, Jer. xlix. 19; l. 44. 'He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan.' On the other side there seemed to be a much larger thicket than on that where we were."

Mr. Buckingham was informed by his Arab guides, that, about a day's journey to the southward of Jericho, at the foot of the mountains, is a place called Merthah, " supposed to be the site of a city of the giants," where there are many sepulchral caves, from which had been taken human skulls and bones of at least three times the size of those of the human race at the present day: these the Arabs professed to have themselves seen and handled. Mr. Buckingham conjectures that this Merthah may be the Maresha or Marissa of Josephus. Mareshah was among the cities built or fortified by Rehoboam: it was in the tribe.

of Judah, and apparently not far from Hebron.* The Jewish historian mentions the bones of giants that were in his time shewn near the latter city.

At about two hours' distance northward of Rihhah, Mr. Buckingham noticed the ruins of a fine Roman aqueduct, at the distance of a mile to his left: there appeared to be about twenty arches still perfect. In this direction was Cypros, one of the cities built by Herod, and named in honour of his mother. Near this spot, too, our traveller remarks, must have stood the ancient city of Ai or Hai,† which was to the east of Bethel, that lay in the hills. Proceeding about half an hour further to the north, over the same kind of plain, "we opened on our left," says this same traveller, "a beautiful valley, now highly cultivated, and spread over with a carpet of the freshest verdure, seemingly of young corn. This place, we are told, is called Waad-el-Farah, or the Valley of Farah; and a town was spoken of near it, in the side of the hill, bearing the same name, and larger and more populous than Rihhah." The situation corresponds, apparently, to that of Phasaelus, a city in the Valley of Jericho, built by Herod, and named in honour of his brother.‡ At this point, which they estimated to be little more than six miles north of Rihhah, the travellers turned eastward to cross the Jordan; where, for the present, we leave them, and, returning to the Jewish capital, prepare to set out for Galilee, and the shores of the far-famed Lake of Tiberias, in our way to which we must needs pass through Samaria.§ Here we shall

* Jos. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 8; lib. xiii. cap. 15.

† Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3. Josh. vii. 2; viii. 12. Ezra ii. 28. Neh vii. 32.

‡ Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 88.

§ John iv. 4.

again join company with Dr. Richardson, who, in the suite of Earl Belmore, took this route to Damascus.

ROUTE TO NABLOUS AND TIBERIAS.

For some hours after leaving Jerusalem, the route to the north lies over a rugged and mountainous country, which, though susceptible of cultivation by being terraced,* now presents an aspect of frightful nakedness and sterility. The road, if it may be called such, is rough and stony; and no object of interest occurs before the traveller arrives at Beer, which is three hours and a half (about ten miles) from Jerusalem. The name of the place is derived from its well, which *Beer* signifies. It seems, Dr. Richardson says, to have been once a place of considerable consequence; and Maundrell supposed it to be the Beer referred to Judges ix. 21, to which Jotham fled from the revenge of Abimelech. "It is supposed also," he adds, "to be the same with Michmash,

* "For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was, to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps wherever you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful. The hills, though improper for all cattle, except goats, yet, being disposed into such beds as are before described, served very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden-stuff, which make the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines and olive-trees, which delight to extract, the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice chiefly out of such dry and flinty places."—MAUNDRELL'S *Journey from Aleppo, &c.*

1 Sam. xiv. 5." But Reland, on the authority of Eusebius, places Michmash nearer Jerusalem, in the direction of Rama. Close to the well, which is at the bottom of the declivity on which stands the village, are the mouldering walls of a ruined khan; and on the summit of the hill, two large arches still remain of a ruined convent—Maundrell calls it an old church, and says it was built by the empress Helena, in commemoration of the Virgin's coming as far as this spot in quest of the child Jesus, as related Luke x. 24! A little beyond Beer two roads meet: that on the right conducts to Nablous. "After two hours' travelling along the same rocky path," says Dr. Richardson, "we passed the village of Einbroot, which is finely situated on our left, on the top of a hill. The adjoining valley is well cultivated, and the sides of the hills are raised in terraces, and planted with the olive, the vine, and the fig-tree. On approaching Einbroot, the guide of the caravan called out for us to march in close order. Here it was reported that we were in danger of being attacked by banditti, and that the muskets were seen pointed at us over the stones; but upon the guide, who rode considerably in advance, informing them who the party were whom they meant to attack, that they travelled under the protection of a firman from the Porte and the pasha of Acre, and, what was, perhaps, as powerful a dissuasive, that we were armed, and could fight as well as they could, they withdrew their weapons of offence, and remained quiet. A little further on we passed two villages on our left, the names of which I did not learn.* The road lay partly through a rocky dell, and partly through a narrow cultivated valley; but the general

* Maundrell mentions an Arab village, which he calls Selwid, a little beyond Geeb, and on the same side of the route.

aspect of the country was particularly wild and barren. The next village that we passed was called Engeeb, also on the top of a hill on the left, and the adjoining ground was well cultivated in the same manner. After this, we passed a fine-looking picturesque hill, every way susceptible of cultivation, at the foot of which we entered the small valley of Khan Leban, where we found the ruins of an old khan, with many mouldering vaults, and a plentiful spring of clear water, much infested with small worms. It derives its name from a village called Leban, at the other end of the valley. It is eight hours from Jerusalem. Here we pitched our tents for the night, the place being agreeable and convenient, with plenty of grass for the animals.

Maundrell describes this spot as "a delicious vale," and says, that either Khan Leban, which is on the eastern side, or the village which is on the opposite side, is supposed to be the site of the ancient Lebonah. He notices also a village called Cinga, lying at some distance on the traveller's left, about three quarters of an hour south of Khan Leban; and, between this and Engeeb, he describes a very narrow valley between two high rocky hills, where he found the ruins of a village and a monastery, supposed to mark the site of the ancient Bethel, which was on the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin. The monastery is almost sufficient to awake the suspicion that this was not Bethel: possibly, the Arabs, who are the best authorities, could decide the point, as they have almost uniformly preserved the ancient names. But neither the empress Helena nor the monks ever thought of consulting them.

"Having passed the village of Leban," continues Dr. Richardson, "the road, winding with the valley, proceeds in a northern direction. Here the ground

is rich and well cultivated, and several ploughs were busily engaged. We next passed the village of Zanio, and, travelling for a considerable time over a mountainous and barren track, descended into a fertile valley, where we found the reapers cutting down an excellent crop of barley. Here are three comfortable-looking villages near each other; the first is named Cousa, the second Anabous, and the third Couara. We are now about two hours and a half from Nablous. The ground in this valley is remarkably stony, but well cultivated. Having ascended the hill, we passed on our right the tomb of the patriarch Joseph, situated in the plain below. It is now a Turkish oratory with a whitened dome, like the tomb of his mother Rachel on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. At a little distance, in the same plain, and nearer to the mountain, probably Gerizim, we saw another building resembling the tomb of an Arab sheikh, and said to be Jacob's Well. At the top of the hill we opened a fine olive grove, with a stream of water in front of it. Here, being anxious to have a view of Jacob's Well, we proceeded across the field in that direction, but had not advanced far before we were assailed by prohibitory calls from a small fort on the side of the hill; to which, however, as we did not understand them, we, at first, paid no attention; but the calls were speedily followed by the discharge of a musket fired across our front. This arrested our progress, and drew our attention to the place from which it came. Upon this the calls were redoubled, and our guide coming up informed us, that we were addressed by the guard who was placed there to keep the pass, and that we could not proceed to Jacob's Well. We had previously been informed that the Arabs around Nablous were in arms against the

governor; but this is the only specimen of Turkish vigilance that occurred to us on the road. We saw no symptoms of rebellion among the Arabs."

Here again the question presents itself, Is this the well of the patriarch whose name it now bears? Who gave it this name, the natives or the Christians? Dr. Clarke, who can be sometimes incredulous, but at other times very confiding, says, that "this is allowed by all writers" to be the spot referred to, John iv. 6, where our Saviour had the memorable conference with the Samaritan woman. The concurrence of "all writers" cannot throw the least light on the fact; as one after another has but repeated the legend handed down from the days of that "great and devout patroness of the Holy Land," as honest Maundrell slyly calls the empress Helena, who is said to have built a church over the well of which "a few foundations" * were then remaining. This faithful traveller, however, notices as a difficulty, the distance at which this well is situated from the modern city. "If it should be questioned," he says, "whether this be the very well that it is pretended for, or no, seeing it may be suspected to stand too remote from Sychar for women to come so far to draw water, it is answered, that probably the city extended further this way in former times than it does now, as may be conjectured from some pieces of a very thick wall still to be seen not far from hence. These pieces of wall are but a sorry voucher for the supposed extension of the city eastward, so far beyond the present walls; †

* Mr. Buckingham says, "some shafts of granite pillars, all the rest lying in one undistinguished heap of ruins."

† This supposition is, indeed, at once overthrown by Mr. Buckingham's statement, that between this well and the town are some ancient sepulchres, which must have been without the city.

and they are quite as likely to be the work of the said empress. The simple circumstance of the distance of this well from Sychar (above a mile), would not, however, disprove its identity, were there no springs nearer the town, or were there no other reason for hesitation. But Mr. Buckingham states, that, on inquiring of the inhabitants for the Bir (or Beer) el Yakoab, he was told by everybody that this was *in the town*. As this information did not correspond to the "described place of the well," it led to further explanation; and, "at length by telling the story attached to it, we found," he says, "it was known here only by the name of *Beer Samareea*, or the Well of Samaria." It is not a little singular, that this traveller should not, so far as appears, have visited what now bears the name of Jacob's Well. That name may have been arbitrarily or ignorantly given to it by the Turks; otherwise, it would be highly deserving of attention. It is plain, from the narative of St. John, that Jacob's Well, where our Lord rested while the disciples went forward into the city to buy meat, was at some short distance from Sychar; and consequently, the Beer el Yakoab, if absolutely within the town, can hardly be entitled to the appellation. Mr. Buckingham notices, however, a *third* well, "not far from the Well of Samaria," called the *Beer Yusef*, or Joseph's Well, over which there is a modern building; and "it is said to be even at this day frequented for water from Nablous." The Well of Samaria might, therefore, he remarks, also have been so from Sychar. But if this third well really derives its name from the patriarch Joseph, to whom Jacob gave the parcel of ground containing the place of sepulchre "before the city,"* it is very possible that this *Beer*

* Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19. Josh. xxiv. 32. John iv. 5.

Yusef may be the well on which our Lord sat: it would be correctly referred to as Jacob's Well by the evangelist, although it bore the name of his son. It must be left to future travellers to decide on the probabilities of the case. In the meantime, we return to the account given us of the "Well of Samaria."

Having procured a *Christian* boy for a guide, Mr. Buckingham left Nablous by the eastern gate, and after passing along the valley for about a quarter of an hour, he arrived at the spot where the pass opens into a more extensive vale, the mountains on the other side of the Jordan being in sight on the left. Here he had on each side grottoes and tombs, which we shall presently notice; and from hence, in another quarter of an hour, he reached the Well of Samaria.* "It stands," he says, "at the commencement of the round vale which is thought to be the parcel of ground bought by Jacob, and which, like the narrow valley west of Nablous, is rich and fertile. The mouth of the well itself had an arched or vaulted building over it; and the only passage down to it at this moment is by a small hole in the roof, scarcely large enough for a moderate-sized person to work himself through." Taking off his large Turkish clothes, our traveller descended with a lighted taper, but even then did not get down without bruising himself against the sides. "Nor was I," he says, "at all rewarded for such an inconvenience by the sight below. Landing on a heap of dirt and rubbish, we saw a large, flat, oblong stone, which lay almost on its edge across the mouth of the well, and left barely space enough to see that there was an opening below. We could not ascertain its diameter, but, by the time of a stone's descent, it was

* Maundrell makes "Jacob's Well" "about *one third* of an hour from Naplosa."

evident that it was of considerable depth, as well as that it was perfectly dry at this season (Feb.), the fall of the stone giving forth a dead and hard sound."* Maundrell removed the "broad flat stone" which lay on the mouth, and examined the well more minutely. "It is," he says, "dug in a firm rock, and contains about three yards in diameter and thirty-five in depth; *five of which we found full of water.*" This was the latter end of March. "This confutes a story," he adds, "commonly told to travellers, who do not take the pains to examine the well, viz. that it is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of that day on which our blessed Saviour sat upon it, but then bubbles up with abundance of water." One would imagine, that the "old stone vault" built over the spot was designed to protect the legend, rather than the well, by concealing it from examination. If this were really the well to which the inhabitants of Sychar were accustomed to resort, it would be difficult to account for its having been thus abandoned.

Nablous (as it is pronounced by the Turks and Arabs, or Naplosa, as the Christians who speak Italian call it—a corruption of Neapolis, or New Town) is one of the few places in the Holy Land, the ancient name of which appears to be superseded by that which it has received from its foreign conquerors. Its position identifies the site, beyond all question, with the Shechem of the Old Testament† and the Sychar (or Sichem, as Jerome contends it should be) of the New, the ancient capital of Samaria. Josephus says, that the natives called it Mabartha, but by others it was commonly called Neapolis.‡ Few places

* Buckingham's Travels, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 460.

† Gen. xxxiii. 18; xxxvii. 13. Josh. xxiv. 32. Judges ix.

‡ Joseph. Wars, book iv. chap. 8; book v. chap. 4.

exceed it in the romantic beauty of its position. It is situated in the narrow valley between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, having the former on the north, and the latter on the south; but it is correctly described by Maundrell as lying under Mount Gerizim, being built at the acclivity on the southern side of the valley. It was from Mount Gerizim that God commanded the blessings to be pronounced upon the children of Israel, and from Mount Ebal the curses, respectively annexed to obedience and disobedience, on their entering the promised land by way of Jericho and Ai: half of the tribes were to be encamped over against the one hill, and half over against the other.* The modern town consists of two long streets, running through the centre of the valley, and intersected by several smaller ones, mostly crossing them at right angles. At the present time it is populous and flourishing, and the environs bear the marks of opulence and industry, being adorned with small gardens that skirt the banks of the stream by which the valley is watered. "We passed," says Dr. Richardson, "its scarcely moistened bed, and a little above the town saw an ancient bridge with twelve arches, which were still capable of maintaining the communication between the two sides of the valley." Dr. Clarke, in approaching it from Jennin, was struck with its flourishing appearance. "There is nothing in the Holy Land finer," he affirms, "than the view of Napolose from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers, half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves all around the bold and

* Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 12, 13. Josh. viii. 33.

beautiful valley in which it stands." "Within the town are six mosques, five baths, one Christian church of schismatic Greeks, an excellent covered bazar for fine goods, and an open one for provisions, besides numerous cotton-cloth manufactories, and shops of every description." * Dr. Clarke says, the principal trade is in soap; but the manufactures of the town supply a very widely extended neighbourhood. The water-melons too of Nablous are equal, he says, to those of Jaffa. The resident population is supposed to amount to 10,000, though Mr. Buckingham thinks this is rather over-rating the numbers. These are almost all Mahommedans, the Greek Christians scarcely amounting, he says, to fifty. But Mr. Connor states that there are about a hundred. They have one church and two priests. Though the commerce is so considerable, there are few Jews, owing perhaps to a religious prejudice against the place; Mr. Buckingham says, none among the permanent residents,—Mr. Connor says, "about fifteen individuals." Of the Samaritans, of whom a respectable remnant existed here so late as the time of Maundrell's journey, about a century ago, † the reverend gentleman last mentioned gives the following interesting account. "I immediately made inquiry about the Samaritans. My host stepped ont, and fetched their priest: he sat with me some time: his name is Shalmor ben Tabiah: he is a native of Napolose, and is about forty years of age.

* Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 433.

† In the Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin, Nablous is stated to contain above 100 Cutheans, or Samaritans. He mentions Cesarea as another place where there still remained a remnant (about 200) of this people. There are said to be still some descendants of the Samaritans at Gaza, Damascus, and Grand Cairo.

"There are about forty Samaritans in Napolose. They have but one synagogue in the town, where they have service every Saturday. Four times a-year they go, in solemn procession, to the old synagogue on Mount Gerizim; and, on these occasions, they go up before sunrise, and read the law till noon. On one of these days they kill six or seven rams. The Samaritans have one school in Napolose, where their language is taught. The head of the sect resides in Paris.

"I accompanied the priest to his house, and sat a long time with him. There were several Jews present: they seem to live on friendly terms with the Samaritans here. The priest shewed me part of the first volume of the English Polyglott, mentioned by Maundrell: it consisted of about a dozen tattered leaves. He shewed me also a manuscript Samaritan Pentateuch, with an Arabic version at its side; this version, however, is not used in their synagogue. He afterward took me to see the synagogue, making me first take off my shoes: it is a small gloomy building. I observed a number of copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, carefully enveloped in linen, and laid on a shelf in the synagogue. Expressing a wish to see the ancient manuscript, said by the Samaritans to be 3500 years old, the priest paused, and hesitated some time. I pressed him. Having laid aside his upper garments, he at length entered the sanctuary, and produced the venerated manuscript. It is well written on vellum, in the Samaritan character, and is preserved in a tin roller: it bears the marks of age, and is rather tattered. The priest would not permit me, nor any one present, to touch it. He was very inquisitive about the Samaritans who, he had heard, were in England."

The accounts which we have of the ancient Samaritans, (or Cuthæans, as they are called by the Jewish writers, from the founder of the sect, Sanballad, a Cuthite,) have come to us chiefly through their inveterate enemies the Jews; whose contempt and hatred were apparently excited by their being a mixed race, of doubtful genealogy, and schismatical in their creed. In rejecting the whole of the Old Testament excepting the Pentateuch, they were countenanced by the Sadducees. Our Lord, however, declares, that they worshipped they knew not what;* which seems to imply that, although they cherished, in common with the Jews, the expectation of a Messiah, their worship had still an idolatrous tincture: they "feared the Lord," but, if they did not still "serve graven images," like their ancestors, † they did not worship God as a Spirit. Notwithstanding their enmity against the Jews, they joined in revolt against the Romans, and shared in the calamities of the guilty nation. After the fall of Jotapata and Jaffa, eleven thousand six hundred of them are stated to have posted themselves on Mount Gerizim; as if, like the Jews of Jerusalem, trusting to the protection of their temple, or resolved to perish on the sacred spot. The Roman general Cerealis, with 600 horsemen and 300 footmen, blockaded them here; and after inviting them to surrender, which they obstinately refused, put the greater part to the sword. Five centuries after the Christian era, the Samaritans, who still remained a distinct though motley race, had so increased in strength, that they rose in arms, under the standard of a desperate leader, to protect themselves against the persecution of the Emperor Justinian. They were, says Gibbon, "an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the Pagans,

* John iv. 22. † 2 Kings xvii. 41.

by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. One hundred thousand, it has been computed, perished or were sold as captives in the Samaritan war, which converted the once fertile province into a wilderness."* A remnant, however, have always rallied on this consecrated spot, under the shadow of Mount Gerizim. In 1676, a correspondence took place between their chief-priest at Nablous and the learned Scaliger, on the differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs, in the course of which information was elicited respecting the opinions then held by this ancient sect. The summary of their creed was to this effect: That they believe in God, and in the laws of his servant Moses; they practise circumcision; keep the sabbath with all the rigour of a penance; observe the Passover, the Pentecost, the feast of tabernacles, and the great fast of expiation most strictly; and never offer any sacrifice but on Mount Gerizim. The head of their religion must reside at Shechem. In 1697, Mr. Maundrell had a personal conference with the Samaritan chief-priest, on the subject of a singular discrepancy between the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the received Hebrew text. The passage in question occurs Deut. xxvii. 4: "Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day" (inscribed with the words of the law) "in *Mount Ebal*; and thou shalt plaster them with plaster; and there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God."† The Samaritan

* Gibbon, vol. vi. chap. 47

† In agreement with this, Joshua is recorded to have subsequently built the altar *in Mount Ebal*. Josh. viii. 30. The alleged corruption of the text must, therefore, have been made in both places.

Pentateuch has *Mount Gerizim* in this place; and the chief-priest contended that the Jews had maliciously altered the Hebrew text out of odium to the Samaritans; "putting, for Gerizim, Ebal, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have for that reason not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. To confirm this, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of cursing, Deut. xi. 29, and in its own nature an unpleasant place; but, on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of blessing, by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain appointed for those religious festivals, Deut. xxvii. 4, and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Hebal. We observed that to be in some measure true which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains; for, though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet, as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant, fruitful aspect than Ebal. The reason of which may be, because fronting towards the north, it is sheltered from the heat of the sun by its own shade; whereas Ebal, looking southward, and receiving the sun that comes directly upon it, must, by consequence, be rendered more scorched and unfruitful. The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in Mount Gerizim; which were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side."

Both Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal deserve to be explored. Their altitude appeared to Mr. Buckingham to be nearly equal, not exceeding 7 or 800 feet

from the level of the valley, which is itself elevated. Captains Irby and Mangles are the only modern travellers who appear to have ascended either. They say: "We went to the summit of Mount Gerizim, and found the ruins of a large town, with a tank near a conspicuous sheikh's tomb." They do not appear, however, to have bestowed much attention on these ruins, among which some traces of their boasted temple must, one would imagine, be still discernible; nor do they notice any synagogue there. Mount Ebal they did not ascend.* In the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, the Cutheans are stated to offer sacrifice on Mount Gerizim, on an altar constructed of stones brought from the Jordan by the children of Israel. He describes this mountain as full of fountains and gardens, and Ghebal (Ebal) as arid and rocky. As a topographical authority, the Itinerary is unquestionable. With regard to the point at issue, it may be thought only to state the matter agreeably to the Samaritan tradition. There is certainly much plausibility in the arguments in favour of the Samaritan text; which, in many other instances of variation from the received text, is admitted by Biblical critics to preserve the genuine reading. It is very probable, that a further collation of Hebrew MSS. will throw some light on the question.

The town is governed by a Mutsellim, or Beg, subject to the Pasha of Damascus, and having under his command about 400 Arnaout soldiers. The prevailing costume is the Turkish dress: the women wear a coloured veil, concealing the whole face, as

* Dr. Richardson says: "On Mount Ebal we saw a considerable village, and a large building like a ruined fort." But he did not ascend its summit.

in the towns of the Yemen; the scarf thrown over the head and shoulders is of a yellowish white, with a deep red border. Nablous is in long. 35° 22′ E. lat. 32° 16′ N.; and is thirty-four miles N. of Jerusalem.

The only object of antiquity noticed by travellers within the town, is the eastern front of a ruined church, the site of which is now occupied by one of the mosques. It presents a fine pointed arch, supported by Corinthian columns, the upper part highly ornamented, in the style of some of the Saracen doors in Cairo: within are seen plain granite pillars; and the whole exhibits, Mr. Buckingham tells us, a singular mixture of orders, in the most grotesque taste.

Just without the city, towards Jerusalem, is a small mosque, said to have been built over the sepulchre purchased by the patriarch Jacob, and bearing the name of Joseph's Sepulchre: it is at the foot of Mount Gerizim. Mr. Buckingham, noticing the Mahommedan buildings here, "either mosques or tombs," says, they are now called *Mahmoodea*. "On the left," he adds, "at the foot of Mount Ebal, were several well-hewn grottoes in the rock, some with arched, and others with square doors, most probably ancient sepulchres." They were called *Khallat Rowghban*, which he interprets to mean, the *retreats of hermits; khallat* meaning properly a castle, and *rowghban* being a name given in Syria to monks. These he had no time to examine, although the most interesting antiquities of the place. That these caves may have been used as places of retreat or ascetic seclusion, is very probable; but there is no room to doubt their sepulchral character. They may, or may not, be of remote antiquity; but of this description,

and not far distant, must have been the burial-place of Joseph, whose bones were brought up out of Egypt to be laid in Shechem. To the practice of burying in the sides of mountains, we have repeated references in the Old Testament. Abraham was buried in the Cave of Machpelah before Mamre; Joshua, on the north side of the Hill of Gaash in Ephraim;* Eleazar, the son of Aaron, in a hill within the same district; and Aaron himself in Mount Hor.† The "parcel of ground" given by Jacob to his son, is generally supposed to be the "wide field," as Maundrell terms it, into which the Valley of Sichem opens at the Well of Samaria; and which he describes as "exceeding verdant and fruitful," being watered with a fresh stream, rising between it and the town. The precise limits of this purchase it would be ridiculous to attempt to ascertain. All that we know is, that it was near Sichar, "before," or eastward of the city; that it contained a well—a possession of the greatest importance in those parts; and, like "the field of Ephron" purchased by Abraham,‡ a burying-place. A place of burial seems to have given a sacredness to the property in which it was situated, and to have rendered the inheritance inalienable; it established a right of proprietorship, and, connected with this, what we should call *a right of common* to the neighbouring pastures.§ Thus, we find the sons of Jacob leaving their father's residence in Hebron, to feed his flocks in Shechem,‖ by virtue of this right, long after he had been compelled to remove from the neighbourhood. The burial-place was, no doubt, (as that of

* Gen. xxv. 9. Josh. xxiv. 22, 29.
† Num. xx. 28. Deut. x. 6.
‡ Gen. xxiii. 17. § Gen. xxxiv. 5.
‖ Gen. xxxvii. 12—14.

Abraham and that of Joshua were,) at the "end of the field," on the "border of the inheritance," which must have been Mount Gerizim itself; and, if the mosque should prove to conceal the entrance to a lateral excavation or grotto, of the kind universally chosen for sepulchres of distinguished persons by the ancient Jews, it may possibly mark the identical place "in Shechem where the bones of Joseph were laid."

Next to Jerusalem itself, this is, perhaps, the most interesting spot in the Holy Land, as connected with those events transacted in the fields of Sichem, which, from our earliest years, are remembered with delight. "Along the valley," says Dr. Clarke, "we beheld a company of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead, as in the days of Reuben and Judah, 'with their camels, bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh,'* who would gladly have purchased another Joseph of his brethren, and conveyed him, as a slave, to some Potiphar in Egypt. Upon the hills around, flocks and herds were feeding as of old; nor, in the simple garb of the shepherds of Samaria, was there any thing to contradict the notions we may entertain of the appearance formerly exhibited by the sons of Jacob." "The morning after our arrival, we met caravans coming from Grand Cairo, and noticed others reposing in the large olive-plantations near the gates."

Leaving Nablous, the road lies along the narrow vale, and, in about three quarters of an hour, conducts the traveller to a copious spring of good water, called Beer-sheba. This, Dr. Richardson says, is the broadest and best cultivated part of the valley; he saw the natives busily engaged (May) in reaping a

* Gen. xxxvii. 25.

scanty crop of barley. Maundrell notices a village on the left of the road (going northwards) called *Barseba*, deriving its name, no doubt, from this well; and, half an hour further, another village which he calls *Sherack*. After leaving Beer-sheba, Dr. Richardson's account makes the road ascend. "In about a quarter of an hour," he says, "we reached the top of the hill; and as we wound our way down the other side, had an excellent view of the delightfully situated Sebaste. In a few minutes we passed a ruined aqueduct of Roman architecture, and pitched our tents at the bottom of the hill, nearly opposite to its unworthy successor, a poor village of the same name; having travelled this day about nine hours." This makes the distance from Khan Leban about twenty-seven miles, but, allowing for deviations from the direct track, twenty-four miles, and sixteen hours, or forty-eight miles, from Jerusalem. Josephus, however, makes it but one day's journey from the capital.* It is six miles beyond Napolose; and if the distance of the latter place is correctly given by our authorities, it cannot exceed forty miles.

Sebaste is the name which Herod gave to the ancient Samaria, the imperial city of the ten tribes, in honour of Augustus (Sebastos) Cæsar, when he rebuilt and fortified it, converting the greater part of it into a citadel, and erecting here a noble temple.† "The situation," says Dr. Richardson, "is extremely beautiful,‡ and strong by nature; more so, I think, than Jerusalem. It stands on a fine, large, insulated

* Joseph. Antiq. book xv. chap. 9. † Ibid.

‡ "It is situated upon a long mount, of an oval figure; having first a fruitful valley, and then a ring of hills running round about it. This great city is now wholly converted into gardens."—MAUNDRELL.

hill, compassed all around by a broad deep valley; and when fortified, as it is stated to have been by Herod, one would have imagined that, in the ancient system of warfare, nothing but famine could have reduced such a place. The valley is surrounded by four hills, one on each side, which are cultivated in terraces up to the top, sown with grain, and planted with fig and olive trees, as is also the valley. The hill of Samaria likewise rises in terraces to a height equal to any of the adjoining mountains.

"The present village is small and poor, and after passing the valley, the ascent to it is very steep. Viewed from the station of our tents, it is extremely interesting, both from its natural situation, and from the picturesque remains of a ruined convent, of good Gothic architecture.

"Having passed the village, towards the middle of the first terrace, there is a number of columns still standing. I counted twelve in one row, besides several that stood apart, the brotherless remains of other rows. The situation is extremely delightful, and my guide informed me, that they belonged to the serai, or palace. On the next terrace there are no remains of solid building, but heaps of stone and lime and rubbish mixed with the soil in great profusion. Ascending to the third or highest terrace, the traces of former building were not so numerous, but we enjoyed a delightful view of the surrounding country. The eye passed over the deep valley that encompasses the hill of Sebaste, and rested on the mountains beyond, that retreated as they rose with a gentle slope, and met the view in every direction, like a book laid out for perusal on a reading-desk. This was the seat of the capital of the short-lived and wicked kingdom of Israel; and on the face of these

mountains the eye surveys the scene of many bloody conflicts and many memorable events. Here those holy men of God, Elijah and Elisha, spoke their tremendous warnings in the ears of their incorrigible rulers, and wrought their miracles in the sight of all the people.

"From this lofty eminence we descended to the south side of the hill, where we saw the remains of a stately colonnade that stretches along this beautiful exposure from east to west. Sixty columns are still standing in one row. The shafts are plain, and fragments of Ionic volutes, that lie scattered about, testify the order to which they belonged. These are probably the relics of some of the magnificent structures with which Herod the Great adorned Samaria. None of the walls remain."

Mr. Buckingham mentions a current tradition, that the avenue of columns formed a part of Herod's palace. According to his account, there were eighty-three of these columns erect in 1816, besides others prostrate; all without capitals. Josephus states, that, about the middle of the city, Herod built "a sacred place, of a furlong and a half in circuit, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations; and therein erected a temple, illustrious for both its largeness and beauty." It is probable that these columns belonged to it. On the eastern side of the same summit are the remains, Mr. Buckingham states, of another building, "of which eight large and eight small columns are still standing, with many others fallen near them. These also are without capitals, and are of a smaller size and of an inferior stone to the others."* "In the walls

* Maundrell briefly says: "All the tokens that remain to testify that there has ever been such a place, are only, on the *north* side, a

of the humble dwellings forming the modern village, portions of sculptured blocks of stone are perceived, and even fragments of granite pillars have been worked into the masonry." The Gothic convent referred to by Dr. Richardson, is the ruined cathedral, attributed, like every thing else of the kind in Palestine, to the Empress Helena. It stands east and west, and is about 100 feet in length, by 50 in breadth. "On the south side are high, slender buttresses; and on a piece of building without this, is a sloping pyramidal mole, constructed of exceedingly large stones. The northern wall is quite plain; the eastern front is semi-circular, with three open and two closed windows, each contained in arches divided from each other by three Corinthian columns. The interior of the eastern front has a pointed arch, and columns of no known order; though the capitals approach nearer to the Corinthian than any other. The eight small arches which go round the tops of the widows within, are semi-circular, and have each at their spring the capital of a column, but no shaft attached to it; the great arch of the recess is pointed, and the moulding that passes round it is fantastic in the extreme. Among other things seen there, are the representations of scaly armour, an owl, an eagle, a human figure, and an angel, all occupying separate compartments, and all distinct from each other.

"The exterior of the eastern front presents a still more singular mixture of style, as the pointed and the round arch are both used in the same range, and the ornaments of each are varied. In the lower cornice

large square piazza, encompassed with pillars; and on the east, some poor remains of a great church, said to have been built by the Empress Helena, over the place where St. John Baptist was both imprisoned and beheaded."

are human heads, perhaps in allusion to the severed head of the Baptist; and there are here as fantastic figures as on the inside, the whole presenting a strange assemblage of incongruous ornaments in the most wretched taste.

"The masonry appears in some parts to have been exceedingly solid, in others only moderately good, and in some places weak and paltry; and at the west end, in a piece of building, apparently added since the original construction of the church itself, are seen several blocks of sculptured stone, apparently taken from the ruins, and worked into the present masonry there.

"On the inside of this ruined edifice is a small mosque, erected over the supposed dungeon in which St. John was executed; and an Arab family, who claim the guardianship of this sanctuary, have pitched their dwelling on the south-west angle of the great church, where it has the appearance of a pigeon-house. On learning that I was a Moslem, we were all admitted into this mosque, which we entered with becoming reverence. They have collected here the white marble slabs, found amid the ruins of the church, to form a pavement; and in one part we noticed three large pieces, with sculptured circles and bands on them, which were set up in the wall as tablets.

"The mosque itself is a small oblong room, with steps ascending to an oratory, and its only furniture is a few simple lamps and some clean straw mats for prayer, the recess of the Caaba being in the southern wall. From the mosque, we descended by a narrow flight of steps to the subterranean chamber or dungeon of St. John, which had all the appearance of having been an ancient sepulchre. It was not more

than ten feet square; and had niches, as if for the reception of corpses, in arched recesses on each side. There was here, too, one of those remarkable stone doors, which seem to have been exclusively appropriated to tombs, resembling exactly in form and size those described in the Roman sepulchres at Oom Kais. The panneling, the lower pivot, and the sill in the ledge for receiving the bolt, were all still perfect; but the door was now unhung, and lay on its side against the wall."

In the court at the west end of the church are "two apertures leading down to a large subterranean reservoir for water, well stuccoed on the inside, and during the rains often filled to the brim."

The modern Sebaste is governed by its own shiekh, who is himself a husbandman: the natives pronounce the name of the place Subusta.

The route taken by Dr. Richardson now passes over the mountain to the east of Sebaste, and then descends to a ruined building called by the natives Beit Emireen (the house of the two princes), near a village of the same name, by a stream of water. "Leaving this valley," he continues, "we crossed the mountain to the left, and after travelling about an hour along a very rough and stony ravine, we came to the village of Gibba, which is surrounded with olive and pomegranate trees, the latter of which were in full blow, and occupies a lofty station to overlook a small valley. From Gibba, we proceeded along the valley to Sannour, which is a fort erected on an insulated mountain that springs up in the middle of the valley. It is commonly called Khallah Giurali, or Fort Jurali, from Giurali, (Jerar ?) the name of the chief who commands the country. A few miles further on, we came to Abata, a pleasant village on our right, and similarly

situated to Gibba, among olive and pomegranate trees. The inhabitants are said to be particularly hospitable and kind to strangers. We did not stop to put their hospitality to the test, but continued our route along the narrow dell, and having crossed another mountain on the left, opened the beautiful vale of Esdraëlon, and the town of Jenin, pleasantly situated at the foot of the mountain. We descended to a level piece of stony ground which bore a tolerably good crop of thistles, and pitched our tents on the outside of the town, having travelled this day about eight hours and a half."

Sannour, or Sanhoor, called by Dr. Clarke Sanatorri, deserves a more particular notice. He makes it three hours, or nine miles, from Jenin. The castle, which he describes as very much resembling the old castellated buildings in England, is very strong: it held out against Djezzar Pasha, when he held the pashalic of Damascus, for two months, and he was compelled at last to raise the siege. In the time of the Crusades it must have been impregnable. "Yet," says Dr. Clarke, "there is no account of it in any author; and certainly it is not of later construction than the period of the holy wars." If the learned traveller has given the present name correctly, it would seem, both from the meaning and the language of the word, *holy tower*, to date from the Crusades. But, doubtless, the site is noticed by the older writers, under its original name. Their supposed silence, however, tempted Dr. Clarke to hazard the strange conjecture that it might be the site of Samaria; for, in his gallop through the Holy Land, he forgot to visit, or overlooked Sebaste! The hill commands the view to the northward of a fine broad valley, bounded by other hills on every side, about two miles in breadth

and five in length: the valley southward is narrower, and both are cultivated. The ascent is steep on all sides. The walls of the town are strongly built, "apparently," says Mr. Buckingham, "of old Saracenic work," and in circuit less than half a mile, with two gates in opposite quarters. The houses are well built, but the streets are narrow; the inhabitants all Mahommedans. The governor (then Hadje Ahmed Jerar) is tributary to Damascus, but absolute within his own territory, which includes several towns and villages, with extensive lands around them, of which he is as it were the feudal lord. Hadje Ahmed is described as of a most amiable and patriarchal character; and the aspect of the country bore the most pleasing marks of the benign influence of his mild and paternal government.

Jennin, or Genin, (pronounced Djenneen,) the ancient Ginaia, or Ginæa, and supposed to be the Geman of Josephus, was the frontier town of Samaria on the border of Galilee; being situated at the entrance of the great plain. It is mentioned by Josephus as the scene of a battle between the Galileans, who were going up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles, and the natives.* It is now a mere village, containing about 800 inhabitants; but there are evidences of its having once been of much greater extent. There are the remains of a Christian convent on the outside of the walls, now partly occupied by a Turkish cemetery. Within the town, Dr. Clarke observed the ruins of a palace and a mosque, with marble pillars, fountains, and even piazzas, some in a very perfect state. An Arabic inscription over one of these buildings, purports

* Joseph. Wars, book ii. chap. 12. See also Antiq. book xx. chap. 6.

that it was erected by an individual of the name of Selim. As a fence to the gardens, Dr. Clarke noticed the *cactus ficus Indicus*, growing to so enormous a size, that the stem was larger than a man's body; and its gaudy blossoms made a most splendid show in the midst of its bristly spines.

The route from Jennin to Nazareth lies directly across the plain of Esdraelon, a distance of seven hours, or twenty-one miles. Nearly in the middle of the plain is the line of separation between the pashalics of Acre and of Damascus. The road to Tiberias, which we are now to follow, proceeds eastward along this beautiful vale; watered, in this part, by a fertilizing stream, which, says Dr. Richardson, "we crossed and re-crossed several times in our march. In four hours after leaving Jennin, we came to the source, where it issues in a large current from the rock, and is called *El Geleed*, or *the cold*. In two hours more we came to Bisan. The delightful vale of Esdraelon is but thinly inhabited, and not half cultivated or stocked with cattle. We did not pass a single village, and saw but few Bedoween encampments till we came near to Bisan. As we approached this miserable village, we gradually withdrew from the vale, and got upon an elevated rocky flat, covered with a thin and meagre sprinkling of earth; the vegetation which it bore was scanty, and quite brown from the lack of moisture. The valley of the Jordan began to open on our view, and, before we came up to the village, we passed the remains of a Roman fortress and a Roman theatre, with many vaults * and columns, on the left of our route. The village itself is a collection of the most miserable hovels, containing about

* Supposed to be the ruins of subterranean granaries.

200 inhabitants; and, on looking at their wretched accommodation, and comparing it with a Bedoween encampment that was spread out at a little distance in the valley, we were not surprised to hear that, in these countries, the *dwellers in tents* look on the *dwellers in towns* as an inferior class of beings."

The young emir, or chief of the Arabs of Bisan, who waited on Lord Belmore, arrayed in his black abba and yellow boots, is described as a mild-tempered, intelligent youth; but the rest of the inhabitants had the most ruffian-like and depraved appearance.

Bisan, the Bethsan or Bethshan of Scripture,* is the Scythopolis of the Greek and Roman writers. It was the largest city of the Decapolis, and the only one on that side of the Jordan. The theatre is quite distinct, and measures about 180 feet in length; it is completely filled with weeds. In one of the most concealed vomitories, Captain Mangles states, that they found twenty-four human skulls, with other bones. A viper was basking in one of the skulls, with his body twisted between the eyes,—"a good subject for a moralizer." In some of the tombs which lie to the N.E. of the acropolis, without the walls, there remained sarcophagi; and, in a few instances, the doors were still hanging on their ancient hinges of stone; they observed also niches of a triangular shape for lamps. Two streams run through the ruins of the city, almost insulating the acropolis: over the one to the S.W. is a fine Roman bridge, beyond which may be seen the paved way which led to the ancient Ptolemais (Acre). These streams afterwards unite,

* Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Sam. xxxi. 12; 1 Kings iv. 12. It was one of the towns which Manasseh had in Issachar. To the wall of Bethsan the Philistines fastened the bodies of Saul and his three sons, after they had fallen in Mount Gilboa.

and are crossed by another bridge, having one high arch in the centre, and two smaller ones, which have been walled up; along the outer edge of this bridge, the wall of the city was continued; and on the hill, near the arch, the ruins of one of the gates of the city are distinguishable; there are some prostrate columns of the Corinthian order. The acropolis is a high circular hill, on the top of which are the traces of the ancient walls of the fortress.* Dr. Richardson noticed masses of ejected lava scattered round the village; and the mountains, he says, have the appearance of extinct volcanoes.

Pursuing the route to Tiberias, up the delightful plain of the Jordan, the traveller has on his left Mount Gilboa, which comes close to Bisan, and bounds the plain on the west. The natives still call it Djebel Gilbo. It is a lengthened ridge, rising up in peaks, about 800 feet above the level of the road, and probably 1000 feet above the level of the Jordan. On the east, the plain is bounded by a high mountain range, which forms part of Mount Gilead, so that the view on both sides is extremely interesting; and at the time of Dr. Richardson's journey (May), rich crops of barley, apparently over-ripe, added to the beauty of the landscape. After riding for nearly three hours, the route led them to the banks of the Jordan, where it is crossed by a large stone bridge, consisting of one large and two smaller arches. Here a large khan has been built for the accommodation of travellers who take the road to Damascus through the Decapolis and Mount Gilead. The river at this point is of a considerable depth, and between thirty and forty feet wide; the channel very stony, and the waters of a

* Irby and Mangles, pp. 302, 303.

"white sulphureous colour," but free from any unpleasant smell or taste. Near Bisan, its width is one hundred and forty feet, and the current is much more rapid. Beyond the bridge, the plain of the Jordan narrows into a valley, and the river remains in sight till the traveller arrives at the shores of the Lake of Tiberias: a distance of about eight hours, or twenty-four miles from Bisan.*

Tiberias, still called by the natives Tabaria, or Tabbareeah, was anciently one of the principal towns of Galilee. It was built by Herod the Tetrarch, and named by him in honour of Tiberias the Roman emperor, with whom he was a great favourite.† Very considerable privileges were granted to those who chose to settle there, in order to overcome the prejudice arising from the city's having been built on a site full of ancient sepulchres; from which circumstance we may infer the existence of a former city

* The river Jordan, on issuing from the Sea of Galilee, flows for about three hours near the western hills: it then turns towards the eastern, on which side it continues its course for several hours, till, at *Korn-el-Hemar*, it returns to the western side. Burckhardt gives the following list of the torrents or rivulets which descend from the mountains on either side, leaving in summer numerous pools of stagnant water. From the western mountains, beginning at the southern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias, Wady Fedjaz, Ain-el-Szammera, Wady Djaloud, Wady-el-Byre, and Wady-el-Oeshe; all to the north of Bisan. Below it, Wady-el-Maleh, Wady Medjedda (with a ruined town so called), Wady-el-Beydham (coming from the neighbourhood of Nablous), and Wady-el-Farah. From the eastern mountains, Sheriat-el-Mandhour, Wady-el-Arab, Wady-el-Koszeir, Wady-el-Taybe, and Wady-el-Seklab (near the village Erbayn); all to the north of the ford near Bisan. Beyond it, Wady Mous, Wady Yabes, Wady Amata, aad Wady Zerka, which divide the district of Moefad from El Belka.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3; De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8.

in the vicinity: this is supposed to have been the ancient Cinneroth or Kinnereth. Here, during a visit paid to the city by Herod Agrippa, the kings of Comagene, of Emessa, of the Lesser Armenia, of Pontus, and of Chalcis, met to do him honour, and were magnificently entertained.* After the downfall of Jerusalem, it continued to be, until the fifth century, the residence of Jewish rabbies and learned men; and was the seat of a patriarch, who acted as the supreme judge between persons of his own nation. The office was hereditary, and was supported with some lustre, under the Emperor Hadrian, in the person of Selim III.; but, in the year 429, it was suppressed, after subsisting 350 years, under nine or ten patriarchs. In the sixth century, according to Procopius, Justinian rebuilt the walls. In the seventh, A.D. 640, during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, the city was taken by the Saracens under Caliph Omar.† Yet, in the eighth, it is mentioned in an Itinerary cited by Reland, as still containing many churches and Jewish synagogues. Pococke, without citing his authority, says, that the Jewish rabbins lived here till the eleventh century, but that the Jews had left the place above eight hundred years. It seems doubtful, however, whether it has ever been wholly deserted by them. Tiberias was an ancient seat of Jewish literature. A university was founded here by the patriarch, after the fall of Jerusalem; and it is remarkable, that there is a college of Jews in Tabaria at the present time: it would be very interesting to ascertain the date of its establishment. Dr. Richardson found six rabbies engaged in studying Hebrew

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 7.

† Basnage's History of the Jews, cited by Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 30. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 222.

folios. "They occupied two large rooms, which were surrounded with books, and said they spent their time entirely in studying the Scriptures and commentaries thereon. I regretted much," adds Dr. R., "that I had not been apprised of this institution at an earlier part of the day. Not having an interpreter with me, I could not turn my short interview to the same advantage that I should otherwise have done."

The modern town of Tabaria is situated close to the edge of the lake. It has tolerably high but ill-built walls on three of its sides, flanked with circular towers; on the fourth, it is open to the water. Its figure is nearly quadrangular; * according to Pococke, it is about a quarter of a mile in length, and half that in breadth; in circumference, therefore, about three quarters of a mile. Like all Turkish citadels, it has an imposing appearance from without; and its fortifications and circular towers give it more the aspect of a Moorish city than most of the towns in Palestine. But it exhibits the utmost wretchedness within the walls, one-fourth of the space being wholly unoccupied, and the few houses or huts which it contains are not built contiguously. The sheikh's house is described by Van Egmont as tolerably good, and indeed the only building that deserves the name; and even this owes its beauty to the ruins out of which it is built. Adjoining to it is a large handsome structure, which serves as a stable. Near the sheikh's house are the ruins of a very large castle, with some remains of towers, moats, and other works,

* Mr. Buckingham says, "in the form of an irregular crescent." "The southern wall approaches close to the beach; but the north-western angle of the northern wall, being seated on a rising ground, recedes some little distance from the water, and gives an irregular form to the enclosure."

which probably commanded the harbour. One of these works, facing the lake, has been turned into a mosque. On the rising ground to the northward of the ruin, stands the modern castle, which dates only a few years before the period of Pococke's visit. Hasselquist informs us, that it owes its erection to Sheikh Daker, a native of Tiberias, and at that time independent lord of the place, which he had recently defended against the Pasha of Seide. "He had no more than six small iron cannon in this work of defence; but he used another method, still more ancient than cannons, for defending forts. He ordered loose stones to be laid on the top of the wall, four feet high, which, in case of a siege, might be rolled down, and crush the besiegers." The marks of the siege were then to be seen on the walls. Pococke, who preceded Hasselquist about thirteen years, was at Tiberias when the fort was building, and they were strengthening the old walls with buttresses on the inside, the sheikh then having a dispute with the Pasha of Damascus. "They have often," he adds, "had disputes with the pashas of Damascus, who have come and planted their cannon against the city, and sometimes have beaten down part of the walls, but were never able to take it." The town has only two gates; one near the sheikh's house, facing the sea; the other, which was very large, is partly walled up, the city on that side being uninhabited.* The houses are described by Van Egmont as "very mean

* "There are two gates visible from without, one near the southern, and the other in the western wall; the latter, which is in one of the round towers, is the only one now open: there are appearances also of the town having been surrounded with a ditch, but this is now filled up with cultivable soil."—Buckingham.

and low cottages, some of stone, and others of dried mud, and can hardly be said to be above the ground. On the terraces, which even the huts in this country are not without, they build tents of rushes." Mr. Buckingham states, that there are two synagogues near the centre of the town, both of them inferior to that of Jerusalem, though similar in design; and, on the rising ground near the northern quarter, a small, but good bazar, and two or three coffee-sheds.

The only interesting relic of antiquity in the town, is the church dedicated to St. Peter; an oblong square edifice, arched over, said to be on the spot where the house of St. Peter was, though St. Peter lived at Capernaum.* It stands at the north-east corner of the town, close to the water's edge, and is described by Mr. Buckingham as a vaulted room, about thirty feet by fifteen, and perhaps fifteeen feet in height: over the door is one small window, and on each side four others, all arched and open.† Van Egmont says,

* In justice to the original inventor of the legend, it should be mentioned, that this is a modern blunder of the monks. Bonifacius states, that the building erected by Helena marked the spot where our Lord appeared to Peter, after his resurrection; as recorded John xxi. 1.

† This seems to be the ancient church described by Dr. Clarke, to which, he says, "we descended by steps, as into the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and some other early Christian sanctuaries, where the entrance resembles that of a cellar, daylight being rarely admitted. There is reason to believe," he adds, "that this was the first place of Christian worship erected in Tiberias, and that it was constructed as early as the fourth century. The roof is of stone, and it is vaulted. We could discover no inscription, nor any other clue to its origin.....Its arched stone roof, yet existing entire, renders it worthy of more particular attention."—Vol. iv. p. 215. Captain Mangles controverts the opinion of its remote antiquity; stating, that after they had been there a few days, they observed on one of the stones of the building, part of an inverted Arabic inscription.

that it is used at present as a stable; and they accordingly put up their horses there. The ancient town extended about half a mile further to the south than the present walls, as is indicated by a great number of confused ruins; and Pococke observed, that the suburbs extended still further in the same direction. Near the present town, he says, there are ruins of another church; and further on, some signs of a large square building, about which lie several pillars, which might be the house of the government. Captain Mangles states, that "at the *northern* extremity of the ruins are the remains of the ancient town, which are discernible by means of the walls and other ruined buildings, as well as by fragments of columns, some of which are of beautiful red granite." This agrees with Van Egmont's representation, that the old city began at some distance to the north of the present town, extending along the side of the lake beyond the Baths of Emmaus, which are about a mile from the modern town, to the south of it. "In our way thither," says the last-mentioned traveller, "we plainly saw the foundations of the old city, and the remains of bulwarks erected on frustums of pillars. In short, the whole road to the bath, and even some distance beyond it, was full of ruins of walls; and near it we saw the ruins of a gate." These walls were continued to the mountains which confined the city towards the west, so that its breadth could not exceed half a mile. The wall beyond the baths, which runs from the lake to the mountain's side, is, however, supposed by Mr. Bankes to be rather the fortification of Vespasian's camp. Pococke places the baths a quarter of a mile south of the walls of old Tiberias. The ancient name of Emmaus, which signifies baths, is still preserved in the Arabic *Hamam*, by which the

place is now called. The waters are much resorted to, being esteemed good for all sorts of pains and tumours, and even for the gout. Dr. Richardson found the Pasha of Acre encamped here, with a numerous retinue; having been advised to use the baths, by his medical attendant, who was a Frank. At a little distance from him, Lady Hester Stanhope had taken up her residence in a mosque. "Not having any thermometer," says Dr. R., "I could not ascertain the temperature of the spring; but it is so hot, that the hand could not endure it; and the water must remain twelve hours in the bath, before it can be used; and then I should consider it as above 100°. It contains a strong solution of common salt, with a considerable intermixture of iron and sulphur." Pococke, who brought away a bottle of the waters, says, that they were found to hold a considerable quantity of "gross fixed vitriol, some alum, and a mineral salt." He observed a red sediment upon the stones. Van Egmont and Heyman state, that they resemble in quality those of Aix la Chapelle. "Our curiosity," they say, "led us to go into the bath, the water of which was so hot as not easily to be endured; but, to render it more temperate, we ordered the passage through which it runs into the basin, to be stopped. The inhabitants of Tiberias have built here a small house with a cupola; but there seems to have been formerly a much more splendid edifice, as the baths were very famous. The water rises something higher, whence it is conducted into a stone basin. This water is so salt as to communicate a brackish taste to that of the lake near it." Hasselquist has given a still more minute account, which Dr. Clarke has evidently overlooked in referring to him. "The fountain or source," he says, "is at the foot of a mountain, at the

distance of a pistol-shot from the Lake Gennesareth, and a quarter of a league from the coasts of Tiberias. The mountain consists of a black and brittle sulphureous stone, which is only to be found in large masses in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, but in loose stones also on the coast of the Dead Sea, as well as here. They cut millstones out of it in this place, which are sent by water from Acre to Egypt. I saw an incredible quantity of them at Damietta. The spring which comes from the mountain is in diameter equal to that of a man's arm, and there is one only. The water is so hot, that the hand may be put into it without scalding, but it cannot be kept there long: consequently, it is not boiling hot, but the next degree to it. It has a strong sulphureous smell. It tastes bitter, and something like common salt. The sediment deposited by it is black, as thick as paste, smells strongly of sulphur, and is covered with two skins, or cuticles, of which that beneath is of a fine dark-green colour, and the uppermost of a light rusty colour. At the mouth of the outlet, where the water formed little cascades over the stones, the first-mentioned cuticle alone was found, and so much resembled a *conferva*, that one might easily have taken this, that belongs to the mineral kingdom, for a vegetable production; but, nearer the river, where the water stood still, one might see both skins, the yellow uppermost, and under it the green." At that time (1750), the waters appear to have been neglected, and the "miserable bathing house" was not kept in repair.*

It seems at first difficult to account for the statement given by this usually correct writer, that there is but one spring, when Captain Mangles states that

* Voyages and Travels, p. 263.

there are three; but Mr. Buckingham's minute and lively description explains the apparent discrepancy.

"Leaving the town at the western gate, we pursued our course southerly along its wall, and came to some scattered ruins of the old city of Tiberias; among which we observed many foundations of buildings, some fragments of others still standing, and both grey and red granite columns, some portions of the latter being at least four feet in diameter; but among the whole, we saw neither ornamented capitals nor sculptured stones of any kind, though the city is known to have been a considerable one.

"In our way, we passed an old tree standing amid these ruins, and observed its branches to be hung with rags of every hue and colour, no doubt the offerings of those who either expected or had received benefit from the springs in the road to which it lay. Throughout the cliffs of the overhanging mountain on the west, are rude grottoes at different heights; and opposite to the tree are two arched caves, one of them having a square door of entrance beneath the arch, and both of them being apparently executed with care. We had not time to examine them, though we conceived them to have been most probably ancient sepulchres.

"In less than an hour after our leaving the town, we arrived at the baths. The present building, erected over the springs here, is small and mean, and is altogether the work of Mahommedans. It is within a few yards of the edge of the lake, and contains a bath for males and a bath for females, each with their separate apartment annexed. Over the door of the former is an Arabic inscription; ascending to this door by a few steps, it leads to an outer room, with an open window, a hearth for preparing coffee, and a small

closet for the use of the attendant. Within this is the bath itself, a square room of about eighteen or twenty feet, covered with a low dome, and having benches in recesses on each side. The cistern for containing the hot water is in the centre of this room, and is sunk below the pavement; it is a square of eight or nine feet only, and the spring rises to supply it through a small head of some animal; but this is so badly executed, that it is difficult to decide for what it was intended. My thermometer rose here instantly to 130°, which was its utmost limit; but the heat of the water was certainly greater. It was painful to the hand as it issued from the spout, and could only be borne gradually by those who bathed in the cistern.

"There is here only an old man and a little boy to hold the horses, and make coffee for the visitors; and those who bathe, strip in the inner room, and wash themselves in the cistern, without being furnished with cloths, carpets, cushions, or any of the usual comforts of a Turkish bath. The whole establishment, indeed, is of the poorest kind, and the sight of the interior is rather disgusting than inviting.

"At this bath we met with a soldier whom they called Mahommed Mamlouk, and I learnt that he was a German by birth, having become a Mamlouk and Mahommedan when a boy. He was now the hasnadar or treasurer to the Agha of Tabareeah, and was so completely a Turk as to profess, that he would not willingly return to his native country, even if he could do so under the most favourable circumstances. He spoke the Turkish and Arabic languages equally well; and it was in the latter that we conversed, as he had entirely forgotten his native tongue, though not more than thirty-five years of age.

"Besides the spring which supplies the present baths, there are several others near it, all rising close to the edge of the lake, and all equally hot, finely transparent, and slightly sulphureous, resembling exactly the spring at El-Hame. There are also extensive ruins around, which are most probably the remains of Roman edifices; though that which has been taken for the remains of a theatre, appears rather to have been the choir of an early Christian church. Among them all, there is nothing, however, either interesting or definite. We quitted this spot to return to the town, and in our way by the bath, saw a party of Jewish women just coming out from the female apartment. Their conversation was in German; and, on inquiry, they said that they had come from Vienna with their husbands, to end their days in the land of their fathers. In our way back from hence, we were met by a party of Moslems, who conceiving me, from my dress and white turban, to be of their faith, gave us the usual salute, which I returned without scruple; but our guide was so shocked at the interchange of forbidden salutations between a Christian and a Mohammedan, that he expressed his confidence in its ending in some unlucky accident to us. To avert this, however, from his own head, he took a large stone from the road, and after spitting on it, turned that part towards the north, repeating a short Arabic prayer at the same time. Besides the present incident, I had observed on several other occasions, that, in this country, set forms of expressions are regarded as appropriate to men of different faiths, and even different ranks in life; and that therefore nothing is more necessary for a traveller, than to acquaint himself with those minute shades of difference; as they serve, like the watch-

word of an army, to distinguish friends from foes; and any errors therein might produce the most alarming consequences.

"On our way we met a Jewish funeral, attended by a party of about fifty persons, all male. A groupe of half a dozen walked before, but without any apparent regard to order, and all seemed engaged in humming indistinctly hymns, or prayers, or lamentations; for they might have been either, as far as we could distinguish by the tone and the manner of their utterance. The corpse followed, wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on cords between two poles borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost. A funeral service was said over it at the grave, and it was sunk into its mother earth in peace."

This traveller notices some ancient baths, to the north of Tiberias also, which appear to have escaped the observation of preceding travellers. About an hour from Tiberias, pursuing a northward course along the border of the lake, he came to the remains of three, close to the water's edge, which he describes as so many large circular cisterns, quite open, and not appearing to have ever been inclosed in a covered building. "They were all," he continues, "nearly of the same size; the one around the edge of which I walked, being eighty paces in circumference, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. Each of these was distant from the other about one hundred yards, ranging along the beach of the lake, and each was supplied by a separate spring, rising also near the sea. The water was in all of them beautifully transparent, of a slightly sulphureous taste, and of a light-green colour, as at the bath near Oom Kais; but the heat of the stream here was scarcely greater than that of the atmosphere, as the thermometer in the air stood at

84°, and when immersed in water, rose to 86°. The first of these circular cisterns had a stone bench or pathway running round its interior, for the accommodation of the bathers, and the last had a similar work on the outside; in the latter, a number of small black fish were seen swimming. Each of the baths were supplied by a small aqueduct from its separate spring; and there were appearances of a semi-circular wall having inclosed them all within one area.

Mr. Jolliffe reports the estimated number of inhabitants to be 4000, two-thirds of which are Jews. Burckhardt's account agrees with this as to numbers; but he makes the proportion of Jews only one-fourth.* There are, he says, from one hundred and sixty to two hundred Jewish families, of which forty or fifty are of Polish origin; the rest are Jews from Spain, Barbary, and different parts of Syria. The quarter which they occupy in the middle of the town, had lately been much enlarged by the purchase of several streets, so that their numbers appear to be on the increase. Tiberias holds out to the Jews peculiar advantages. They enjoy here perfect religious freedom; besides which, Tiberias is one of the four holy cities of the Talmud, the other three being Saphet, Jerusalem, and Hebron. "It is esteemed holy ground," Burckhardt states, "because Jacob is supposed to have resided here,† and because it is situated on the Lake of Gennesareth; from which, according to the

* Mr. Buckingham says, that, according to the opinion of the best-informed residents, the population does not exceed 2000 souls, of whom about half are Jews.

† Perhaps not the patriarch, but some great rabbin of that name. Burckhardt speaks of a great rabbin, who, he was informed, lies buried at Tiberias, with 14,000 of his scholars round him!

most generally received opinion of the Talmud, the Messiah is to rise. It is a received dogma, that the world will return to its primitive chaos, if prayers are not addressed to the God of Israel, at least twice a week in the four holy cities. On this account, Jewish devotees from all parts flock to these cities; and three or four missionaries are sent abroad every year, to collect alms for the support of these religious fraternities, who do not fail successfully to plead this imminent danger as an argument for liberal contributions. One missionary is sent to the coasts of Africa from Damietta to Mogadore; another to the coasts of Europe from Venice to Gibraltar; a third to the Archipelago, Constantinople, and Anatolia; and a fourth through Syria. The charity of the Jews of London is appealed to from time to time; but the Jews of Gibraltar have the reputation of being more liberal than any others, and are stated to contribute from 4 to 5000 Spanish dollars annually. The Polish Jews settled at Tabaria, are supported almost entirely by their rich countrymen in Bohemia and Poland; and the Syrian Jews are said to be very jealous of them. When a fresh pilgrim arrives, bringing a little money with him, the exorbitant demands which are made on him by his brethren, either for rent, or on some other pretence, soon deprive him of it, and leave him a pensioner on his nation. The missionaries generally realize some property, as they are allowed ten per cent. upon the alms they collect. But many of the Jews, who have been led to beg their way to Palestine by their delusive representations, are ill satisfied with the Land of Promise; and some few are fortunate enough to find their way home again. The greater number, however, console themselves with the

inestimable advantage of laying their bones in the Holy Land.

The Jewish devotees pass the whole day in the schools or the synagogue, reciting the Old Testament and the Talmud, both of which many of them know entirely by heart. They all write Hebrew; but their learning, Burckhardt says, seems to be on a level with that of the Turks. He mentions some beautiful copies of the Pentateuch, written on a roll of leather, which he saw in the Syrian synagogue: no one could inform him of their age or history. The libraries of the two schools are moderately stocked with Hebrew books, printed chiefly at Vienna and Venice. They observe here, he says, a singular custom in the public service. "While the rabbin recites the psalms of David, or the prayers extracted from them, the congregation frequently imitate, by their voice or gesture, the meaning of some remarkable passages: for example, when the rabbin pronounces the words, 'Praise the Lord with the sound of the trumpet,' they imitate the sound of the trumpet through their closed fists. When 'a horrible tempest' occurs, they puff and blow to represent a storm; or should he mention the cries of the righteous in distress, they all set up a loud screaming." And sometimes, we are told, these imitative accompaniments are carried on in a singular sort of fugue or concert; while some are blowing the storm, others having already begun the cries of the righteous!

The Jews marry at a very early age. It is not uncommon, Burckhardt affirms, to see fathers of thirteen years of age, and mothers of eleven. On the occasion of a wedding, they traverse the town in pompous procession, carrying before the bride the plate

of almost the whole community; and they feast in the house of the bridegroom for seven successive days and nights. "The wedding-feast of a man who has about 50*l.* a-year, (and no Jew can live with his family on less,) will often cost more than 60*l.*" Yet, few of them are rich, or carry on any merchandize. When Burckhardt was at Tiberias, there were only two Jew merchants resident there, who were men of property; and they were styled by the devotees, *kafers*, or unbelievers. The Rabbin of Tiberias is under the great Rabbin of Szaffad (Saphet), who pronounces final judgement on all contested points of law and religion.

The Christian community consists only of a few families,—Mr. Buckingham says, about twenty, of the Catholic communion.* They enjoy great liberty, and are on a footing of equality with the Turks. The difference of treatment which the Christians experience from the Turks, in different parts of Syria, is very remarkable. It depends very much on the character of the local government. At the time of Burckhardt's visit, Tabaria, which, with its district of ten or twelve villages, forms part of the pashalik of Acre, was under the mild and tolerant government of Soleiman Pasha, the successor of Djezzar. "At Szaffad," says that enterprising traveller, "where is a small Christian community, the Turks are extremely intolerant: at Tiberias, on the contrary, I have seen Christians beating Turks in the public bazar." A bazar had been lately built, in which he counted a dozen retail shops. "The traffic of the inhabitants is principally with the Bedouins of the Ghor and of the

* Yet Dr. Clarke says, they are numerous, and that he was convinced of this by the multitude he saw coming from the morning service of the church.

district of Szaffad. The shopkeepers repair every Monday to the khan at the foot of Mount Tabor, where a market called Souk-el-Khan is held, and where the merchandize of the town is bartered, chiefly for cattle. The greater part of the inhabitants cultivate the soil, which produces wheat, barley, dhourra, tobacco, melons, grapes, and a few vegetables. About 350 lbs. of melons sell for about eight shillings. The heat of the climate would enable them to grow almost any tropical plant." There is, however, "little art at Tiberias, and less industry." "I had broken," says Dr. Richardson, "the mouth-piece of my pipe at Bisan, and could not find in all Tiberias a person who could make a tube for it; yet every person here, both men and women, smoke. There are many Turks, and a still greater number of Jews, in Tiberias. A respectable-looking, rich Jew passes himself off as European consul; though by whom constituted, or for what purpose, I cannot say. However, he thought proper to pay his respects to the Pasha, dressed in the European costume: he wore a scarlet coat and cocked hat, tight small-clothes, silk stockings, shoes and buckles; he rode upon an ass, and carried a cochlico umbrella above his head. He was a thin, meagre, old man, between seventy and eighty years of age. His appearance was highly grotesque and abundantly amusing to all the spectators."

It is remarkable, that there are no fishing-boats at Tiberias. The fish are caught with casting-nets, thrown from the rocks or from the beach; a method which must obviously yield a very small quantity, compared to what could be obtained by boats. The consequence is, that fish is sold at the same price per pound as meat. Pococke went on the lake in a boat which was kept in order to fetch wood from the other

side. But, when Captain Irby and his companions were at Tiberias, not a single boat of any description was to be seen on the lake. "The fishery," Burckhardt says, "is rented at seven hundred piastres per annum; but the only boat that was employed on it by the fishermen, fell to pieces last year (1811), and such is the indolence of these people, that they have not yet supplied its loss." The northern part of the lake, he says, is full of fish, but he did not see one at the southern extremity. The most common species are the *binni*, or carp, and the *mesht*, a flat fish about a foot long and five inches broad. Their flavour is reported to be excellent, and the commonest sort is the best. Captain Mangles describes it as a species of bream, equal to the finest perch. According to Hasselquist, the same kind is met with here as in the Nile: he specifies *charmuth*, *silurus*, *bœnni*, *mulsil*, and *sparus Galilæus*. Some are very large, living here in quiet security, being never disturbed by boats or vessels, nets or hooks.

LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

THIS inland sea, or more properly lake, which derives its several names, the Lake of Tiberias, the Sea of Galilee, and the Lake of Gennesareth, from the territory which forms its western and south-western border, is computed to be between seventeen and eighteen miles in length, and from five to six in breadth.* The mountains on the east come close to

* According to Josephus. Dr. Richardson, misled by Sandys, makes it "about twelve miles long and six broad." Dr. Clarke says: "Of its length we could not form any accurate opinion, because its southern extremity, winding behind distant mountains, was concealed from our view; but we inclined rather to

its shore, and the country on that side has not a very agreeable aspect: on the west, it has the plain of Tiberias, the high ground of the plain of Hutin, or Hottein, the plain of Gennesareth, and the foot of those hills by which you ascend to the high mountain of Saphet. To the north and south it has a plain country, or valley. There is a current throughout the whole breadth of the lake, even to the shore; and the passage of the Jordan through it is discernible by the smoothness of the surface in that part. Various travellers have given a very different account of its general aspect. According to Captain Mangles, the land about it has no striking features, and the scenery is altogether devoid of character. "It appeared," he says, "to particular disadvantage to us after those beautiful lakes we had seen in Switzerland; but it becomes a very interesting object, when you consider the frequent allusions to it in the Gospel narrative." Dr. Clarke, on the contrary, speaks of the uncommon grandeur of this memorable scenery. "The Lake of Gennesareth," he says, "is surrounded by objects well calculated to heighten the solemn impression" made by such recollections, and "affords one of the most striking prospects in the Holy Land. Speaking of it comparatively, it may be described as longer and finer than any of our Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, although perhaps inferior to Loch Lomond. It does not possess the vastness of the Lake of Geneva, although it much resembles it in certain points of view. In picturesque beauty, it comes nearest to the Lake of Locarno in Italy, although it is destitute of

the statement of Hegesippus, as applied by Reland to the text of Josephus: this makes it to equal 140 *stadia*, or seventeen miles and a half." Its breadth he judged to be not less than six miles.

any thing similar to the islands by which that majestic piece of water is adorned. It is inferior in magnitude, and in the height of its surrounding mountains, to the Lake Asphaltites." Mr. Buckingham may perhaps be considered as having given the most accurate account, and one which reconciles in some degree the differing statements above cited, when, speaking of the lake as seen from Tel Hoom, he says—that its appearance is grand, but that the barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give a cast of dulness to the picture; this is increased to melancholy by the dead calm of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found.

Among the pebbles on the shore, Dr. Clarke found pieces of a porous rock resembling *toad-stone*, its cavities filled with zeolite. Native gold is said to have been found here formerly. "We noticed," he says, "an appearance of this kind, but, on account of its trivial nature, neglected to pay proper attention to it. The water was as clear as the purest crystal, sweet, cool, and most refreshing. Swimming to a considerable distance from the shore, we found it so limpid that we could discern the bottom covered with shining pebbles. Among these stones was a beautiful, but very diminutive kind of shell, a nondescript species of *Buccinum*, which we have called *Buccinum Galilæum*. We amused ourselves by diving for specimens; and the very circumstance of discerning such small objects beneath the surface, may prove the high transparency of the water." The situation of the lake, lying as it were in a deep basin between the hills which enclose it on all sides, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at either

end, protects its waters from long-continued tempests: its surface is in general as smooth as that of the Dead Sea. But the same local features render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the mountains, of short duration: especially, when the strong current formed by the Jordan is opposed by a wind of this description from the S.E., sweeping from the mountains with the force of a hurricane, it may easily be conceived that a boisterous sea must be instantly raised, which the small vessels of the country would be unable to resist. A storm of this description is plainly denoted by the language of the evangelist, in recounting one of our Lord's miracles. "There *came down* a storm of wind on the lake, and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy.....Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water; and they ceased, and there was a calm."*

There were fleets of some force on this lake during the wars of the Jews with the Romans, and very bloody battles were fought between them. Josephus gives a particular account of a naval engagement between the Romans under Vespasian, and the Jews who had revolted during the administration of Agrippa. Titus and Trajan were both present, and Vespasian himself was on board the Roman fleet. The rebel force consisted of an immense multitude, who, as fugitives after the capture of Tarichæa by Titus, had sought refuge on the water. The vessels in which the Romans defeated them, were built for the occasion, and yet were larger than the Jewish ships. The victory was followed by so terrible a slaughter of the Jews, that nothing was to be seen, either on the lake

* Luke viii. 23, 24.

or its shores, but the blood and mangled corses of the slain, and the air was infected by the number of dead bodies. Six thousand five hundred persons are stated to have perished in this naval engagement and in the battle of Tarichæa, besides twelve hundred who were afterwards massacred in cold blood by order of Vespasian, in the amphitheatre at Tiberias, and a vast number who were given to Agrippa as slaves.*

Of the numerous towns which formerly flourished on the shores of this lake, few traces now remain, and there is some difficulty in determining even the sites of those whose names have come down to us. About an hour and a quarter to the northward of Tiberias, following the course of the lake, is a small Mahommedan village called Migdal,† (which signifies in Hebrew a tower,) where there are considerable remains of a very indifferent castle, that may possibly have given its name to the place. It is seated near the edge of the lake, beneath a range of high cliffs, in which are seen small grottoes or caves. The ruins consist of an old square tower and some larger buildings of rude construction, apparently ancient. It is generally supposed that this is the Magdala of the Gospels, and the Migdal of the earlier Scriptures.‡ But Pococke objects against this opinion, that Magdala seems to have been in the same direction as Dalmanutha, which he supposes to have been on the eastern coast. This, however, is far from certain. He places it at the S.E. corner of the plain, which, he says, "must be what Josephus calls the country of Gennesareth, and which he describes as thirty stadia long from north to south, and twenty broad, that is,

* Joseph. Wars, book iii. chap. 17.

† Burckhardt writes it El Medjdel.

‡ Matt. xv. 39. Joshua xix. 38.

from the Vale of Doves (Wady Hymam) to the sea." "This plain," he adds, "is a very fertile spot of ground. About the middle of the plain, or rather towards the north side, there is a very fine fountain, about one hundred feet in diameter, enclosed with a circular wall six feet high, on which account it is called the round fountain: it runs off in a stream through the plain into the lake, and is probably the fountain mentioned by Josephus, by the name of Cesaina, as watering this plain. The water seems to be that which was called the spring of Capernaum, from which one may suppose that Capernaum was at the lake where this rivulet falls into it."*

Burckhardt and Captain Mangles describe, half an

* "The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth. Its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty: its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with those several sorts; particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another, to agree together. It is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them also a great while. It supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year. For besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it *Capharnaum*. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the *coracin* fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake, that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of that place."—JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, book iii. chap. 10, § 8.

hour to the west of Magdala, on the northern side of the entrance of a wady or ravine, a curious ancient fortification to which the natives give the name of the Castle of the Pigeons (*Kalaat Hamam*), on account, Burckhardt says, of the vast quantity of wild pigeons that breed there. A high perpendicular cliff projects so as to form a natural barrier on two sides of a triangle, and the remaining side is defended by a wall of rough masonry with numerous projecting turrets. "It is certainly very antique, and Mr. Bankes thinks, prior to the time of the Romans. It may possibly," adds Captain Mangles, "be the ancient Jotapata." This conjecture, however, is not supported by the description, which hardly agrees with the situation of Jotapata as given by Josephus.* It is evidently the same place as Pococke refers to under the name of the Valley of Doves (or Pigeons). "Two miles N.E. of Hutin," he says, "and north of the plain of Hutin, is a narrow pass called Waad Hymam (the Valley of Doves), which is a descent between two rocky mountains into the plain of Gennesareth, which is westward of the middle part of the Sea of Tiberias. These mountains are full of sepulchral grots, which probably belonged to the towns and villages near. On the north side of the hill, over the plain of Gennesareth, there is a fortress cut into the perpendicular rock a considerable height, with a great number of apartments; the ascent to which is very steep. It is said by some to be the work, at least the improvement, of Feckerdine."† He goes on to state, as the

* Wars, book iii. chap. 7, § 7.

† With this, Burckhardt's description accurately agrees. "In the calcareous mountain are many natural caverns, which have been united together by passages cut in the rock, and enlarged in

reason of his mentioning this pass so particularly, that south of it, in the plain of Hutin, and about two miles west of the Sea of Tiberias, are the ruins of a town or large village, which still bears the name of Bait-sida, and must have been the ancient Bethsaida of Galilee. "There are ruins of a large cistern and other buildings here, and particularly great remains of a church, and of a very fine worked door-case to it, and some columns." The Bethsaida to which Philip the Tetrarch gave the name of Julias,* in honour of Cæsar's daughter, the learned author concludes to have been a different place; it was situated in the lower Gaulonitis; and he contends, that as its name was changed before our Lord frequented these parts, it would not have been referred to by the evangelist under any other appellation. It is certain, indeed, that the Bethsaida of the evangelists, as well as Chorazin and Capernaum with which it is associated, was in Galilee.†

order to render them more commodious for habitation. Walls also have been built across the natural openings, so that no person could enter them except through the narrow communicating passages; and wherever the nature of the almost perpendicular cliff permitted it, small bastions were built to defend the castle, which has been thus rendered almost impregnable. The perpendicular cliff forms its protection above, and the access from below is by a narrow path, so steep as not to allow of a horse mounting it. In the midst of the caverns several deep cisterns have been hewn." The place might, he thinks, shelter about 600 men; and he supposes it to be the work of some powerful robber about the time of the Crusades, as a few vaults of communication, with pointed arches, denote Gothic architecture.—*Travels in Syria*, p. 331.

* There was another Julias, in Perea, on the east side of the lake, the ancient name of which was Betherampta. This was built by Herod Antipas. See Josephus, Jewish Wars, book ii. chap. 9.

† John xii. 21. Matt. xi. 21, 23.

With regard to Chorazin, Pococke says that he could find nothing like the name except at a village called *Gerasi*, which is among the hills west of the place called *Telhoue* in the plain of Gennesareth. Dr. Richardson, in passing through this plain, inquired of the natives whether they knew such a place as Capernaum? They immediately rejoined, "Cavernahum wa Chorasi, they are quite near, but in ruins." This evidence sufficiently fixes the proximity of Chorazin to Capernaum, in opposition to the opinion that it was on the east side of the lake; and it is probable that the Gerasi of Pococke is the same place, the orthography only being varied, as Dr. Richardson's Chorasi.

Capernaum was on the sea-coast, on the borders of Zabulon and Naphthali.* Mr. Buckingham mentions an Arab station, said to have been formerly called Capharnaoom, upon the edge of the lake, from nine to twelve miles N.N.E. of Tiberias, bearing at present only the name of Talhewn,†—the Telhoue of Pococke, who describes it as lying at the eastern foot of the hills north of the plain of Gennesareth, and supposes (but it is evidently an erroneous conjecture) that it is the ancient Tarichea. The ruins, he says, extend considerably to the north along the lake. Among them he saw the remains of a small church, of white marble, with some pilasters about it; he observed also a round port for small boats. Mr. Buckingham says: "Tal-hhewn, though now only a station of Bedouins, appears to have been the site of some considerable settlement, as ruined buildings, hewn stones, broken pottery, &c., are scattered around

* Matt. iv. 13.

† Burckhardt writes it *Tel Hoom*, which is somewhat nearer the supposed ancient name.

here over a wide space. The foundations of a large and magnificent edifice are still to be traced here, though there remains not sufficient of the building itself to decide whether it was a temple or a palace. It appears to have had its greatest length from north to south, and thus presented a narrow front towards the lake. The northern end of the building is sixty-five paces in length; and, as the foundation of the eastern wall appears to extend from hence down close to the sea, it must have been nearly four times that measurement, or two hundred paces in extent. Within this space are seen large blocks of sculptured stone, in friezes, cornices, mouldings, &c., and among them two masses which looked like pannels of some sculptured wall. I conceived them at first to have been stone doors, but they were too thick for that purpose, and had no appearance of pivots for hinges; nor could they have been sarcophagi, as they were both perfectly solid. The sculpture seems to have been originally fine, but is now much defaced by time. The block was nine spans long, four and a half spans wide, and two spans thick in its present state, and lay on its edge against other hewn stones.

"Among the singularities we noticed here, were double pedestals, double shafts, and double capitals, attached to each other in one solid mass, having been perhaps thus used at the angles of colonnades. There were at least twenty pedestals of columns within this area, occupying their original places, besides many others overturned and removed, and all the capitals we saw were of the Corinthian order and of a large size.

"Near to this edifice, and close upon the edge of the lake, are the walls of a solid building, evidently constructed with fragments of the adjacent ruins, as

there are seen in it shafts of pillars worked into the masonry, as well as pieces of sculptured stones intermingled with plain ones. This small building is vaulted within, though the Arabs have raised a flat terrace on its roof; and a poor family, with their cattle, now use the whole for their dwelling.

"To the north-east of this spot, about two hundred yards, are the remains of a small domestic bath, the square cistern, and channels for supplying it with water, being still perfect; and close by is a portion of the dwelling to which it was probably attached, with a narrow winding stair-case on one of its sides. The blocks of the great edifice are exceedingly large; and these, as well as the materials of the smaller buildings and the fragments scattered around in every direction, are chiefly of the black porous stone which abounds throughout the western shores of the lake. Some masses of coarse white marble are seen, however, in the centre of the large ruin, and some subterraneous work appears to have been constructed there of that substance. The whole has an air of great antiquity, both from its outward appearance and its almost complete destruction, but the style of the architecture is evidently Roman."

Upon what authority this site is said to have borne the name of Capernaum, does not appear; but it must be very strong to overbalance the obvious objections to the conjecture. In the first place, Dr. Richardson's information is positive, that the ruins of Capernaum still retain their ancient name. Secondly, there is no reason to suppose that that town was ever a place of such consequence as these ruins indicate. Its being "exalted to heaven"* is to be understood

* Matt. xi. 23.

of its having had our Lord for an inhabitant. Further, the modern appellation is a strong presumption against the supposition, as the Arabs never change the ancient names, except by corrupting them. Van Egmont and Heyman mention another place, about three hours' journey from Tiberias, "where are the ruins of a city which seems to have been large: the country people call it Misdel, and pretended it to be the ancient Capernaum." To this it has probably no better claim than Talhewn has; but the statement shews how little dependence is to be placed on vague reports of the kind, unsupported by the present names of the places. Assuredly, none of the country people know what any place, that has lost its ancient appellation, used to be called eighteen hundred years ago.

Burckhardt states, that at *Tel Hoom*, there is a well of salt water called *Tennour Ayoub*, and the rivulet El Eshe empties itself into the lake just by. At some short distance, more to the S.W., is a spring near the border of the lake, called Ain Tabegha, with a few houses and a corn-mill; but the water is so strongly impregnated with salt as not to be drinkable. This must be the place which Mr. Buckingham calls Tahhbahh, where he found only one Arab family; but he states that there are several hot springs here, of the same nature as those below Oom Kais, but much more copious. "Around them," he says, "are remains of four large baths, each supplied by its own separate spring, and each having an aqueduct for carrying off its superfluous waters into the lake, from which they are distant about three hundred yards. The most perfect of these baths is an open octangular basin of excellent masonry, stuccoed on the inside, being one hundred and five paces in circumference, and about twenty-five feet in depth. We descended

to it by a narrow flight of ten stone steps, which lead to a platform about twelve feet square, and elevated considerably above the bottom of the bath, so that the bathers might go from thence into deeper water below. This large basin is now nearly filled with tall reeds, growing up from the bottom; but its aqueduct, which is still perfect, and arched near the end, carries down a full and rapid stream to turn the mill erected at its further end. On the sides of this aqueduct are seen incrustations similar to those described on the aqueduct of Tyre, leading from the cisterns of Solomon at Ras-el-ayn, and occasioned, no doubt, by the same cause. The whole of the work, both of the baths and its aqueduct, appears to be Roman; and it is executed with the care and solidity which generally mark the architectural labours of that people. At a short distance beyond this, to the eastward, is a small circular building called Hemmam-el-Aioobe, or the Bath of Job, but it is apparently of the same age as those near it."

To the south of Tabegha, returning towards Tiberias, and still keeping the border of the lake, is a ruined khan, called Khan Mennye or Munney; a large and well-constructed building. "Here begins," says Burckhardt, (coming from the north,) "a plain of about twenty minutes in breadth, to the north of which the mountain stretches down close to the lake. That plain is covered with the tree called *doum* or *theder*, which bears a small yellow fruit like the *zaarour*.* It was now about mid-day, and the sun

* Pococke, evidently referring to the same fruit, describes it as "a little sort of apple, which is not disagreeable; it grows on a thorny tree, and, they say, ripens at all seasons....If I do not mistake," he says, "it is the *nabbok*."

intensely hot; we therefore looked about for a shady spot, and reposed under a very large fig-tree, at the foot of which a rivulet of sweet water gushes out from beneath the rocks, and falls into the lake at a few hundred paces distant. The tree has given its name to the spring, Ain-el-Tin: near it are several other springs, which occasion a very luxuriant herbage along the borders of the lake."* This is undoubtedly the plain of Gennesareth, described by Josephus in such glowing language; and the Ain-el-Tin must be "the fountain of Capernaum."† Here we have still the fig-tree asserting its claim to the soil, as mentioned by Josephus, as well as the doom, a species of palm. "The pastures of Mennye, Burckhardt adds, "are proverbial for their richness among the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. High reeds grow along the shore, but I found none of the aromatic reeds and rushes mentioned by Strabo."

Here then, if the authority of Josephus may be built upon, we should expect to find traces of the ancient Capernaum.‡ Between Khan Mennye and El Medjdel, a distance of about three miles, there occurs no modern village. It remains for future travellers to pursue the inquiry, and ascertain whether any thing remains besides the name of that once favoured town; or whether our Saviour's denuncia-

* Travels in Syria, p. 319.

† See preceding note at p. 290.

‡ From comparing the parallel passages, Matt. xiv. 34, and John vi. 23, 24, it would appear, that Capernaum was certainly in the land of Gennesareth, and not far from Tiberias. Churches were built, by order of Constantine, at Capernaum, Tiberias, and Sepphoury. Some traces of such an edifice will probably remain to identify the site—unless Tel Hoom was even at that time taken for Capernaum.

tion against it has been literally accomplished, that it should be cast down as it were into the grave.*

"In thirty-eight minutes from Khan Mennye," continues Burckhardt, "we passed a small rivulet, which waters Wady Lymoun. At about an hour's distance from our road, up in the mountain, we saw the village Sendjol, about half an hour to the west of which lies the village Hottein. In forty-five minutes we passed the large branch of the Wady Lymoun. The mountains which border the lake, here terminate in a perpendicular cliff, which is basaltish, with an upper stratum of calcareous rock; and the shore changes from the direction S.W. by S. to that of S. by E. In the angle stands the miserable village El Medjdel, one hour distant from Ain-el-Tin. The Wady Hamam branches off from Medjdel. Proceeding from hence, the shore of the lake is overgrown with defle (*solanum furiosum*), and there are several springs close to the water's side. At the end of two hours and a quarter from Ain-el-Tin, we reached Tabaria." †

We must now, for the present, take leave of the immediate vicinity of this consecrated lake, and proceed to explore the tract of country which lies westward of Tiberias; having yet to visit Nazareth, the place where our Lord was brought up; Mount Tabor, the supposed site of the transfiguration; and some other sites of peculiar interest.

* *Hades*, rendered 'hell' by our translators, Matt. xi. 23, h. e. *miserrima et valde abjecta erit tua conditio.*—Schleusner.

† Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 320, 321.

FROM TIBERIAS TO NAZARETH.

THERE are two direct roads to Nazareth; one by Kefer-Sebt and El Khan; the other by Louby, which lies more to the south; but travellers usually diverge a little from the direct route to visit some of the sacred places. The distance is computed to be nearly twenty miles. We here take for our guides Burckhardt and Dr. Richardson.

In one hour from Tabaria, the traveller passes a spring called *Ain-el-Rahham*. About half an hour further, he passes a rocky spot, with heaps of stones scattered around, called *Khamsi Khabshaat*, or "the place of the five loaves," from a belief that our Lord here wrought the miracle of feeding the five thousand with five loaves and two fishes. A large black stone is shewn as that on which he sat. Unfortunately, however, for the credit of the tradition, the miracle alluded to appears to have been wrought on the opposite side of the Sea of Tiberias.* Moreover it is, Mr. Buckingham says, "on the top of a high and rocky hill; so that it does not correspond to the local features of the place described in any one particular, and may be cited as another proof of the bungling ignorance of those blind guides who so proudly call themselves the guardians of the holy places." Mr. Burckhardt mentions a place, the distance of which does not agree with this, being an hour further on, called *Hedjar-el-Naszara*, the "stones of the Christians." Here are four or five blocks of black stone, upon which Christ is said to have reclined while addressing the multitude who flocked around him. The priests of Nazareth stopped to read some prayers over

* Compare Matt. xiv. 13, 22, 34, and John vi. 1, 17, 24.

the stones. The road to this place leads over a high, uncultivated plain. Dr. Richardson describes it as a very hilly country, but says, the soil is deep, and of a good quality, producing excellent pasture; it is, however, poorly stocked. Mount Hermon and Mount Tabor appear at a considerable distance on the left. Below the Stones, a small plain called *Sahel Hottein* extends towards the N.E., the vale of Hutin of Pococke. The country is intersected by wadys. About an hour's distance from the Stones, upon the same level, there is a hill of an oblong shape, with two projecting summits on one of its extremities: the natives call it *Keroun Hottein*, the Horns of Hottein; but the Christians have given it the appellation of *Mons Beatitudinis*, the Mount of the Beatitudes, under which name it is described by both Maundrell and Pococke. From the plain to the south, it appears like a long, low hill with a mount at each end, and at first sight the whole hill appears to be rocky and uneven; but the eastern mount is a level surface, covered with fine herbage. About the middle of this mount are the foundations of a small church, twenty-two feet square, on a ground a little elevated, which is the supposed place occupied by our Lord in delivering the "sermon on the mount." To the west of this is a tank or under-ground cistern. It is tedious to have to refute all the blundering legends which so industriously misplace the occurrences of sacred history. It is sufficiently clear, that the mountain into which our Lord had retired from the multitude, when his disciples came to him on the occasion referred to, was near Capernaum,* to which he descended immediately from the hill; for, "when he

* Compare Matt. viii. 5. Luke vii. 1.

had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people, he entered into" that town. That Capernaum was not in this direction, is equally certain, on account of the distance from the coast. The Horns of Hottein cannot be less distant from the plains of Gennesareth than from ten to twelve miles. If it has no pretensions, however, to its *Christian* name, the view which is afforded from its elevated summit, amply repays the ascent, and justifies the taste of the ubiquitous Helena, or whoever fixed upon this site for the chapel of the beatitudes. "For its grandeur," says Dr. Clarke, "independently of the interest excited by the different objects, there is nothing equal to it in the Holy Land. From this situation we perceived that the plain over which we had been riding (from Turan) is itself very elevated. Far beneath appeared other plains, one lower than the other, in a regular gradation, reaching eastward as far as the Sea of Galilee. This lake, almost equal in the grandeur of its appearance to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the north-east towards the south-west. Its eastern shores exhibit a sublime scene of mountains towards the north and south, and they seem to close it in at either extremity. The cultivated plains reaching to its borders, which we beheld at an amazing depth below, resembled, by the various hues their different produce presented, the motley pattern of a vast carpet. To the north appeared snowy summits, towering beyond a series of intervening mountains.*....To the south-west, at the distance of only twelve miles, we beheld Mount Tabor, having a conical form, and standing quite insular upon the

* Probably Djebel Sheikh.

northern side of the wide plains of Esdraelon. The mountain whence this superb view was presented, consists entirely of limestone; the prevailing constituent of all the mountains in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, and Palestine."*

The country becomes better inhabited, though the road still leads over an uneven, uncultivated track, as the traveller approaches Kefer Kenna, or Cane Galil; the Cana where Christ performed his first miracle, of turning water into wine. Dr. Richardson says, that they passed several comfortable villages, with considerable cultivation on the hills and valleys round them. Cana itself is a neat village, with a copious spring, surrounded with plantations of olive and other fruit trees. Burckhardt makes it four hours and a quarter, Dr. Richardson about five hours and a half, from Tiberias; but possibly their rate of travelling differed, and the distance may safely be computed at between fifteen and sixteen miles. "Here," says the latter, "in a small Greek church, we were shewn an old stone pot, made of the common compact limestone of the country, which, the hierophant informed us, is one of the original pots that contained the water which

* Travels, &c. vol. iv. (8vo.) pp. 201, 202. Pococke has given a more specific account of the objects included in this extensive prospect. "To the S.W. I saw Jebel Sejar extending to Sephor, the tops of Carmel, then Jebel Turan near the Plain of Zabulon, which extends to Jebel Huttin. Beginning at the N.W. and going to the N.E., I saw Jebel Igermick, about which they named to me these places: Sekeneen, Elbany, Sejaour, Nah, Rameh, Mogor, Orady, Trenon, Kobresiad; and further E. on other hills, Meirom, Tokin on a hill, and Nouesy. Directly N. of Huttin, and to the E. of the hill on which that city stands, Khan Tehar and Khan Eminie were mentioned; and to the N. of the Sea of Tiberias, I saw Jebel Sheikh." Other villages were pointed out by his guide in other directions, but they are names of no interest.

underwent this miraculous change." In the village, Pococke saw a large ruined building, the walls of which were almost entire; whether it was a house or a church, he could not well judge, but "they say, the house of the marriage was on this spot." Near it stood a "large new Greek church,"—the one above mentioned; and on the south side of the village, near the fountain, there were the ruins of another church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and said to have been his house. It seems, however, that there existed a schismatical division of opinion with regard to the whole legend. "The Greeks," he says, "have a tradition, that the miracle was wrought at Gana, on the west side of the Plain of Zabulon, about three or four miles N.W. of Sepphorah:" but these schismatics allow, that the water was carried there from this fountain, a distance of four or five miles. Quaresmius fixes the miracle here, while Adrichomius inclines to favour the other at Kana. Who shall decide, when such grave authorities differ? The fountain, however, makes strongly against the said Adrichomius. Kepher Kenna contains about 300 inhabitants, chiefly Catholic Christians; it is pleasantly situated on the descent of a hill, facing the south-west.

The road now ascends, and continues across chalky hills, overgrown with low shrubs, till, in about an hour and a half, the traveller descends into the delightful Vale of Naszera (Nazareth). This is described as a circular basin encompassed by mountains. "It seems," says Dr. Richardson, "as if fifteen mountains met to form an enclosure for this delightful spot: they rise round it like the edge of a shell, to guard it from intrusion. It is a rich and beautiful field in the midst of barren mountains; it abounds in fig-

trees, small gardens, and hedges of the prickly pear; and the dense, rich grass affords an abundant pasture. The village stands on an elevated situation, on the west side of the valley. The convent stands at the east end of the village, on the high ground, just where the rocky surface joins the valley.

Nassara, or Naszera, is one of the principal towns in the pashalic of Acre. Its inhabitants are industrious, because they are treated with less severity than those of the country-towns in general. The population is estimated at 3000, of whom 500 are Turks; the remainder are Christians. There are about ninety Latin families, according to Burckhardt; but Mr. Connor reports the Greeks to be the most numerous: there is, besides, a congregation of Greek Catholics, and another of Maronites. The Latin convent is a very spacious and commodious building, which was thoroughly repaired and considerably enlarged in 1730. The remains of the more ancient edifice, ascribed to the mother of Constantine, may be observed in the form of subverted columns, with fragments of capitals and bases of pillars, lying near the modern building. Pococke noticed, over a door, an old alto-relief of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes. Within the convent is the Church of the Annunciation, containing the house of Joseph and Mary, the length of which is not quite the breadth of the church, but it forms the principal part of it. The columns and all the interior of the church are hung round with damask silk, which gives it a warm and rich appearance. Behind the great altar, is a subterranean cavern, divided into small grottoes, where the Virgin is said to have lived. Her kitchen, parlour, and bed-room are shewn, and also a narrow hole in the rock, in which the child

Jesus once hid himself from his persecutors.* The pilgrims who visit these holy spots, are in the habit of knocking off small pieces of stone from the walls, which are thus considerably enlarging. In the church a miracle is still exhibited to the faithful. In front of the altar are two granite columns, each two feet one inch in diameter, and about three feet apart. They are supposed to occupy the very places where the angel and the Virgin stood at the precise moment of the annunciation.† The innermost of these, that of the Virgin, has been broken away, some say by the Turks, in expectation of finding treasure under it; "so that," as Maundrell states, "eighteen inches' length of it is clean gone between the pillar and the pedestal." Nevertheless it remains erect, suspended from the roof, as if attracted by a load-stone. It has evidently no support below; and though it *touches the roof*, the hierophant protests that it has none above. "All the Christians of Nazareth," says Burckhardt, "with the friars of course at their head, affect to believe in this miracle, though it is perfectly evident that the upper part of the column is connected with the roof." "The fact is," says Dr. Clarke, "that the capital and a piece of the shaft of a pillar

* Pococke says: "They shew the spot from which they say *the holy house of Loretto was removed.*" The story of its flight was gravely repeated to Mr. Jolliffe; and he says, there are indentures in the wall to designate the space the apartment occupied, about twelve or fourteen feet by eight!

† "These pillars are said to have been erected by St. Helena, she having been divinely informed of the exact places: though this the Greeks dispute with the Latins, alleging, that the angel, not finding the Virgin at home, followed her to the fountain, whither she was gone to fetch water, and there delivered his message."—VAN EGMONT'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 18.

of grey granite have been fastened on to the roof of the cave; and so clumsily is the rest of the *hocus pocus* contrived, that what is shewn for the lower fragment of the same pillar resting upon the earth, is not of the same substance, but of Cipolino marble. About this pillar, a different story has been related by almost every traveller since the trick was devised. Maundrell and Egmont and Heyman were told, that it was broken, in search of hidden treasure, by a pasha who was struck with blindness for his impiety.* We were assured that it separated in this manner, when the angel announced to the Virgin the tidings of her conception. The monks had placed a rail, to prevent persons infected with the plague from coming to rub against these pillars; this had been for many years their constant practice, whenever afflicted with any sickness. The reputation of the broken pillar, for healing every kind of disease, prevails all over Galilee."

Burckhardt says, that this church, next to that of the Holy Sepulchre, is the finest in Syria, and contains two tolerably good organs. Within the walls of the convent are two gardens, and a small burying ground: the walls are very thick, and serve occasionally as a fortress to all the Christians in the town. There are at present eleven friars in the convent; they are chiefly Spaniards. The yearly expenses of the establishment are stated to amount to upwards of 900*l.* a small part of which is defrayed by the rent of a few houses in the town, and by the produce of some acres of corn-land: the rest is remitted from Jerusalem. The whole annual expenses of the *Terra*

* Bernardin Surius, President of the Holy Sepulchre, and Commissary of the Holy Land, about the middle of the seventeenth century, ascribes the fracture to *a mogrebin*.

Santa convents are about 15,000*l*., of which the Pasha of Damascus receives about 12,000*l*. The Greek convent of Jerusalem, according to Burckhardt's authority, pays much more, as well to maintain its own privileges, as with a view to encroach upon those of the Latins.

To the north-west of the convent is a small church, built over *Joseph's workshop*. Both Maundrell and Pococke describe it as in ruins; but Dr. Clarke says: "This is now a small chapel, perfectly modern, and neatly white-washed." To the west of this is a small arched building, which, they say, is the synagogue where Christ exasperated the Jews, by applying the language of Isaiah to himself.* It once belonged to the Greeks; but, Hasselquist says, was taken from them by the Arabs, who intended to convert it into a mosque, but afterwards sold it to the Latins. This was then so late a transaction, that they had not had time to embellish it. The "Mountain of the Precipitation," is at least two miles off; so that, according to this authentic tradition, the Jews must have led our Lord a marvellous way. But the said precipice is shewn as that which the Messiah *leaped down* to escape from the Jews; and as the monks could not pitch upon any other place frightful enough for the miracle, they contend that Nazareth formerly stood eastward of its present situation, upon a more elevated spot. Dr. Clarke, however, says, that the situation of the modern town answers exactly to the description of St. Luke. "Induced," he says, "by the words of the Gospel, to

* Luke iv. 16, 28. Mr. Jolliffe, apparently alluding to the same building, describes it as "the school where Christ received the first rudiments of his education." Major Mackworth was told the same tale in 1821; so that this appears the newest and most approved tradition.

examine the place more attentively than we should otherwise have done, we went, as it is written, out of the city, 'to the brow of the hill whereon the city is built,' and came to a precipice corresponding to the words of the Evangelist. It is above the Maronite church, and probably the precise spot alluded to by the text."

But the most precious and celebrated relic of which Nazareth can boast, is our Lord's dining-table, a large stone at which the monks affirm that he dined both before and after his resurrection. It is of the common hard limestone of the country, is stuck fast in the ground, and its upper surface declines. Hasselquist states, that it is said to have been formerly covered with iron plates, "the marks of which are yet to be seen." They have built a chapel over it; and upon the walls, several copies of a printed certificate are affixed, asserting its title to reverence.* There is not, Dr. Clarke says, an object in all Nazareth so much the resort of pilgrims, Greeks, Catholics, Arabs, and even Turks, as this stone; "the two former classes, on account of the seven years' indulgence granted to those who visit it; the two latter, because they believe that some virtue must reside within a stone before which all comers are so eager to prostrate themselves."

"About a furlong to the north of the village, is

* Papal certificate, transcribed by Dr. Clarke.—"*Tradictio continua est, et nunquam interrupta, apud omnes nationes Orientales, hanc petram, dictam Mensa Christi, illam ipsam esse supra quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus cum suis comedit Discipulis, ante et post suam resurrectionem à mortuis. Et Sancta Romana Ecclesia Indulgentiam concessit septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, omnibus Christi fidelibus hunc sanctum locum visitantibus, recitando saltem ibi unum Pater, et Ave, dummodo sit in statu gratiæ.*"

a fountain, over which is an arch; it runs into a beautiful marble vase, that seems to have been a tomb. Beyond it is a Greek church, under-ground, where, the Greeks say, the angel Gabriel first saluted the Blessed Virgin; there is a fountain in it, and formerly, there was a church built over it."*

The road to the "mountain of the precipitation" lies over a tolerably level space for about a mile, winding in a southern direction; it then becomes necessary to dismount, on account of the ruggedness of the road, which descends into a deep ravine between two hills. After scrambling up the southern point for about a quarter of an hour, you arrive at an altar in a recess hewn out of the rock, and some remains of a mosaic pavement. Near it are two large circular cisterns, well stuccoed inside, and several portions of buildings, *said* to be the remains of an establishment founded by St. Helena. The monks come here sometimes, to celebrate mass. Immediately over this spot, about forty feet higher, two large flat stones are set up edgeways, like a parapet wall, close to the edge of the precipice; and here, they say, the Jews would have thrown down our Saviour. In the centre, and scattered over different parts of one of them, are several round marks, like the deep imprint of fingers in wax, which are shewn as the prints of Christ's hands and

* Pococke.—Dr. Clarke speaks of a fountain in the valley, which he denominates the Fountain of the Virgin, but which Pococke calls *Beer-Emir*, the Well of the Prince, where he saw an ancient marble coffin, with three festoons in relief. It is to the west of Nazareth. Mr. Jolliffe says: "In a Greek church, about two furlongs from this spot (Mensa Christi), there is a fountain where the mother of Jesus was accustomed to resort; the water is pure and of sweet flavour." Dr. Clarke has probably confounded this Fountain of the Virgin with Beer-Emir.

feet, when he resisted the Jews, and so escaped being precipitated; although other authorities, equally creditable, state that he leaped down, and Brocardus says, the place is called *Saltus Domini*, the Lord's leap. This is assuredly the most bungling of all the absurd traditions which have been coined by the fertile brains of the monks. The situation is all but inaccessible; it is not on a hill on which Nazareth could ever have been built; it is two miles from the supposed synagogue; and, as if the representation which makes our Lord cling to a stone for safety, were not absurd enough, the supposed marks are such as could not have been made by any possible position of the human hand in a less unyielding substance.

When the French invaded Syria, Nazareth was occupied by six or eight hundred men, whose advanced posts were at Tabaria and Szaffad. Two hours from hence, in the Plain of Esdraelon, near the village of Foule, General Kleber sustained, with a corps not exceeding 1,500 men, the attack of the whole Syrian army, amounting, it is said, to 25,000. Having formed his battalion into a square, he continued fighting from sun-rise to mid-day, until they had expended almost all their ammunition. Bonaparte, informed of his perilous situation, then advanced to his support with 600 men; at the sight of whom the Turks, panic-struck, took precipitately to flight: several thousands were killed, and many drowned in the river Daboury, which then inundated part of the plain. Bonaparte dined at Nazareth, and then returned to Acre. After the retreat of the French from Acre, Djezzar Pasha resolved on causing all the Christians in his dominions to be massacred, and had actually sent orders to that effect to Nazareth and Jerusalem. But Sir Sidney Smith, on being apprized of his intention, sent him

word, that if a single Christian head should fall, he would bombard Acre, and set it on fire. Sir Sidney's interference is still remembered with heartfelt gratitude by all the Christians, who look upon him as their deliverer. "His word," says Burckhardt, "I have often heard both Turks and Christians exclaim, was like God's word—it never failed." *

The Christians of Nazareth enjoy great liberty. "I was told," says the last-mentioned traveller, "that about thirty years ago, the *padre guardiano* of the convent was also sheikh, or chief-justice of the town, an office for which he paid a certain yearly sum to the Pasha of Acre. The police of the place was consequently in his hands; and when any disturbance happened, the reverend father used to take his stick, repair to the spot, and lay about him freely, no matter whether upon Turks or Christians." The guardian has still much influence in the town; and the fathers of the convent go a shooting in their monastic habits, to several hours' distance from the town, without ever being insulted by the Turks. At the time of Burckhardt's visit, however, the personage of chief consequence at Nazareth, was M. Catafogo, a native of Aleppo, but of Frank origin. He rented from the Pasha about twelve villages in the neighbourhood, for about 3000*l.* and his profits were said to be considerable. He was a merchant, and meddled much in the politics and intrigues of the country, by which means he had become a person of great consequence.

ROUTE FROM NAZARETH TO SZALT.

FROM Nazareth there is a route, frequented by merchants, through Bisan to Szalt, which was taken

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 340, 341.

by Burckhardt. In two hours from Nazareth, he passed a small rivulet; in two hours and a half, the village Denouny, and near it, the ruins of Endor, where, he says, the witch's grotto is shewn. He crossed the Plain of Esdraelon, in a S.S.E. direction; and, leaving Mount Tabor to the left, in five hours and a half reached the village of Om-el-Taybe, belonging to the district of Djebel Nablous, or, as it is also called, Belled Harthe. At six hours and three quarters, he passed the village of Meraszrasz, upon the summit of a chain of hills on the side of Wady Oeshe, which falls into the Jordan; and then descending, in about seven hours and three quarters from Nazareth, reached the bottom of the Valley of El Ghor. Half an hour further, pursuing the valley southwards, brought him to Bisan. Here the chain of mountains bordering the valley, declines considerably in height, presenting merely elevated ground, quite open to the west; but at one hour's distance, towards the south, the mountains begin again. Crossing the valley in a S.S.E. direction, our traveller arrived at the banks of the Jordan, where it is fordable; it was then (July) about eighty paces broad, and about three feet deep. After passing the river, he continued his route close along the foot of the eastern mountain. In half an hour from the ford, he crossed Wady Mous; in one hour and a quarter, Wady Yabes; and in two hours came to a stony and hilly district, intersected by several deep but dry wadys, called *Korn-el-Hemar*, the ass's horn: it projects into the Ghor about four miles, and, when seen from the north, appears to close the valley. A fertile tract succeeds to this hilly ground, overgrown with *bouttom*, or wild pistachio-trees. At the end of six hours, the traveller passed to the right the ruins of Amata, on the decli-

vity of the mountain, whence a small rivulet descends into the plain. In six hours and a half he reached Mezar Abou Obeida. A quarter of an hour further is the northern branch of Nahr-el-Zerka, the principal stream being at the distance of one hour from Abou Obeida. The road then ascends the mountain by a steep acclivity: it is calcareous rock, with layers of various-coloured sand-stone and basalt. On the summit is a ruined site, which the Arabs called *El Meysera*. The road continues over an uneven tract, along the summit of the mountain ridge, which forms the northern limits of the district called El Belka. "Here," says Burckhardt, "we were refreshed by cool winds, and every where found a grateful shade of fine oak, and wild pistachio-trees, with a scenery more like that of Europe than any I had yet seen in Syria." At the end of two hours from Meysera, he reached the foot of the mountain called *Djebel Djelaad*, or *Djelaoud*, the Gilead of the Scriptures, on which there is a ruined town of the same name. In three hours and a quarter, he passed near the top of Djebel Osha, which overlooks the whole of the Belka. The forest here grows thicker, consisting of oak, pistachio, balout, and keykab trees. In three hours and three quarters, he descended the southern side of the mountain near the tomb of Osha; and in three quarters of an hour more, reached Szalt. We have given this brief outline of the whole route from Nazareth, as it occurs in Burckhardt, but reserve a further description of the country east of the Jordan for another place.

MOUNT TABOR.

Mount Tabor, having been pitched upon as the scene of the Transfiguration, ranks among the sacred

places to which pilgrims repair from Nazareth. It is minutely described by both Pococke and Maundrell.

The road from Nazareth lies for two hours between low hills; it then opens into the Plain of Esdraelon. At about two or three furlongs within the plain, and six miles from Nazareth, rises this singular mount, which is almost entirely insulated, its figure representing a half-sphere.* "It is," says Pococke, "one of the finest hills I ever beheld, being a rich soil that produces excellent herbage, and is most beautifully adorned with groves and clumps of trees. The ascent is so easy, that we rode up the north side by a winding road. Some authors mention it as near four miles high, others as about two: the latter may be true, as to the winding ascent up the hill. The top of it, which is about half a mile long, and near a quarter of a mile broad, is encompassed with a wall, which Josephus built in forty days: there was also a wall along the middle of it, which divided the south part, on which the city stood, from the north part, which is lower, and is called the *meidan*, or place, being probably used for exercises when there was a city here, which Josephus mentions by the name of Ataburion. Within the outer wall on the north side, are several deep fosses, out of which, it is probable, the stones were dug to build the walls; and these fosses seem to have answered the end of cisterns, to preserve the rain-water, and were also some defence to the city. There are likewise a great number of cisterns underground, for preserving the rain-water. To the south, where the ascent was most easy, there are fosses cut on the outside, to render the access to the walls more

* Mr. Jolliffe says, "that of a cone with the point struck off;" which most correctly describes its appearance.

difficult. Some of the gates also of the city remain: as *Bab-el-houah*, the gate of the winds, to the west: and *Bab-el-kubbe*, the arched gate, a small one to the south.* Antiochus, King of Syria, took the fortress on the top of this hill. Vespasian also got possession of it; and, after that, Josephus fortified it with strong walls. But what has made it more famous than any thing else, is the common opinion, from the time of St. Jerome, that the transfiguration of our Saviour was on this mountain. On the east part of the hill are the remains of a strong castle; and within the precinct of it is the grot, in which are three altars in memory of the three tabernacles which St. Peter proposed to build, and where the Latin fathers always celebrate on the day of the Transfiguration. It is said, there was a magnificent church built here by St. Helena, which was a cathedral when this town was made a bishop's see. There was formerly a convent of Benedictine monks here; and, on another part of the hill, a monastery of Basilians, where the Greeks have an altar, and perform their service on the festival of the Transfiguration. On the side of the hill, they shew a church in a grot, where they say Christ charged his disciples not to tell what things they had seen till he was glorified."†

* Burckhardt, describing the spot, says: "A thick wall, constructed of large stones, may be traced quite round the summit, close to the edge of the precipice: on several parts of it are the remains of bastions. The area is overspread with the ruins of private dwellings, built of stone with great solidity."

† "I cannot forbear to mention in this place an observation, which is very obvious to all that visit the Holy Land, viz. that almost all passages and histories related in the Gospel, are represented by them that undertake to shew where every thing was done, as having been done most of them in grottoes; and that even in such cases where the condition and the circumstances of

Maundrell's account is singularly at variance with the above description, in respect to the extent of the plain on the summit. "After a very laborious ascent," he says, "which took up near an hour, we reached the highest part of the mountain. It has a plain area at top, most fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. This area is enclosed with trees on all parts, except toward the south." Hasselquist agrees more nearly with Pococke, but yet differs from both. "After travelling two hours (from Nazareth), we began to ascend Tabor, cooled by its agreeable dew, and refreshed by the milk of its fine herds of goats. It was a league up to the top, stony and difficult; but we did not, however, dismount. On the top of it is a fine plain, the sides of it rocky. The hill is round, hath no precipices, is about four leagues in circumference, beautiful and fruitful." Van Egmont and Heyman give the following account:— "This mountain, though somewhat rugged and difficult, we ascended on horseback, making several circuits

the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature. Thus, if you would see the place where St. Anne was delivered of the blessed Virgin, you are carried to a grotto; if the place of the Annunciation, it is also a grotto; if the place where the blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth, if that of the Baptist's, or that of our blessed Saviour's nativity, if that of the agony, or that of St. Peter's repentance, or that where the apostles made the creed, or this of the transfiguration, all these places are also grottoes. And, in a word, wherever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as done under ground. Certainly grottoes were anciently held in great esteem, or else they could never have been assigned, in spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so many various actions. Perhaps it was the hermits' way of living in grottoes, from the fifth or sixth century downward, that has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation.'—*Journey from Aleppo, &c.*

round it, which took us up about three quarters of an hour. It is one of the highest in the whole country, being thirty *stadia*, or about four English miles, a circumference that rendered it more famous.* And it is the most beautiful I ever saw, with regard to verdure, being every where decorated with small oak trees, and the ground universally enamelled with a variety of plants and flowers, except on the south side, where it is not so fully covered with verdure. †..... On this mountain are great numbers of red partridges, and some wild-boars; and we were so fortunate as to see the Arabs hunting them. We left, but not without reluctancy, this delightful place, and found at the bottom of it a mean village, called Deboura, or Tabour, a name said to be derived from the celebrated Deborah mentioned in Judges."

Pococke notices this village, which stands on a rising ground at the foot of Mount Tabor westward; and the learned traveller thinks, that it may be the same as the Daberath, or Daberah, mentioned in the Book of Joshua, as on the borders of Zabulon and Issachar.‡ "Any one," he adds, "who examines the fourth chapter of Judges, may see that this is probably the spot where Barak and Deborah met at Mount Tabor

* This must refer to its base. Burckhardt says, its top is about half an hour in circuit.

† Hasselquist enumerates among the productions of Mount Tabor, the oak, the carob-tree, the turpentine-tree, the holly, the myrtle, the ivy, oats, onion, artichoke, rue, sage, wormwood, saxifrage, (*pimpinella officinalis,*) poppy, laserwort, &c. He also saw there, the rock-goat and the fallow-deer *(cervus dama)*. Burckhardt mentions ounces and wild boars. Van Egmont mentions a tree which he discovered here, whose blossom resembled that of the orange-tree, and had the same fragrant smell; but the leaves were something like those of the linden-tree, and the fruit is gathered to make rosaries.

‡ Josh. xix. 12; xxi. 28.

with their forces, and went to pursue Sisera; and on this account, it might have its name from that great prophetess, who then judged and governed Israel; for Josephus relates, that Deborah and Barak gathered the army together at this mountain." This point Josephus was not required to prove, as the sacred history contains explicit information on this head, to which the Jewish historian was incapable of adding a single particular. The name of the village seems, however, more probably to be derived from the mountain, than from the prophetess. Deborah, the name of the place where she dwelt, and to which the children of Israel came up to her for judgment, was between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim,* and consequently much further to the south. Whereas in Deboura, or Dabour, we have the very Dabor or Thaboor of the Scriptures, with only that slight corruption which the Hebrew names receive, as pronounced by the Arabs. The mountain itself they call *Djebel Tour.*

The legend which assigns this mount as the scene of the Transfiguration, has neither probability nor antiquity to recommend it, since it cannot be traced further back than Jerome, a most suspicious authority. It appears, indeed, to have been suggested by a critical blunder. We read that our Lord took with him Peter, and James, and John, and brought them up "into a high mountain apart;" † from which it has been sagely inferred, that the mountain spoken of could be no other than Tabor, the word 'apart' being applied to the position of the mountain. "The conclusion," Maundrell remarks, "may possibly be true, but the argument used to prove it seems incompetent;

* Judges iv. 5. † Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2.

because the term κατ' ἰδίαν, or *apart*, most likely relates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons here spoken of, and not to the situation of the mountain." * Of the justness of this remark, no one can doubt who is conversant with the original, since the same expression occurs repeatedly in the evangelical narrative, and in every other instance is understood in the sense of *privately*, or by themselves. † Now, for the purpose of retirement, Mount Tabor could hardly have been chosen by our Lord, as there is reason to believe, that it was at the time a fortress of considerable consequence. In every instance in which mention is made of it in history, it is referred to as a military post. It was here that Barak encamped with ten thousand men, thirteen hundred years before the Christian era; and it was still an important post, in the reign of Vespasian. Populous as Galilee was, it cannot be imagined that this fertile spot would ever be deserted; and we are told that there was a town on the summit. It was at least a fortified place, and not very likely, therefore, to have afforded a suitable retreat for Peter to build there his three tabernacles. The fact that, six days before the Transfiguration, our Lord was at Cesarea Philippi, and that after that event, he departed from the neighbourhood, and "passed through Galilee" to Capernaum, renders it probable that the mountain to which our Lord retired, was towards the northern confines of the Holy Land. But that it was not Mount Tabor, the reader must, we think, feel satisfied.

"From the top of Tabor," says Maundrell, "you

* κατ' ἰδίαν, *sc.* χώραν, *in loco privato, privatim, seorsim.*—Schleusner.

† See Matt. xiv. 13, 23; xvii. 19; xx. 17; xxiv. 3. Mark iv. 34; vi. 31, 32.

have a prospect which, if nothing else, will reward the labour of ascending it. It is impossible for man's eyes to behold a higher gratification of this nature. On the N.W. you discern at a distance the Mediterranean, and all round you have the spacious and beautiful plains of Esdraelon and Galilee. Turning a little southward, you have in view the high mountains of Gilboa, fatal to Saul and his sons. Due east you discover the Sea of Tiberias, distant about one day's journey. A few points to the north appears that which they call the Mount of the Beatitudes. Not far from this little hill is the city Saphet: it stands upon a very eminent and conspicuous mountain, and is seen far and near." Beyond this is seen a much higher mountain, capped with snow, a part of the chain of Antilibanus. To the south-west is Carmel, and on the south the hills of Samaria.

The whole of Mount Tabor, according to Burckhardt, is calcareous. During the greater part of the summer, it is covered in the morning with thick clouds, which disperse towards mid-day. A strong wind blows the whole of the day, and in the night dews fall more copious than are usually known in Syria. This traveller found on the summit, in 1810, a single family of Greek Christians, refugees from Ezra in the Haouran, who had retired to this remote spot, to avoid paying taxes to the government, and expected to remain unnoticed. "They rented the upper plain, at the rate of fifty piastres per annum, from the Sheikh of Daboury, to which village the mountain belongs. The harvest, which they were now gathering in, was worth about 1,200 piastres, and they had had the good fortune not to be disturbed by any tax-gatherers: which would certainly not be the case next year, should they remain here." The Khan

of Djebel Tor is a large ruinous building at no great distance from the foot of the mountain, inhabited by a few families. It is about three hours and a quarter from Tabaria; and a large fair is held here every Monday.

About an hour's distance from the foot of Tabor, towards the north-west, on the northern side of the plain of Esdraelon, is the village of Eksall, (written by Pococke, *Zal*,) supposed, with some probability, to be the ancient Xaloth mentioned by Josephus, as one of the boundaries of Lower Galilee.* It stands on one of those low ridges of rock which are seen here and there throughout the plain, and near it are many sepulchres cut in the rock: "some," says Pococke, "are like stone coffins above ground, others are cut into the rock like graves, some of them having stone covers over them." Mr. Buckingham noticed a sarcophagus of rude execution and unusually large dimensions. He describes, also, some subterranean vaults here, descended to by circular openings like the mouths of wells, but which he did not enter. "The most marked feature of the place, however, was," he adds, "the many graves cut down into the rock, exactly in the way in which our modern graves are dug in the earth. These were covered with rude blocks of stone, sufficiently large to overlap the edge of the grave on all sides, and of a height

* "As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places, Ptolemais is its neighbour. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the Great Plain as far as Bersabe. From which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it: its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan."—*Wars*, book iii. chap. 6.

or thickness equal to the depth of the grave itself, varying from two to four feet. There were in all, perhaps, twenty of these covered sepulchres still perfect; and in one, whose closing block had been so moved aside as to leave an opening through which the interior of the grave could be seen, a human skull remained perfect."

ROUTE FROM NAZARETH TO ACRE.

THE whole tract of country between Nazareth and the coast was formerly studded with towns and villages. Josephus, describing the two Galilees, says: "Their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness. Accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages that are here, are every where so full of people by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants."

About three hours from Nazareth, in the route to Acre, is the site of the ancient Sepphoris, described by Josephus as the largest city in Galilee, and is built in a place by nature so very strong as to command the country. The road lies at first in a northerly direction, over the hills which encompass the vale of Nazareth on that side; it then turns to the westward, over a hilly and stony tract, full of hard limestones, such as are met with in Judea; and Hasselquist noticed the same plants here as in the country about Jerusalem.* But at Sepphoury begins what Maun-

* In particular, *kali fruticosum*. And Dr. Clarke discovered a new species of pink, and some other rare plants.

drell styles "the delicious plain of Zabulon." He was an hour and a half in crossing it, which would make it, on the usual computation, about four miles and a half in length. Hasselquist, however, states it to be above three miles long and three quarters broad; while Pococke conjectures it to be ten miles long and three miles broad. Dr. Clarke says: "The scenery is to the full as delightful as in the rich vales upon the south of the Crimea: it reminded us of the finest parts of Kent and Surrey. The soil, though stony, is exceedingly rich."

Sapphura, or Sepphoris, (the ancient Zippor, or Tsippor,) at one time honoured with the name of Diocæsarea, affords another instance of the preservation of the more ancient appellation in that by which the site is still known to the natives. It is referred to in the Talmud as the seat of a Jewish university, and was famous for the learning of its rabbies. Josephus writes it Sepphoris. In the Itinerary of R. Benjamin, it is said to be twenty miles from Tiberias. The miserable village which now occupies the site of the ancient city, is called Sephoury. "The remains of its fortifications," says Dr. Clarke, "exhibited to us an existing work of Herod, who, after its destruction by Varus, not only rebuilt and fortified it, but made it the chief city of his tetrarchy,"—an honour which before was enjoyed by Tiberias. Here was held one of the five sanhedrims or judicatures of Palestine, the others being at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, and Amathus. It was so advantageously situated for defence, that it was deemed impregnable; and its inhabitants often revolted against the Romans. But when Vespasian was sent into Syria to subdue the Jews, the citizens of Sepphoris, sensible of the power of the Romans, treated with Cestius Gallus

before Vespasian came, and received a Roman garrison. On the arrival of the general, a deputation met him at Ptolemais, and promised to assist him against their countrymen; and Vespasian, at their desire, left with them as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them.* Medals of the city were coined afterwards in the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. But what rendered it illustrious in later ages, was its being considered as the native place of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary. "Upon the spot where the house of Joachim stood, a conspicuous sanctuary," Quaresmius states, "built with square stones, was afterwards erected. It had two rows of pillars, by which the vault of the triple nave was supported. At the upper end were three chapels." From a passage in Epiphanius, it appears that its construction was the work of one Josephus, a native of Tiberias, who was authorised by Constantine to erect this and other similar edifices in the Holy Land. He built the churches of Tiberias, Diocæsarea, and Capernaum, and was raised to the rank of count by the emperor. This was towards the latter end of the life of Constantine, so that the church of Sepphoris must have been erected before the middle of the fourth century. In the following reign, A.D. 339, and the twenty-fifth of Constantius, in consequence of a seditious insurrection of the citizens, the city was destroyed by the Romans, and the church appears to have shared in the general desolation. In the time of the Crusades, the fountain of Sepphoury, which is about a mile to the south-east,

* Joseph. Antiq. book xviii. chap. 3; xiv. 10. Wars, book iii. chap. 2.

towards Nazareth, served as a place of rendezvous for the armies belonging to the kings of Jerusalem, and it is frequently mentioned by William of Tyre. But, as no notice is taken by any of the monkish writers of the church, it is concluded by Dr. Clarke, that it never rose from its ruins. Doubdan, who passed through Sepphoury in the middle of the seventeenth century, has merely the following reference to it. "The town is now a heap of ruins, and upon the summit of the mountain, which is not high, is yet to be seen the remains of a church built on the spot where stood the house of Saint Joachim and Saint Anna." Dr. Clarke, from whom we have borrowed the greater part of these particulars, gives the following description of this noble ruin.

"We were conducted to the ruins of a stately Gothic edifice, which seems to have been one of the finest structures in the Holy Land. Here we entered, beneath lofty massive arches of stone. The roof of the building was of the same materials. The arches are placed at the intersection of a Greek cross, and originally supported a dome or tower: their appearance is highly picturesque, and they exhibit the grandeur of a noble style of architecture. Broken columns of granite and marble lie scattered among the walls. One aisle of this building is yet entire. At the eastern extremity, a small temporary altar had been recently constructed by the piety of pilgrims: it consisted of loose materials, and was of very modern date."* The learned traveller had the good fortune to find here, and obtain possession of, three ancient paintings, exactly resembling, in their style, those curious specimens of the art which are found in the

* Travels, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 140, 141.

churches of Russia, excepting that, instead of Greek, they exhibited Arabic inscriptions. They had been found by the Arabs in moving a heap of rubbish in part of the church. One, which is painted on wood, is supposed to represent Christ making himself known to the two disciples at Emmaus. The second, which is the most ancient, is a picture of the Virgin and infant Jesus. The third has been painted upon an Arabic manuscript, which appears to be the leaf of an old copy-book, as the same line occurs repeatedly from the top to the bottom. The subject of the painting is the Virgin and her Son. These tablets are supposed to have belonged to some church of Malkite Greeks, but their antiquity cannot be precisely determined. Their being found here would lead one to suppose, that the ruined church had at some period been converted into a chapel by Greek Christians; and probably the temporary altar was erected by the same parties that brought the pictures here. Their pretensions to be considered as original decorations of the church are very equivocal.

Perhaps, a sufficient reason may be found for the neglected and desolate state of this ancient capital of Galilee, in its proximity to Nazareth, which, during the short-lived kingdom of Jerusalem, became the chief city of the district, and was made an archiepiscopal see, having under it the bishoprick of Tiberias, and the priory of Mount Tabor. And ever since that period, Nazareth has been held in the highest estimation, as, next to the Holy City, the chief resort of Christian pilgrims. The jealousy of the monks would lead them to regard with no friendly eye a rival establishment in their immediate neighbourhood; and thus, Sepphoury appears to have been abandoned by the orthodox Latins to the schismatical Greeks. Has-

selquist states, that the modern village was inhabited by Greeks. Dr. Clarke, however, says, that they now consist principally of Maronites, with a few Druses. Pococke says: "Here the Greeks have a small chapel, and there are several broken stone coffins about the village."

The castle, "once the acropolis of the city," stands on the top of the hill nearly half a mile above the village, and has an imposing appearance. There is a fine tower of hewn stone; but neither Pococke nor Clarke gives any description of it, that might enable us to form a conjecture as to its probable date. An ancient aqueduct still serves to supply several small mills.

The plain of Zabulon, on which the traveller now enters, Pococke says, is called *Zaal-hatour*. He notices a well at the foot of a beautiful hill on the left, called by the monks the well of Zabulon. On the hill is a village named *Bedoui*. Van Egmont and Heyman notice apparently the same spring, at the foot of an eminence on which they observed a ruined village about a mile and a half from the hill of Sepphoury. Directly opposite to it, they saw, "at the foot of a mountain, a walled village called *Kaffer Mender*, defended by several forts." Beyond this, the road taken by Pococke leads through "the pleasant narrow vale of Abylene, having low hills on each side covered with trees, chiefly the carob-tree and a sort of oak with whitish leaves,"—to a village of the same name, at that time the residence of a great sheikh. Two miles further is another well, at the foot of a hill, on which is a village called *Pere*. Soon after, the traveller enters upon the plain of Acre. To the north of Pere, Pococke was informed that there was a village called *Damora*, which Van Eg-

mont and Heyman refer to as the residence of a sheikh, who had at the time the whole of the surrounding plain under his jurisdiction, with several villages, residing himself "in a very large mansion-house." To the south of this is a village which, about three months before, the said sheikh had assaulted and plundered, the inhabitants not having shewn any great readiness to execute an order he had sent them. Its name they write *Chafamora*. No place occurs in Pococke's route, that comes nearer this name than *Swamor*. But D'Anville notices a village, the name of which he writes *Shafa Amre*, which Dr. Clarke supposes to be the Chafamore of Van Egmont: he himself writes it *Shefhamer* and *Cheffambre*. But, it seems, times had changed; the aga of this village appears to have then been the chief of the district. It is about seven miles from Sephoury, and "stands upon the western declivity of a ridge of eminences rising one above another in a continuous series, from Libanus to Carmel." We look in vain, throughout the accounts respectively given by these learned travellers, for any name that might seem to indicate the site of the ancient strong city of Zabulon, which, Josephus says, was called *the city of men*, and divided the country of Ptolemais from their nation. "It was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus." But Cestius plundered and set fire to it.* Maundrell's account of his route from Sephoury to Acre is unusually meagre. "We were an hour and a half," he says, "in crossing the plain of Zabulon; and, in an hour and a half more, passed by a desolate village on the right hand, by name

* Josephus, Wars, book ii. chap. xviii.

Satyra. In half an hour more we entered the plains of Acre, and in one hour and a half more arrived at that place. Our stage this day was somewhat less than seven hours (from Nazareth): it lay about west and by north, and through a country very delightful and fertile beyond imagination." This, on the usual computation of three miles an hour, makes the distance from Nazareth to Acre about twenty miles.

ROUTE FROM TIBERIAS TO DAMASCUS.

From Acre, there is a route along the coast and across the mountains to Damascus; but, though the pashalic of Acre extends as high as Djebail, including the mountains inhabited by the Druses, this part of the coast was never considered as belonging to the kingdom of Israel or the Holy Land. It will, therefore, more properly fall within our notice in the description of Syria.

There is a route from Jerusalem to Damascus on either side of the sea of Galilee. From Tiberias, the most direct road is that which lies through the ancient Saphet, and crosses the Jordan at Jacob's bridge. This route has been already described as far as Khan Mennye. Pococke, however, seems to have deviated further from the line of the lake. Ascending the hill to the north of the vale of Hottein, he descended into the valley beyond, and came to the place which, he says, still bears the name of Baitsida; he then, by the Pass of Doves (Wady Hymam), entered the Vale of Gennesareth. "We viewed," he says, "Magdolum (Medjdel) on the lake, and then went to the round fountain, where we reposed awhile, and took some refreshment; and going north, passed by a spring called *Moriel*, and began to ascend the hills

towards Saphet, which I take to be the eastern end of that chain of hills which runs from the sea, northward of the plain of Acre. There are several summits, separated from one another by small valleys. One of the first of these is called *Rubasy*. On the top of the northern summit we passed by *Aboutbesy:* in the valley beneath it, is a bridge, called *Geser Aboutbesy*. Here there is a stream which runs to the plain that is to the west of the Lake of Tiberias."

It is difficult to make any thing of these names, which appear to be modern; but the stream is probably that which Burckhardt notices under the name of El Eshe, as emptying itself into the lake near Ain Tabegha. It was nearly opposite to this spring that he descended to the coast from *Khan Djob Yousef*, the Khan of Joseph's Well, which he makes two hours and a quarter from Saphet, and one hour and a half from the borders of the lake. In the time of Van Egmont and Heyman, this khan was called the *Khan of Cuperli*, "from its being built, together with several other structures of the same kind in Turkey, by a grand-vizier of that name." They make it less than an hour from the point at which they began to ascend the mountains by a very troublesome road, and describe it as "an excellent baiting-place both for man and beast." "The khan has on the outside the appearance of a castle. You enter through a large gate into a spacious area, round which are arched piazzas serving for stables, and over them apartments with terraces: near it is a mosque with a minaret, and a large cistern, generally full of rain-water; but, at the time we visited the khan, it was dry. On the left side of this khan is also a small mosque, and a pit covered with a cupola. The Turks will have this to be the pit into which Joseph was thrown, before

his brethren sold him to the Ishmaelites; but it is at present no more than six spans in depth. Besides, the Scripture represents the pit into which Joseph was cast, as dry, whereas this contained very clear and good water."

At the time of Burckhardt's visit, the khan was falling rapidly into ruin. It was then inhabited by a dozen Moggrebin soldiers with their families, who cultivate the fields near it. "Joseph's Well" is, he says, held in veneration by Turks as well as Christians: the former have a small chapel just by it, and caravan travellers seldom pass here without saying a few prayers in honour of Yousef. He describes it as about three feet in diameter, and at least thirty feet in depth; which so ill accords with the statement given by Van Egmont, that it is hard to imagine that they were shewn the same well. But it matters little: any well would equally answer the purpose of the legend. Burckhardt avows his scepticism on the point. "I was told," he says, "that the bottom is hewn in the rock: its sides were well lined with masonry as far as I could see into it, and the water never dries up; a circumstance which makes it difficult to believe that this was the well into which Joseph was thrown." That which was shewn to Pococke as *Djob Yousef*, he describes as "a cistern under ground." The whole of the mountain in the vicinity is covered with large pieces of black stone; but the main body of the rock is calcareous. "The country people relate, that the tears of Jacob, dropping upon the ground while he was in search of his son, turned the white stones black, and they in consequence call these stones *Jacob's tears*."

There is no good reason to suppose that Dothan, whither Joseph came in search of his brethren, was

so far north of Shechem as this part of Galilee. "It is a long way from Hebron," Dr. Richardson justly remarks, "for the sons of Jacob to go to feed their herds, and a still further way for a solitary youth like Joseph to be sent by his father in quest of them. This pit is nearly the same distance from Shechem, that Shechem is from Hebron; namely, about two days and a half, or three days' journey." The pit in question, the learned traveller believes, derives its name from a chief of Saracenic celebrity. Thus, there is a "Joseph's Hall" at Cairo, which has been ignorantly supposed to owe its name to the patriarch, although, in fact, the work of a Mameluke chieftain. Dr. Pococke accounts for the blunder respecting *Djob Yousef*, by supposing it to have originated in the mistaken notion that Saphet is the ancient Bethulia. The latter he considers to be no other place, in fact, than Bethel. The real Dothan, he remarks, "could not be a great way from Bethulia, because Holofernes's army extended from Bethulia to Dothan; and though this place might anciently have been called Dothan, as it is at present by the Jews, yet its great distance from Shechem makes it unlikely to be the place where Joseph went to his brethren, as it is the distance of two or three ordinary days' journey, and could not be performed in less than five or six days with the cattle which they were charged to feed." The district is called by the natives *Koua-el-Kerd*, and, a little lower down, *Redjel-el-Kaa*, neither of which names presents any affinity to Dothan. The whole legend may, therefore, be safely dismissed as another of those ignorant fictions which have perplexed the geography of the Holy Land.*

* Dr. Richardson arrived at Djob Yousef (Gib Yousouff, Jeb Joseph?) from Nazareth. About four hours after turning out of

Saphet, by Burckhardt written Szaffad, has already been referred to as one of the four holy cities of the Talmud. Its situation is very high, and commands the whole country round. It is described by Burckhardt as a neatly-built town, standing upon several low hills, which divide it into different quarters: of these, the largest is inhabited exclusively by Jews, who esteem Szaffad a sacred place. "The whole may contain 600 houses, of which 150 belong to the Jews, and from 80 to 100 to the Christians. The town is governed by a Mutsellim, whose district comprises about a dozen villages. The garrison consists of Moggrebins, the greater part of whom have married here, and cultivate a part of the neighbouring lands. The town is surrounded with olive-plantations and vineyards, but the principal occupations of the inhabitants are indigo-dyeing and the manufacture of cotton cloth. On every Friday a market is held, to which all the peasants of the neighbourhood resort."

The summit of the hill, round the foot of which Szaffad may be said to lie, is crowned with an ancient castle, part of which, Pococke says, the Jews think to be as old as the time of their prosperity. When he visited it, there were only great ruins: he notices particularly "two fine, large, round towers that belonged to it." The Christians had possession of the

the road to Tiberias, he came to a large village on the side of a hill, called *Megâra*, and a little further on, another village called *Mensura*. In Pococke's route to Saphet, occur the names of *Akeby*, near which are grottoes cut in several parts of the perpendicular rocks; *Cesy*; *Adborow*; and *Wady Lakab*. Also, a little to the north of Djob Yousef, a place called *Renety*. Future travellers may throw light on these names, which are apparently allied to nothing ancient or intelligible.

fortress in the time of the Crusades; and "I saw," he adds, "on a building in the town, a relief of the arms of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem: it was surrendered by them to Saladin, sultan of Egypt.* The town is a little lower down, on three sides of the hill on which the castle stands: it is a considerable town, having been formerly the place of residence of the pasha of this country, on which account it was called the pashalic of Saphet; and the whole territory now goes by the name of the country of Saphet, but the pasha resides at Sidon, and a cadi from Constanti-

* Brocardus mentions Saphet in the following words: "Saphet, or Sephet, is a city or castle, formerly belonging to the knights-templars. The castle is handsome, very strong, and situated on a mountain of extraordinary height, but was taken by the Soldan, and, to the great detriment of the Christians, still continues in his possession, as he by this means keeps in subjection all Galilee; that is, the tribes of Zebulon, Naphthali, Asher, Issachar, Manasseh, and the whole country as far as Tyre and Sidon." Another writer of the middle ages states, that Coradine, prince of Damascus, built at Saphet a very strong castle, which Saladin, the scourge of the Christians, reduced by a long siege to such extremities, that the besieged, pressed by famine, and having obtained leave of the grand-master of the knights-templars, surrendered to that tyrant. In the year 1239, Benedict, bishop of Marseilles, having made a voyage to the Holy Land, encouraged the templars to rebuild the castle of Saphet: he is said to have laid the first stone himself, and to have animated the workmen by a spirited oration. He then returned to his native land, and at his death bequeathed to this castle, "as to his beloved son," his whole fortune and his blessing. In 1266, this castle again fell into the hands of the Infidels, through the treachery of its commander, one Leo, a Syrian knight, who had embraced the Mahommedan religion. The whole garrison, together with the inhabitants, amounting to three thousand, are said to have been formally beheaded by the Infidels, in violation of their promise, given upon oath, that they should enjoy their lives and liberties. See Van Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. ii. p. 43.

nople lives here.* There are many Jews in this place, it being a sort of university for the education of their rabbies, of whom there are about twenty or thirty here, and some of them come as far as from Poland. They have no less than seven synagogues. Several doctors of their law, who lived in the time of the second Temple, are said to be buried here, three of whom lie in a place which is now turned into a mosque; and the Turks say, they are three of the sons of Jacob. The Jews have a notion, that the Messiah will reign here forty years before he will take up his residence in Jerusalem. To the north of the hill on which the castle stands, there are several wells, which, they say, Isaac dug, and about which there were such contentions between the herdsmen of Isaac and Gerar; but they have much mistaken the place, the Valley of Gerar, in which they were dug, being at a great distance on the other side of Jerusalem."

Thus far Pococke. Turks, Jews, and Christians seem, in this land of legends, to rival each other in ignorant credulity. Van Egmont and Heyman describe "a cave at Saphet, held in great veneration by the Turks, who call it Jacob's Cave, pretending that the patriarch and his family lived there when he received the account of his son Joseph's death; which, according to them, he lamented with such floods of tears as to wash holes in the rocks. No Jew is suffered to approach this sacred cave; and it is with great difficulty that Christians, here called Nazareens, can obtain this favour. It is situated in a small hill or eminence within the town itself, and to which you

* This was in 1737. The pashalic of Sidon and that of Acre are the same, and Saphet is included in it.

ascend by steps terminating in a small garden planted with trees, under whose shadow is a Turkish oratory. Here are also several sepulchres; and, in the front of the oratory, is a cave hewn out of the rock, containing eleven or twelve grottoes, situated in two rows over each other, and in which, as they pretend, Jacob and his family lived. But that belonging to Jacob himself, is as large again as any of the others. We also saw here a large tomb, covered with silks of several colours, and containing, according to the Turks, the body of Judah. The whole is inclosed with a wall, and near it, in a small house, lives a Turkish santon."

There can be little doubt that these grottoes are sepulchral, and that they are of high antiquity, although it is impossible now to ascertain who were the original tenants or proprietors.—"The next place," continue the same travellers, "that engaged our attention, was the citadel, which is the greatest object of curiosity in Saphet, and generally considered as one of the most ancient structures remaining in this country; though, at present, it is in so ruinous a condition, that its ancient figure can scarcely be determined. It stands on the summit of a mountain round which the city is built, and was formerly a very strong fortification; as sufficiently appears from the multitude of ruins and the largeness of its circuit, which extends near a mile and a half. In order to form some idea of this fortification in its present state, imagine a lofty mountain, and on its summit a round castle with walls of an incredible thickness, with a *corridor* or covered passage extending round the walls, and ascended by a winding staircase. The thickness of the wall and the corridor together was twenty paces. The whole was of hewn stone, and some

of the stones are eight or nine spans in length. The inner part of the castle was in some measure entire, and consisted of an hexagonical room, the terrace roof of which is supported by six arches, and lighted from an opening in the roof. Near this castle we also saw the ruins of several cisterns and other buildings, but now hardly distinguishable. This castle was anciently surrounded with stupendous works, as appears from the remains of two moats lined with free-stone, several fragments of walls, bulwarks, towers, &c., all very solid and strongly built, and below these moats, other massive works having corridors round them in the same manner as the castle: so that any person, on surveying these fortifications, may wonder how so strong a fortress could ever be taken. Tradition tells us, that the castle of Saphet was taken by stratagem, a number of camels being sent, as the besieged imagined, with provision, but which were in reality loaded with soldiers.

"But what best merits the greatest attention of the traveller, is a large structure of free-stone in the form of a cupola or dome. The stones, which are almost white, are of astonishing magnitude, some being twelve spans in length, and five in thickness. The inside is full of niches for placing statues, and near each is a small cell. An open colonnade extends quite round the building, and, like the rest of the structure, is very massive and compact. We ascended to the top of the dome, and there found some traces of another building which had been erected on it. From here we had the finest prospect that can be imagined, extending over the city of Saphet and the circumjacent places, which are very numerous, all the sides of the mountains being full of villages and hamlets, supposed once to have made a part of the

city of Saphet, which is at present almost in ruins and every where without walls. But what greatly increases the beauty of the prospect, is, that the adjacent country is every where well cultivated. Towards the south is a most enchanting prospect over the Lake of Tiberias. We even imagined we could here see the extremity of it, and distinguish the place where the Jordan issues from it; we had also a sight of Mount Tabor, the mountains of Carmel and Lebanon, together with the large plain of Esdraelon, the prospect being terminated with the mountains which bound that plain. But, if the prospect over the Lake of Tiberias be pleasant, it is also very illusive: the water appears not to be a mile distant; but a traveller will find it difficult to reach the banks in four hours. There is the same *deceptio visûs* with regard to the village called Hattin (Hottein), situated between Saphet and Mount Tabor, and where is shewn with great confidence the grave of Moses's father-in-law. It appears to be hardly a stone's cast, and yet the real distance is three long hours.

"In our descent from the castle, we saw ruins in almost every place, and the vestiges of the labour of some who had been seeking for treasures. We also saw that this part of the mountain was covered with vineyards, producing a very beautiful, delicious grape; and accordingly, the wine of Saphet is good, but would be excellent, did the Jews, who are the makers of it, understand their business. The air of Saphet, from its high situation, is very pure and healthy, and at the same time so fresh and cool, that the heats, which, during the summer, are very great in the adjacent country, are here hardly felt, a gentle breeze continually refreshing the air. And this was the reason why anciently the royal children were

often sent from Damascus hither, especially in summer, or when indisposed. The fruits also are remarkably good, especially the grapes and figs. Here are also great numbers of lemon-trees; for, at the foot of the mountains are several fertile valleys laid out into gardens; and the whole country is naturally fertile, and abounds with springs. Here is also a large aqueduct, which conveys the rain water from one place to another."

Saphet had, at that period, no Christian families, which is mentioned by these travellers as remarkable. There were a few Moors, but of Jews great numbers; and they were assured that, about a century before, the number of Jews settled here was not less than 12,000. The town was now no more than a village in the midst of ruins. "Were it not," they say, "for the passionate desire of the Jews for ending their days here, it would long since have been utterly forsaken. For it has been so often taken and retaken by Christians and Mahommedans, that it now appears only as one confused heap, having nothing venerable in it, except its name, situation, and a few ruined structures. The Jews are indeed possessed with an irresistible desire, or rather frenzy, for dying in this place, relinquishing every thing for this. They express a high veneration for Jerusalem and Hebron, but not to be compared with this; which they found on the following reasons. First: a great number of their most celebrated rabbins and other holy men have died, and lie buried here, whose sepulchres they visit with the greatest devotion; particularly those of the rabbins, Simon Ben Juchan, author of the Zohar; Hillel, writer of the Thana on the Gamara; Samai Hagadol; and Jehuda Bar Elei, who also wrote on the Gamara. Secondly: they are persuaded

by their rabbins, that the Messiah, who is to be born in Galilee, will make Saphet the capital of his new kingdom to be erected here on earth, and that those who shall dwell there in those glorious times, may expect very singular favours from him. In short, the heads of their rabbins are filled with such a heap of reveries and fantastical visions, that the poor Jews, who adopt the notions of their teachers, seem to have abandoned all reason. They still expect the Messiah, though it is now above seventeen hundred years since they crucified him, and all the prophecies relating to him have been accomplished. And this is the reason that they are always at a loss for an answer, when closely pressed, with regard to these prophecies; so that their devotions are mere superstition, prompting them to prefer this place to another, though they live in the greatest misery, merely to leave their remains in Saphet. The Turks are not backward to take advantage of this superstitious notion of the Jews; for, first, they make them dearly purchase the favour of living at Saphet, and, by a variety of oppressions, fines, and the like unjust practices, squeeze them to such a degree, that they may be said to pay for the very air they breathe. And if any, through extreme poverty, are obliged to retire, the pasha is no loser, as his quota must be made up by the others. It is sometimes pretended that he carried considerable treasures away with him: and the pasha immediately demands, in the name of the Grand Signior, that the treasures be delivered up; he settles the sum at his pleasure, and forces these miserable people to pay it, who here lead the poorest and most deplorable life that can be conceived. Their only consolation is, their having synagogues, of which, when we visited Saphet, there were seven, though

formerly they amounted to thirty or more; and that they are at liberty to pray in them, and attend to the visionary harangues of their rabbins. They, however, send from Saphet some of their rabbins of the greatest learning and integrity, to Constantinople, Smyrna, and other trading cities of the Ottoman empire where wealthy Jews reside; and some of them even visit Germany, Holland, England, and other places not subject to the Inquisition; collecting by this means considerable sums, to be distributed among the Jews at Jerusalem, Hebron, and Saphet, though the greatest share always falls to the latter.* They have still here a printing-house and a kind of University, where the Jewish youths are instructed in their learning, which consists wholly in the Hebrew language and understanding the Talmud. The Jews here are descended from the tribe of Judah, but their ancestors are natives of Spain, and accordingly, they all speak the Spanish language perfectly well."

To the above-mentioned reasons for venerating this favoured site, the inhabitants are stated to add another, which, if it rested on any authentic tradition, would sufficiently explain, without the help of Jacob's cave or any other legend, the ancient fame and sanctity attaching to it. They pretend that it was the birth-place of Queen Esther. It makes somewhat against this claim, however, that the daughter of Abihail was of the tribe of Benjamin, and probably born within the kingdom of Judah, as her uncle was among those who had been carried away captive by the King of Babylon from Jerusalem. The Jews of Saphet stated,

* Tiberias is not mentioned: and, at this period, few Jews resided there. The account in other respects exactly agrees with the statement of Burckhardt, given in the description of Tabaria, and serves to corroborate its truth.

that this is the town called in the book of Joshua, Oriah. No mention is made of Saphet in the English Bible; but, in the apocryphal book of Tobit, according to the Vulgate, Tobias is said to be "of the tribe and city of Naphthali, in the upper parts of Galilee, beyond the road that leads to the west, having on the left the city of Saphet." (Tobit i. 1.) The city of Naphthali was a mile to the south of it. Since then, its name appears only in the annals of the Crusades. It was doomed, however, to suffer severely from the French invasion. In 1799, the French had occupied Szaffad with a garrison of four hundred men, their outposts being advanced as far as the bridge of Beni Yacoub. After their retreat from Akka (Acre), the Turks wreaked their vengeance on the Jews, whose quarter of the town they completely sacked. The castle, Burckhardt says, appears to have undergone a thorough repair in the course of the last century. There is also, he says, another but smaller castle, of modern date, with half-ruined walls, at the foot of the hill. Captain Mangles was struck with the extreme beauty of the situation. The approach from the north, he describes as very fine: the country abounds in olives, vines, and almond-trees, which were then (May 26) in blossom. He represents the castle as occupying a small hill standing by itself, and the town as appearing to consist of four distinct villages at the foot of it. It must have increased considerably in extent, if this be correct, since the middle of the last century.* It is only within that period

* Volney attributes the decline of Saphet to the earthquake of 759. "The Jews," he says, "who believe that the Messiah will establish the seat of his empire at *Safad*, had formed an affection for this place, and had assembled here to the number of fifty or sixty

that it has received a proportion of Christians. The Jews do not seem to have become much more numerous, owing, perhaps, to the extreme intolerance of the Turks, added to the superior advantages and equal sanctity of Tabaria.

From Szaffad, the road ascends, passing over the summit of Djebel Szaffad, which Burckhardt states to be a southern branch of the Djebel el Sheikh or Antilibanus. This chain begins on the N.W. side of Lake Houle. The whole is calcareous, with very little basalt or tufwacke. After passing the highest point, the road descends through a narrow valley called *Akabet Feraein*, and passes by the spring of *Feraein*. On the right, the traveller passes the village *Feraab*. At the foot of the mountain is a plain called *Ard Aaseifera*, a small part of which is cultivated by the inhabitants of Szaffad; there are several springs in it. From this plain the road descends the western banks of the valley of the Jordan, to *Djissr* (or *Djeser*) *Beni Yakoub*, which Burckhardt makes two hours and three quarters from the summit of Djebel Szaffad. This bridge connects the pashalics of Damascus and Acre; and here the Pasha of Damascus keeps a few men, chiefly for the purpose of collecting the *ghaffer*, or toll, paid by all Christians who cross it. The ordinary toll is about nine-pence a head, but the pilgrims who

families. But the earthquake of 1759 destroyed all; and Safad, looked upon by the Turks with a jealous eye, *(regardé de mauvais œil)* is now but a village almost deserted." It was the cradle of the power of the celebrated Sheikh Daher, mentioned at p. 271, of whom the French traveller has given so interesting an account. From 1750 to 1776, he commanded the greater part of the pashalic of Acre, assuming the title of "Sheikh of Acre, prince of princes, commander of Nazareth, Tiberias, and Saphet, and sheikh of all Galilee." Djezzar Pasha succeeded him as Pasha of Acre.

pass here on their way to Jerusalem, before Easter, pay seven shillings. The river is here about thirty-five paces in width. On the west side is a guard-house belonging to the Pasha of Acre. On the other side is a khan much frequented by travellers, which was almost entirely demolished when the French invaded Syria. It encloses a spring, and in the middle of it are ruins of an ancient square building, constructed (Burckhardt says) of basalt, with which the mountains abound, and having columns in its four angles. This may possibly be the remains of a fortress built near this spot by Baldwin, fourth king of Jerusalem. The bridge itself is of a solid construction, with four arches.* Its name is of course said to commemorate the passage of the patriarch Jacob, on his return from Padan-Aram. The legend does not, indeed, as might be expected, attribute the construction of it to his architectural skill. If the name, however, be correctly given, it signifies "the bridge of the sons of Jacob;" referring, probably, to some Arab tribe who occupied this district. Thus, there are the tribes of Beni Szakher, Beni Obeid, Beni Djohma, &c. A short mile below the bridge, Pococke mentions an oblong mount, apparently artificial, round the summit of which are the foundations of a strong wall. "At the south end, and on the east side, I saw the remains of two very handsome gates of hewn stone, with round turrets at the corners. At the north end, there is a great heap of ruins, probably of a castle. The whole is about half a mile in circumference. There are some signs of suburbs to the south, on a lower ground, which seems to have been fortified. The place is now *Kaisar-Aterah*, or *Geser-Aterah*, and

* According to Burckhardt: Pococke says, *three* arches.

it seems to have been an improvement of the Romans. A mile above the bridge, there is a mineral water, which seemed to be of sulphur and iron: it is walled in, as if it had been formerly frequented. About half way between this place and the Lake Samachonitis, is a little hill with ruins on it, which they now call the town of Jacob." *

From Djeser Beni Yakoub, Pococke makes it but a mile and a half (Burckhardt about three quarters of an hour) to this lake, which is called in the Scriptures "the waters of Merom," and now bears the name of *Bahr-el-Houly* (Lake Julias). According to Josephus, this lake was seven miles long; but it is not, our modern authorities state, above two miles broad, except at the north end, where it may be about four. The banks are very low, the hills not approaching it in any part. It is, however, on a level considerably higher than Lake Tabaria. The south-west shore bears the name of *Melaha*, from the ground being covered with a saline crust. The fisheries of the lake are rented of the Mutsellim of Szaffad, by some fishermen of that town. It is inhabited, Burckhardt says, only on the eastern borders, where we find the villages *Eddâr* and *Esseira*, and between them a ruined place called *Kherbet Eddaherye*. "The waters are muddy, and esteemed unwholesome, having something of the nature of the waters of a morass,

* Pococke's Travels, book i. chap. 18. Dr. Richardson mentions another small lake, between this and Lake Tabaria, a little below Jacob's Bridge, which, "at first sight, appeared to be a continuation of the Lake of Gennesareth; but, when we obtained a view of it from higher ground, we were satisfied," he says, "that it was not. In some of the maps, it is marked as the Lake Semechonitis of Josephus, and the description is in some respects applicable to it; but then it must not be considered as synonymous with the *Bahr-el-Hoolya*."

which is partly caused by their stopping the brooks on the west side in order to water the country, so that the water passes through the earth into this lake; it is also in some measure owing to the muddiness of its bed. After the snows are melted, and the waters fallen, it is only a marsh through which the Jordan runs. The waters, by passing through the rocky bed towards the sea of Tiberias, settle, purify, and become very wholesome." Such is Pococke's account. Seetzen says, that its shores are frequented by a great number of wild boars, who conceal themselves in the rushes and reeds which surround it. Captain Mangles describes the plain on the north as literally covered with wild geese, ducks, widgeon, snipe, and other water-fowl of every description. He found the country beyond the lake full of marshes and swamps, so as to endanger in some instances the horses, and intersected with numerous streams.

Between three and four hours from Jacob's Bridge, the route taken by Dr. Richardson led to a mill and soap-manufactory, situated at the source of a large stream, nearly as broad, but not so deep, as the Jordan: it is called *Geersh.* The houses of the village here were observed to be "pavilion-roofed, not flat, as in Egypt and Palestine: the inhabitants seemed a licentious, disorderly people." About a mile further, through rich cultivated fields, they passed the top of another large stream, and pitched their tents on a sloping bank near the village of *Yallahe*, the second night after leaving Nazareth. "This seemed," he says, "to be only a temporary village. The houses were constructed of bundles of reeds tied together; and it was probably only a summer resi-

dence, for, during the rainy season, the greater part of the plain would be inundated. Fine herds of black cattle were feeding around." The next day, they proceeded along the edge of a watery plain, intersected with numberless ditches and streamlets, and overrun with gigantic thistles, which reached to their saddles, and annoyed them excessively. The common track avoids them. High mountains here bound the vale of the Jordan on either side, while "the loftier Busia unites them at its termination, looking from his throne, the snow-crowned monarch of the vale."

Having cleared the plain, they got upon higher ground, and came to another village of reed-huts, like Yallahe. A little higher up, they crossed a stone bridge of five arches, thrown over a considerable river, which brawls its way over a rough and stony bed, down to Lake Houle. A well-cut stone, bearing an Arabic inscription, which had belonged to the bridge, lay on the bank. After crossing the bridge, they descended in a southerly direction, crossed another stream, and came to a mount named *Til-el-Kathre.* From the top of this delightful elevation, to which they ascended by a well-formed road, they enjoyed an extensive view of the whole of the Bahr-el-Hoolya, spreading along its base towards the south, with the meadowy plain intersected by the mountain rivulets, and the mountains by which it is bounded. Djebel Sheikh, capped with snow, was seen over-topping the whole range on the north. The traces of former improvement shewed that art had once lent its aid to improve the natural capabilities of this situation. Four stone huts, flat-roofed, were now all that occupied the mound; the winder residence of

some native families who were then enjoying themselves in their tents. Hard by the stream which flows at the foot, was a sheikh's tomb, under the shade of a stately oak, whose branches were hung with votive rags and strings; and some lately-burned ashes lay on the tomb itself. A grove of venerable oaks here yields the traveller a most welcome shade. He is still within the pashalic of Acre.

The route taken by Dr. Richardson now lay westward, through a fine undulating plain, partially cultivated, and enlivened with trees, but almost without inhabitants. After crossing the mountain range on the left of the Jordan, they traversed another valley, and another mountain, from which they descended into the beautiful vale of Hasbeia. This is the name of a considerable tract lying to the west of Djebel Sheikh, chiefly inhabited by Druses. The town of this name is situated on the top of a high hill, and may contain, Burckhardt says, seven hundred houses, half of which belong to Druse families; the rest, with the exception of about forty Turkish families and twenty Enzairie, to Christians: these are principally Greeks, but there are also Catholics and Maronites. The inhabitants make cotton cloth for shirts and gowns, and have a few dyeing-houses. The chief production of the soil is olives. The chief of the town is an emir of the Druses, dependent both on the Emir Beshir and the Pasha of Damascus. He lives in a well-built serai, which in time of war might serve as a castle. "The neighbourhood of Hasbeia," Burckhardt states, "is interesting to the mineralogist. I was told by the Greek priest," (with whom he lodged,) "that a metal was found near it, of which nobody knew the name, nor made any use. Having

procured a labourer, I found, after digging in the wady a few hundred paces to the E. of the village, several small pieces of a metallic substance, which I took to be a native amalgam of mercury. According to the description given me, cinnabar is also found here, but we could discover no specimen of it after half an hour's digging. The ground all around and the spring near the village are strongly impregnated with iron. The rock is sandstone, of a dark red colour." Seetzen says, "The mountains of the neighbourhood are for the most part calcareous, and in the bottom of the hills are seen strata of trap. The object the most remarkable in the mineralogy of the district, is a mine of asphaltos at the distance of a league W.S.W. of Hasbeia." Burckhardt refers to this "mine," which, he says, is situated upon the declivity of a chalky hill in the wady, at one hour below the village on the west side. He calls it *bitumen Judaicum:* by the natives it is called *hommar*, and the mine, *Biar el hommar*. The bitumen is found in large veins at about twenty feet below the surface; the pits are from six to twelve feet in diameter. The workmen descend by a rope and wheel, and, in hewing out the bitumen, they leave columns of that substance at different intervals as a support to the earth above. There are upwards of twenty-five of these pits or wells, but the greater part of them are abandoned, or overgrown with shrubs. Burchkardt saw only one that appeared to have been recently worked, and says, they work only during the summer months. The Emir possesses the monopoly of the bitumen: he alone works the pits, and sells the produce to the merchants of Damascus, Beirout, and Aleppo. It was now at about twopence halfpenny the pound. Seetzen says,

that the greater part is transported to Europe, but that it is used by the natives to secure the vines from insects. *

What Dr. Richardson calls the Vale of Hasbeia, is the wady watered by the *moiet-Hasbeia*, by Seetzen called the Hasberia, the principal source of which is a large spring that wells out from under the west side of Djebel Sheikh, and is said to run into the Bahr-el-Hoolya. The banks of the river are covered with numerous plantations of mulberry-trees, well cut and watered, and in the highest order; and throughout the vale, the silk-worm is "successfully cultivated."

The traveller has now entered the pashalic of Damascus; but the chief power belongs to the prince of the Druses, and there are few Turks in the country. A stony and barren track succeeds, hilly, with patches of cultivation and but thinly peopled; the soil limestone and a large-grained conglomerate. On the top of a hill to the right, stands the Christian village of *Reshia*. About three quarters of an hour further, on the left, the village of *Firkook*, separated from the road by a deep ravine, through which flows a rivulet. The houses are high, and have a comfortable appearance, rising in terraces on the slope of the hill. "From Firkook," continues Dr. Richardson, "the scenery continued of nearly the same description,—ragged columnar masses of rock, mixed with the lugubrious cypress and dwarf cedar, all the way to

* Burckhardt enumerates the following villages as belonging to the territory of Hasbeia: Ain Sharafe, El Kefeir, Ain Annia, Shoucia, Ain Tinte, El Kankabe, El Heberie, Rasheyat-el-Fukhar, Ferdis, Khereibe, El Merie, Shiba, *Banias*, Ain Fid, Zoura, Ain Kamed Banias, Djoubeta, Fershouba, Kefaer Hamam, El Waeshdal, El Zouye.

Rahlee, which is four miles from *Reshia*.* Here we found the ruins of an ancient temple; a small edifice built of large stones, and partially ornamented with sculpture, apparently of Roman workmanship, and much disintegrated. On the opposite of the road, there are many stone pots, and some remarkably fine walnut-trees. Higher up the bank are the remains of another edifice, which is called the palace." They could obtain no account of the history of this place. About two hours further, descending a steep hill, they issued from the mountain defiles upon a stony, uncultivated plain. Three more hours brought them to *Katon*, a substantial village built with stone, and containing many houses of two and three stories. Beyond this, the soil improves. The plain is remarkably flat, extensive, and intersected in all directions by small streams. Not an enclosure is to be seen; but it was covered at this time with crops of wheat and barley, beyond which was seen a wood. The road is a narrow, regular, well-worn track, resembling a cross-road in this country. Five hours from Katon, it

* Seetzen noticed ruins of a Roman temple, consisting of a single column of the peristyle of the Ionic order, of the best execution, at a village called *Asha*, inhabited by Druses and Greek Christians, at about a day's journey from *Rasheia*. The latter village he states to be the residence of an emir, whose authority extends over twenty other villages; it is situated on the steep declivity of a mountain, about two days from Damascus. *Hasbeia*, he makes five leagues to the south of Rasheia, and says, it is somewhat larger, and, like it, situated on the steep descent of a mountain. Here he alighted at the house of the learned Greek Bishop of Sûr (Tyre), or Seide (Sidon), to whom he had a letter of recommendation. The two districts of Rasheia and Hasbeia, are stated to be the least known of all Syria. — See "Brief Account of the Countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, &c. by M. Seetzen." Small 4to. Published for the Palestine Association of London.

leads to another small village, with a large cemetery; the tombs and houses alike built of burnt brick. An hour further conducts the traveller to the walls of Damascus. About a quarter of a mile on this side of the western gate, is shewn the place where Saul fell to the earth, smitten with blindness by a light from heaven. It is on the side of the old road, near the ruined arch of a bridge, and close by are the tombs of some devout Christians; but there is no chapel or convent built over it. The Empress Helena has not been here; and there is nothing to check the indulgence of the supposition that, possibly, this may be about the spot of that memorable transaction.

PANIAS.

BURCKHARDT, in coming from Damascus, pursued the more direct route taken by the caravans, which crosses the Jordan at Jacob's Bridge. Captains Irby and Mangles left this road at Khan Sasa, and passed to the westward for Panias, thus striking into a middle route between the high road to Acre, and that by Raschia and Hasbeya. The first part of the road from Sasa, led through a fine plain, watered by a pretty, winding rivulet, with numerous tributary streams, and many old ruined mills. It then ascended over a very rugged and rocky soil, quite destitute of vegetation, having in some places traces of an ancient paved way, "probably the Roman road from Damascus to Cesarea Philippi." The higher part of Djebel Sheikh was seen on the right. The road became less stony, and the shrubs increased in number, size, and beauty, as they descended into a very rich little plain, at the immediate foot of that mountain. "There is a conspicuous tomb in this valley; and a rivulet, which appears to take its source at the foot

of the mountains, passes along the western side of the plain in a southerly direction, when its course turns more to the westward, and rushing, in a very picturesque manner, through a deep chasm, covered by shrubs of various descriptions, it joins the Jordan at Panias." * This is marked in Arrowsmith's chart, as the real source of the Jordan; the fountains at Panias, though by far the most copious, not being the most distant source. "From this plain," continues Captain M., "we ascended, and, after passing a very small village, saw on our left, close to us, a very picturesque lake, apparently perfectly circular, of little more than a mile in circumference, surrounded on all sides by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge; and its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid. A great many wild-fowl were swimming in it. Josephus mentions it under the name of Phiala (cup), in allusion to the shape of the lake. It was supposed by the ancients to be the real source of the Jordan. A passage in the Jewish historian notices, that they threw straw into the lake, which came out at the *apparent source* at Panias.†

* This description seems to answer to the water of Hasbeia: whether it joins the Jordan *at* Panias, is a question.

† "Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan; but, in reality, it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called *Phiala*. This place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is 120 furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right-hand. And indeed it hath its name of Phiala (vial or bowl) very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over; and this origin of Jordan was formerly not known. It was discovered so to be when Philip was Tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, whither

But this is impossible; for, to arrive at Panias, its discharge must pass under the rivulet which Arrowsmith points out as the true source. On quitting Phiala, at but a short distance from it, we crossed a stream, which discharges into the larger one which we first saw: the latter we followed for a considerable distance; and then, mounting a hill to the S.W., had in view the great Saracenic castle near Panias, the town of that name, and the plain of the Jordan, as far as the Lake Houle, with the mountains on the other side of the plain, forming altogether a fine *coup d'œil*. As we descended towards Panias, we found the country extremely beautiful. Great quan-

it had been, therefore, carried by the waters····Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the Lake Semechonitis; and when it hath run another 120 furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the Lake Gennesareth."—JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, book iii. chap. 10, § 7. M. Seetzen makes the Lake of Phiala two leagues distant to the east of Panias; and says, it now bears the name of *Birket-el-Ram*, under which name it is given in Arrowsmith's map. But Burckhardt states, that what the Bedouins call Birket-el-Ram, and the peasants Birket Abou Armeii, is a reservoir of water a few hundred paces to the S. of the regular road, near the foot of Tel Abou Nedy: it is, he says, about 120 paces in circumference, and is supplied by two springs which are never dry, one of which is in the bottom of a deep well in the midst of the Birket. Just by this reservoir are the ruins of an ancient town, about a quarter of an hour in circuit, of which nothing remains but large heaps of stones. Five minutes further is another Birket, which is filled by rain-water only. The neighbourhood of these reservoirs is covered with a forest of short oaks. The road now begins to descend gently; and an hour and a half further, just by the road on the left, is "a *large pond*," about 200 paces in circumference, called *Birket Nefah* or *Tefah*: it was said to contain a spring, but some denied it. "From which I inferred," says Burckhardt, "that the water never dries up completely. I take this to be the Lake Phiala, as there is no other lake or pond in the neighbourhood."—*Travels in Syria*, p. 314.

tities of wild flowers, and a variety of shrubs just budding, together with the richness of the verdure, grass, corn, and beans, shewed us all at once the beauties of spring (Feb. 24), and conducted us into a climate quite different to that of Damascus. In the evening, we entered Panias, crossing a causeway constructed over the rivulet, which flows from the foot of Djebel Sheikh. The river here rushes over great rocks in a very picturesque manner, its banks being covered with shrubs and the ruins of the ancient walls."

Panias, afterwards called Cesarea Philippi, has resumed its ancient name. The present town of Banias is small. Seetzen describes it as a little hamlet of about twenty miserable huts, inhabited by Mahommedans; but Burckhardt says, it contains about 150 houses, inhabited mostly by Turks: there are also Greeks, Druses, and Enzairies. It belongs to Hasbeia, whose emir nominates the sheikh. It is situated at the foot of the mountain called Djebel Heish. To the N.E. of the village, is the source of the river of Banias, which flows under a well-built bridge on the north side of the village, near which are some remains of the ancient town. The ground it now occupies is of a triangular form, enclosed by the river on one side, a rivulet on the other, and the mountain at the back. The "Castle of Banias" is situated on the summit of a lofty mountain: it was built, Seetzen says, without giving his authority, in the time of the caliphs. Burckhardt says, it seems to have been erected during the period of the Crusades; he saw no inscriptions, but was afterwards told that there are several, both in Arabic and in Frank (Greek or Latin). The mountain on which it stands, forming part of the Djebel

Heish, is an hour and a quarter from Banias, bearing from it E. by S. "It is now completely in ruins, but was once a strong fortress. Its whole circumference is twenty-five minutes. It is surrounded with a wall ten feet thick, flanked with numerous round towers, built with equal blocks of stone, each about two feet square. The keep, or citadel, seems to have been on the highest summit on the eastern side, where the walls are stronger than on the other side. On the western side, within the precincts of the castle, are ruins of many private habitations. At both the western corners, runs a succession of dark, strongly-built, low apartments, like cells, vaulted, and with small, narrow, loop-holes, as if for musquetry. On this side also is a well, more than twenty feet square, walled in, with a vaulted roof at least twenty-five feet high. The well was, even in this dry season, full of water: there are three others in the castle. It has but one gate, on the south side. In winter time, the shepherds of the Felahs of the Heish, who encamp upon the mountain, pass the night in the castle with their cattle." The view from hence is described as magnificent. The wady at its S.E. foot is called *Wady Kyb;* that on its western side, *Wady-el-Kashabe;* and that "on the other side of the latter," (the equivocal expression is Burckhardt's,) *Wady-el-Asal.*

Where was the temple erected by Herod the Great in honour of Augustus, out of gratitude to the Emperor for having put him in possession of Trachonitis? Seetzen remarks, that the circuit of the ancient walls of the city is easily distinguishable, but that no traces remain of this magnificent edifice. Burckhardt noticed some remains of the ancient town near the bridge, but says, that the principal part seems to have been on the opposite side of the river, where

the ruins extend for a quarter of an hour beyond the bridge. No walls remain; but great quantities of stones and architectural fragments are scattered about. He saw here one entire column of small dimensions, and in the village, on the left side of the river, a granite column one foot and a half in diameter. On the south side of the village are the ruins of a strong castle, which, from its appearance and mode of construction, may, he conjectures, be of the same age as the castle on the mountain. It is surrounded with a broad ditch, within which was a wall: several towers are still standing. A very solid bridge, which crosses the winter torrent Wady-el-Kyd, leads to the entrance of the castle, over which is an Arabic inscription, with a date coinciding with the era of the Crusades. There are five or six granite columns built into the walls of the gateway. There can be no doubt that these formed part of some ancient edifice, and possibly of the temple in question. The whole mountain, however, had the name of Panium; and Dr. Richardson is disposed to imagine, that the *Khallat-el-Banias* on the mountain may be built on the site of the temple. The commanding situation, overlooking the whole plain, may be thought to have recommended it to Herod, as comporting with the magnificence of his conceptions; and it is remarkable, that, distant as it is from the town, it should preserve the name of the Castle of Banias. The determination of this point must be left to future travellers.

The city of Panias owed its Roman name, and much of its consequence and architectural decoration, to Herod Philip the Tetrarch, who called it Cesarea in honour of Tiberius Cæsar: it received the adjunct of his own name to ditinguish it from Cesarea of Palestine. It was indebted for further improvements

to the royal liberality of Agrippa.* The neighbourhood is very beautiful, richly wooded, and abounding with game. The "apparent source of the Jordan," flows from under a cave at the foot of a precipice, in the perpendicular sides of which are several niches, adorned with pilasters, having under them Greek inscriptions. Upon the top of the rock, to the left of these, is a mosque dedicated to Nebbi 'Khoudèr, called by the Christians Mar Georgius, which is a place of devotion for Mahommedan strangers passing this way. Seetzen says: "The copious source of the River of Banias rises near a remarkable grotto in the rock, on the declivity of which I copied some ancient Greek inscriptions, dedicated to *Pan* and the Nymphs of the Fountain. The ancients gave the name of 'Source of the Jordan' to the spring from which the Banias rises; and its beauty might entitle it to that name. But, in fact, it appears, that the preference is due to the spring of the river Hasberia, which rises half a league to the west of Hasbeia, and which forms the largest branch of the Jordan. The spring of Tel-el-Kadi, which the natives take for the source of the Jordan, is that which least merits the name."

Pococke observes, that St. Jerome mentions a village called Dan, four miles from this site. Burckhardt states, that an hour and a quarter to the N.E. of Banias, is situated "the source of the Jordan, or, as it is here called, *Dhan*," in the plain, near the hill called Tel-el-Kadi—the spring to which Seetzen refers; and the distance agrees with the place mentioned by Jerome. There are, we are told, two springs near each other, one smaller than the other, whose waters

* "As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expense."—JOSEPH. *Wars*, book iii. chap. 10.

unite immediately below: the larger source immediately forms a river twelve or fifteen yards across, which rushes rapidly over a stony bed into the lower plain. Both sources are on level ground, among rocks of tufwacke. There are no ruins of any kind near the springs; but the hill over them seems to have been built upon, though nothing now is visible. At a quarter of an hour to the N. of the spring, are ruins of ancient habitations, built of the black tufwacke, the principal rock found in the plain. The few houses at present inhabited on that spot, are called *Enkeil.* "I was told," adds Burckhardt, "that the ancient name of the River of Banias was *Djour*, which, added to the name of *Dhan*, made Jourdan. The more correct etymology is, probably, Or Dhan,—in Hebrew, the River of Dhan. Lower down, between the Houle and the Lake Tabaria, it is called Orden by the inhabitants. To the southward of the Lake of Tabaria, it bears the name of Sherya, till it falls into the Dead Sea."

The whole of this statement, there is reason to suspect, rests upon hearsay; and when it is recollected that Burckhardt's authorities in this quarter were, for the most part, Greek priests, there is the more necessity for caution in receiving that part of it which relates to the ancient names. That the Banias was anciently called the Djour, is a mere legend; and as little is it to be believed, that the river, below Lake Houle, is called the Orden, unless by the Christians. It is, however, to this legendary opinion respecting the source of the Jordan, that Milton may be thought to refer, when he says,

> "Here the double-founted stream,
> Jordan, true limit eastward." *

* Par Lost, book xii. line 144.

The same description would, nevertheless, apply to it, as formed by the junction of the waters of Hasbeia and Banias; and Seetzen's remark is deserving of attention, that this third source of Tel-el-Kadi least merits the name of the source of the Jordan.

The name Panias is of classic origin, and is supposed to be derived from the worship of Pan. The cavern and Πανειον, or sanctuary of Pan, are described by Josephus. The niche in the cavern probably contained a statue of the god. In the middle niche in the rock, the base of a statue is still visible. Round the source of the river are a number of hewn stones, which appear to have belonged to some ancient edifice. Some have supposed this place to be the Dan of the Scriptures, on the slender ground of the faint resemblance of the names. The hill is considered as the Mount Hermon of the Old Testament, that being mentioned as the northern boundary of the Land of Israel on the other side of Jordan, as overlooking the Valley of Lebanon, and as a boundary of the country of the Hivites in Mount Lebanon, which extended from Baal-Hermon to Hamath.* If so, this would seem to be "the Valley of Lebanon," and Panias might claim to be considered as the Baal-Gad which was under Mount Hermon.† The name of Baal, thus connected both with the mountain and the city, would seem to refer to the heathen worship that was carried on here. It was the same deity, apparently, that gave his name to Baalbec. Without attempting to trace any connexion between the attributes of the Syrian Baal and the classic Pan, it would not be a violent conjecture, that the worship of the one might succeed the adoration of the other

* Josh. xi. 17; xiii. 11; Judges iii. 3. † Josh. xiii. 5

deity. The mountain, as well as the city, would undergo a correspondent change of name; and thus, Baal-Hermon would become Panium, and Baal-Gad, Panias. In like manner, Baal-Bek was changed — we might say, translated into Heliopolis. A sacred fountain in Greece almost invariably points out the site of an ancient temple; and the usual characteristics of these *agiasmata*, or holy fountains, are, a romantic landscape, and the neighbourhood of a cavern or grove. Here we have every circumstance united, that superstition required to give sacredness to the place.

But, in reference to the ancient names, there is a remarkable passage in Josephus, which deserves consideration. The marshes of Lake Semechonitis reach, he says, "as far as the place Daphne, which, in other respects, is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called *Little Jordan*, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into Great Jordan."* Reland supposes that the text is corrupted, and that, instead of Daphne in this place, we should read Dan. If not, we may conclude that the ancient Dan was afterwards called Daphne. The Little Jordan is, most probably, the Banias of Burckhardt, which, at the distance of an hour and a half in the plain below, falls into what Seetzen denominates the Hasbeia, — the *Moiet Hasbeia*, which is the larger branch. Near the confluence of these streams, we must look for the Dan of the Scripture, and the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves.† Panias, supposed by the ancients to be the source of the Jordan, can hardly be the place referred to by Josephus. It

* Wars, book iv. chap. 1.

† See Judges xviii. 29. 1 Kings xii. 29.

must, therefore, be below it; and we are strongly inclined to believe, that the sequestered mound and the grove of venerable oaks, described by Dr. Richardson in such glowing language, will be found to answer most completely to the Daphne of Josephus,* and the Dan of Scripture, where once stood the temple of the golden calf. It must be near this delicious spot, that the river of Hasbeia meets with the Banias or Little Jordan; and the marshes of Semachonitis extend almost to the base of the mount. It is observable also, that the plain changes its name nearly about the same place, from Ard Houle to Ard Banias; and it is by the confluence of the streams here, that the river is formed, which Josephus distinguishes as the Great Jordan.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HAVING now traversed the whole Land of Israel west of this boundary, from Beersheba to Dan, we close here our account of Palestine; preferring, for the convenience of the arrangement, to include the districts east of the Jordan, under the general denomination of Syria, which in strictness applies to the whole country. The parts we have described, however, are all that are usually comprehended under the term *Holy Land;* although, as the scene of Scripture history, the theatre of miracle and of prophecy, — the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the shores of the Idumean Sea, and the coasts of Asia Minor, might lay claim to the appellation. But we have now visited the whole of Palestine, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee — those

* Lightfoot says, that Riblah, a place on the border of Israel, is by the Targumists rendered *Daphne*. They render Numbers xxxiv. 11, "*and the border shall go down to Daphne.*"

countries which, above all others under the sun, are interesting to the Christian. And abhorrent alike from reason and from true piety, as is the superstition that has grafted itself upon this interest, yet, the curiosity which inspires the traveller, in reference more peculiarly to these scenes, is rational and laudable. If Troy and Thebes, if Athens and Rome, are visited with classic enthusiasm, much more worthy of awakening the strongest emotions in the mind of a Christian, must be the country whose history as far transcends in interest that of every other, as its literature (if we may apply that term to the divine volume) excels in sublimity, all the ethics, and philosophy, and poetry, and eloquence of the heathen world. This sentiment of interest or of reverence has, indeed, no necessary connexion with religious principle or enlightened worship; for it may actuate alike the pious and the profligate: and, in the character of the Greek or Romish pilgrim, it is too generally found in connexion with an utter destitution of moral principle. The savage fanaticism of the Crusades was an illustration of this fact on a grand scale; and the same spirit that breathed in Peter the Hermit, yet survives; the same fanaticism in a milder form actuates the pilgrims who continue to visit the Holy Sepulchre, with the view of expiating their sins by the performance of so meritorious a penance. The Mussulman hadgi, or the Hindoo devotee, differs little in the true character of his religion, from these misguided Christians, and as little perhaps in his morals as in his creed. Only the stocks and stones in which their respective worship alike terminates, are called by less holy names. It becomes the Protestant to avoid the appearance of symbolising with this degrading and brutalising idolatry. But were all this mummery

swept away, and the Holy Land cleared of all the rubbish brought into it by the Empress Helena, the holy sepulchre included, more than enough would remain to repay the Christian traveller, in the durable monuments of Nature. We know not the spot where Christ was crucified; nor can determine the cave in which, for part of three days, his body was ensepulchred; nor is the exact point ascertainable from which he ascended to heaven. The Scriptures are silent, and no other authority can supply the information. But there are the scenes which he looked upon, the holy mount which once bore the temple, that Mount Olivet which once overlooked Jerusalem; — there is Mount Gerizim overhanging the Valley of Shechem, and the hill where once stood Samaria; — there is Nazareth, within whose secluded vale our Lord so long awaited the time appointed for his public ministry, — the plain of Gennesareth and the Sea of Galilee, — the mountains to which he retired, the plains in which he wrought his miracles, the waters which he trod, — and here the Jordan still rolls its consecrated waters to the bituminous lake where Sodom stood.

APPENDIX. (A.)

NATURAL HISTORY.

It was the Editor's intention to subjoin a fuller account of the natural productions of Palestine; but he finds that this would occupy more space than can be devoted to a subject remotely connected with the design of the present work. He must content himself, therefore, with referring to the sources of information.

Dr. Shaw acknowledges that he was in too great haste, in travelling through the Holy Land, to make many observations, much less to collect specimens. He notices, generally, the variety of anemonies, ranunculusses, colchicas, fritillaries, and tulips, with which the plains abound, and the quantity of game of all kinds; but the only curious animals, he says, that he had the good fortune to see, were the *skinkôre*, a species of lizard, and the *daman Israel*, supposed to be the *saphan* * of the Scriptures; an animal of the size of a rabbit, but in the shortness of its fore-feet, resembling the jerboa.

The notices contained in Hasselquist's Travels, are scarcely less meagre. The animals he saw, were only five sorts of quadrupeds,—the porcupine, the jackall, † the fox, the rock-goat, and the fallow-deer; and fifteen of birds. His collection of plants is somewhat more ample, and will be found deserving of attention. It is remarkable, however, that the pupil of Linnæus should have given the bare catalogue, without any regard to botanical arrangement.

* Rendered "coney"

† "The fox of Samson."

Dr. Clarke's Travels contain some important contributions to the Botany of Palestine; but he also was in haste, and saw but a very small part of the Holy Land.

In the Travels of Burckhardt, and of Captains Irby and Mangles, will be found many scattered notices peculiarly interesting to the naturalist. But the information is not precise enough to enable us to refer the productions alluded to, to their proper place in a scientific arrangement. The more remarkable of these will be found mentioned in the body of our work; and they will supply matter for the more minute observation of future travellers. At present, our knowledge both of what may be called the Scriptural, and of the actual or modern Natural History of Palestine, must be considered as very imperfect. For remarks on the mandrake, the nature of which has been a subject of learned dissertation, see Shaw's Travels, folio, p. 369, and Maundrell's Journey, under Naplosa. But the amplest account of the animals and vegetable productions mentioned in the Scriptures, is that given by the very ingenious author of the Fragments supplementary to Calmet's Dictionary. See the edition of 1823, vol. iv. part 2, pp. 9—128.

APPENDIX. (B.)

GLOSSARY OF ARABIC WORDS OCCURRING IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

Abd Servant. *e. g. Abd Allah*, servant of God.
Abou. Father.
Ain. Spring. (Eye.)
Ard. Land. District.

Bahr. Lake. River. Sea.
Belled. Town. Village.
Ben. Son.
Beni. Sons.
Bet. (*Bait.*) House.
Bir. (*Beer.*) Well
Birket. Pond. Cistern.

Caphar. (*Ghaffer.*) Toll. Tribute.
Caphar. (*Heb.*) Field. Camp. Station.

Djebel. Mountain.
Djeser. Bridge.

Gala. (*Khallat.*) Castle.
Ghaffer. (*Caphar.*) Toll. Tribute.

Ibn. Son.

Kâfer. (*Kafir.*) Infidel.
Kepha. Rock.
Khallat. Castle.
Khan. Inn.

Min. Port.
Moye, Moiet. Water.

Nahr. (Same as *Bahr.*) Lake. River. Sea.

Om. (*Oom.*) Mother

Serai. Palace.
Sheikh. Chief.

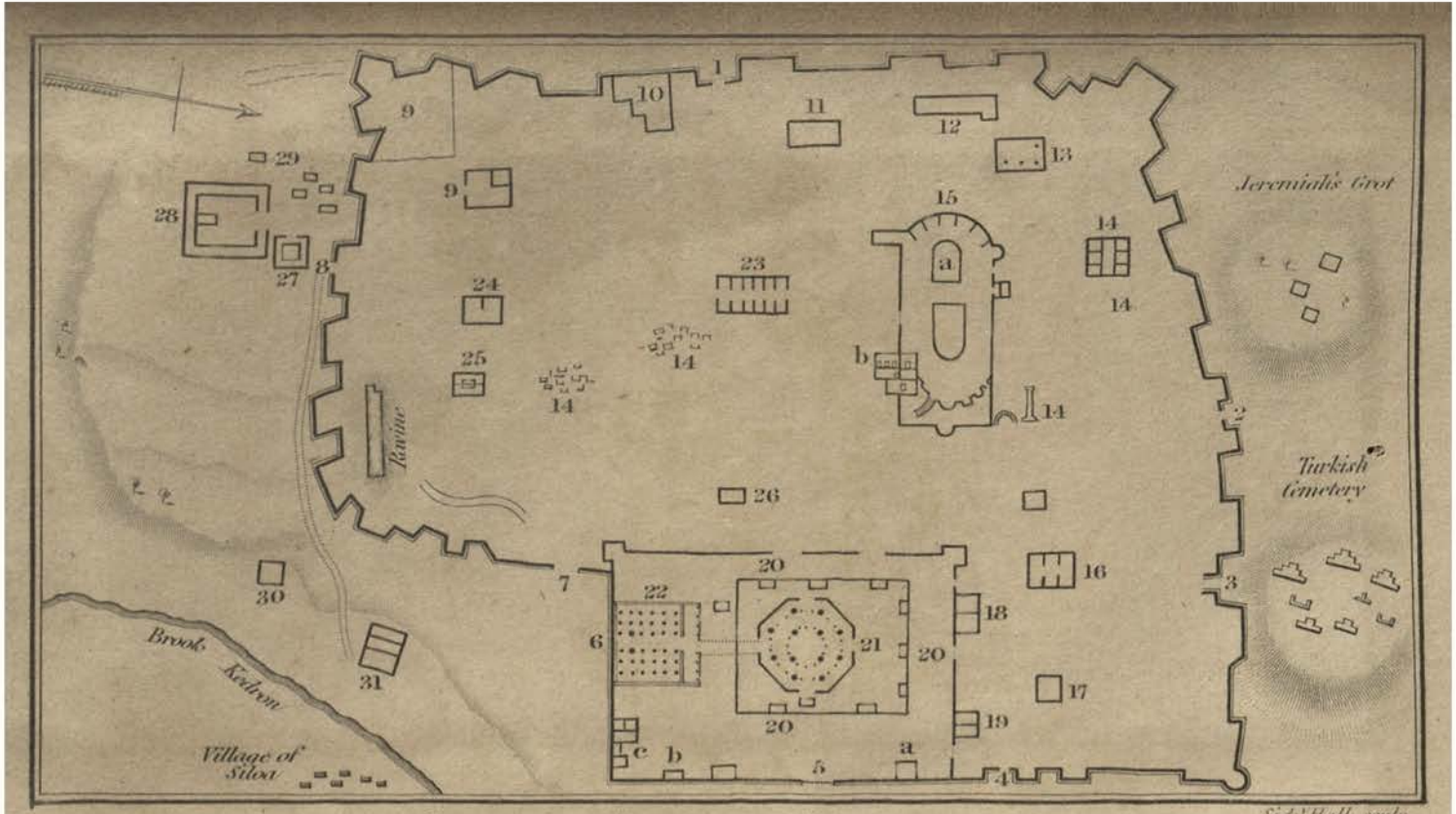
Tel. Heap.
Tor. High.

Wady. Valley. Ravine.

APPENDIX. (C.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUND-PLAN OF JERUSALEM.

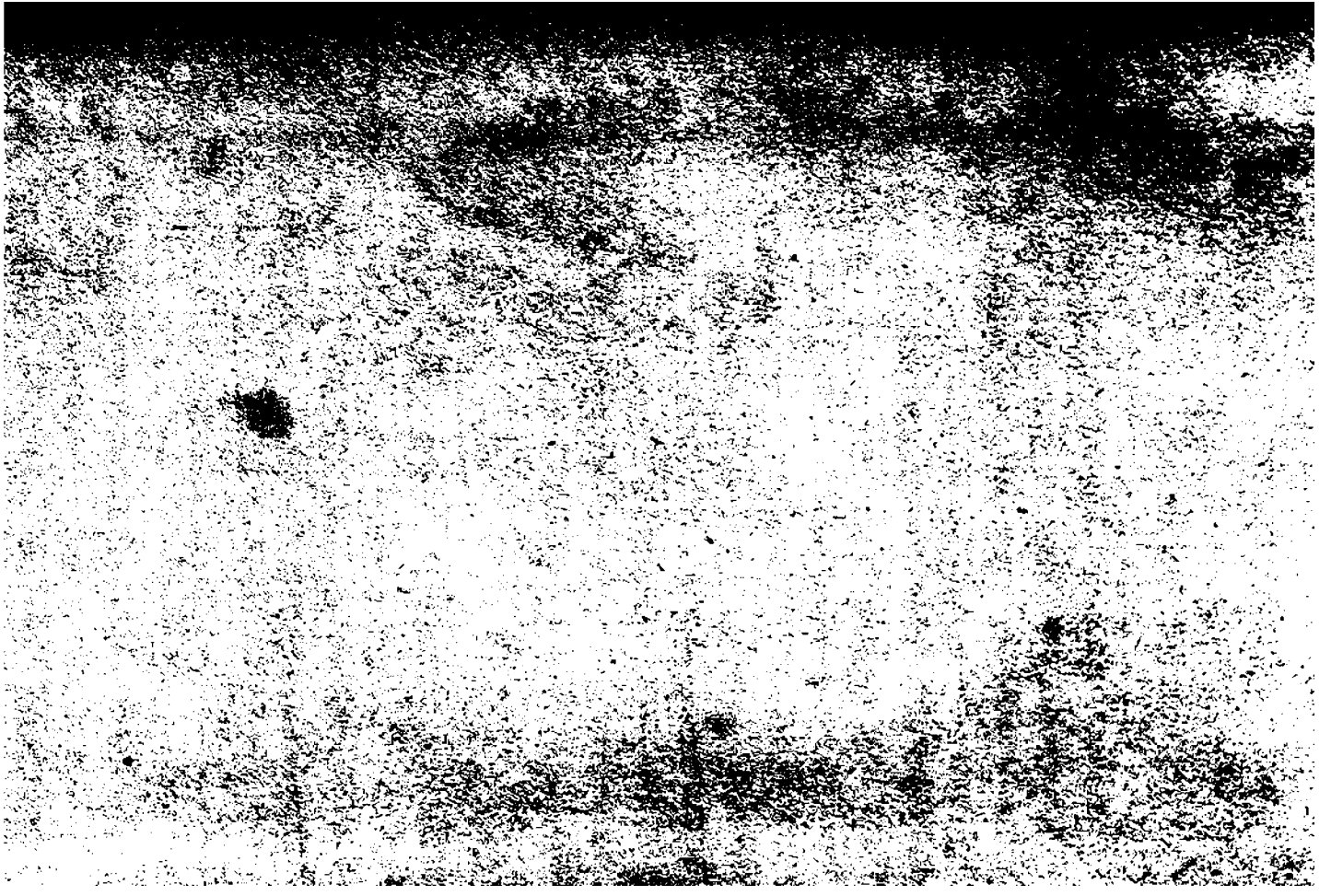
1. Bethlehem Gate.
2. Damascus Gate.
3. Herod's or Ephraim Gate.
4. St. Stephen's Gate.
5. The Golden Gate, (walled up).
6. Gate into El Aksa.
7. Dung Gate.
8. Zion Gate.
9. Armenian Convent and Garden.
10. Castle of the Pisans.
11. Pool of Bathsheba.
12. House for Female Pilgrims.
13. Latin Convent.
14. Ruins.
15. Church of the Sepulchre. *a.* The Sepulchre. *b.* Calvary.
16. Herod's Palace.
17. Mosque of St. Anne.
18. Pilate's House.
19. Pool of Bethesda.
20. Haram Schereeff. *a.* Throne of Solomon. *b.* Where Mahomet is to sit on the Day of Judgment. *c.* Entrance to the Grotto of Sidn Aïsa
21. Mosque of Omar.
12. Mosque of El Aksa.
23. Bazars.
24. House of Annas.
25. Jews' Synagogue.
26. House of Omar Effendi.
27. Palace of Caiaphas.
28. Sepulchre of David.
29. Tombs.
30. King's Pool.
31. Pool of Siloam.



GROUND PLAN OF JERUSALEM.

Ed.d Hall, sculp.

London: Pub. by J. Duncan, Paternoster Row, April, 1824.



APPENDIX. (D.)

DESIDERATA.

It has been thought that it might aid future travellers to throw further light on the topography of Palestine, to direct their attention to a few *desiderata*.

The sites of the following ancient towns require to be ascertained: On the coast, Antipatris and Apollonia, between Cesarea and Jaffa; and Anthedon (Agrippias), between Gaza and Raphia,—probably at or near Dair. On the road from Gaza to the ancient Eleutheropolis, the whole of which is untravelled by Europeans, Gath, Marissa, Adora, Lachish. Eleutheropolis itself, the capital of the Idumeans. See p. 195. In the same direction probably, about twenty miles S.W. of Hebron, Beersheba in Simeon. Also, the ruins at Abdi in the desert, three days' distance below Hebron. See p. 201. At Hebron the Cave of Machpelah. Examine also the House of Abraham, between Sipheer and Hebron. See p. 200. The whole road from Hebron to the Gulf of Akaba remains to be explored. Also the route from Hebron to Rihhah. The bearing and length of the Dead Sea require to be verified.

At Jerusalem—1. The precise bearings are required of the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, &c. 2. The elevations round the city require to be explored, and the names ascertained from Jewish or Arab natives: in particular, the hill on the N.W. called Mount Gihon, and that on the N. supposed to be Scopo, where Titus encamped; by some fixed on as the site of Calvary. (Nos. 90 and 88 in Dr. Richardson's Ichnographical Plan.) Also the Hill of Evil

Council (Dr. Clarke's Mount Zion), S. of the city; and the mountain which rises from the bed of the Kedron on the S.E. 3. The course and distribution of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem, and the cisterns which supply the present city, are deserving of investigation. 4. The course of the Tyropœon, supposed to be a line drawn transversely from near the Castle of the Pisans to the Pool of Siloam (No. 31). 5. The sepulchre of David on Mount Zion, and the ruins between Mount Zion and the mosque of Omar. 6. The ravine crossed by the road to St. John's in the Desert. 7. Ruins of a tower opposite to Bethlehem gate. 8. Turkish oratory beyond the cemeteries N. of the city, and near the Dragon's Pool — query, its history? 9. The source and course of the Kedron. 10. The *cryptæ* on the summit of olivet, described by Dr. E. D. Clarke.—An intelligent Jew would probably be found the best cicerone.

At Nablous, the Beer-el-Samaria, the Beer-el-Yakoub, and the Beer-el-Yusef; the ruins on Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal; and, between this route and the Jordan, the site of Bethel. The road from Nablous to Cesarea might be worth exploring.

In Galilee, the site of Zabulon, of Jotapata, of Capernaum, and of Dan (query, Daphne?). Also, the bearing and extent of the Lake of Tiberias, and the plains and wadys on its western coast. The sources of the water of Hasbeia and Tel-el-Kadi, and their junction with the stream of Panias.

END OF PALESTINE.

W. CLOWES, STAMFORD STREET.

MAP OF SYRIA,
Engraved for the
MODERN TRAVELLER.
English Miles.
0 20 40 60 80 100
Long. East from Greenwich.
London, Published by James Duncan, Paternoster Row, May 1828.
Drawn & Engraved by Sidf. Hall, Bury St. Bloomsbury.
Bay of Iskenderoon
Mt. Amanus
ALEPPO
Plain of Antakia
Pl. of Esthreen
Antakia
Latachia
TRIPOLI
Tortosa
Hamah
Homs
PALMYRA
Baalbec
DAMASCUN
Saide
Berut
Bir
Jerablus
Anabar
Elhamee
Salamiah
Earick
Maarra
Quarman
Kalaut
Karietein
Nebk
Kutaifa
Dummer
Jall
Mezza
Daria
Mt. Lebanon
Mt. Anti Libanus
Coelesyria
Desert

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:

JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXX.

LONDON:
Printed by W. CLOWES,
Stamford-street.

CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

	PAGE
BOUNDARIES OF SYRIA	1
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY	ib.
MODERN POLITICAL ASPECT	4
PASHALIC OF AKKA	5
HISTORY OF SHEIKH DAHER	6
SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF DJEZZAR PASHA	27
ROUTE TO TRIPOLI	31
TYRE	40
SIDON	55
THE DRUSES	74
HISTORY OF EMIR FAKR-EL-DIN	79
RELIGION OF THE DRUSES	94
THE MARONITES	108
HISTORY OF HENDIA	120
THE CEDARS OF LEBANON	135
ROUTE ACROSS THE LIBANUS TO ZAHLE	142
ROUTE FROM DJEBAIL TO BAALBEC	155
THE KESROUAN MOUNTAINS	158
CONVENT OF MAR-HANNA-SHOUAIR	163
ROUTE FROM BEIROUT TO DEIR EL-KAMAR	172
ROUTE FROM DEIR-EL-KAMAR TO DAMASCUS	183

PAGE

THE MOTOUALIES..... 189

BAALBEC 194

PASHALIC OF TRIPOLI 217

TRIPOLI 221

ROUTE FROM TRIPOLI TO BATROUN 230

ROUTE FROM TRIPOLI TO LATAKIA 239

ROUTE FROM LATAKIA TO ALEPPO..... 259

THE ANZAIRIES..... 261

PASHALIC OF ALEPPO 274

EARTHQUAKE OF 1822 299

SYRIAN GARDENS 306

VALLEY OF SALT 309

ALEPPO TO SCANDEROON 312

ANTIOCH 318

ALEPPO TO MARRAH..... 340

PASHALIC OF DAMASCUS 345

VALLEY OF THE ORONTES..... 346

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

SYRIA.

[A Province of Asiatic Turkey, bounded on the N. by Mount Taurus and its branches, which divide it from Asia Minor; on the E. by Diarbekir and the Euphrates; on the S. by the Arabian Desert; on the W. by the Mediterranean.]

THE name of Syria, applied by modern geographers to the country south of Mount Taurus, lying between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, has been transmitted to us from the Greeks.* In ancient geography, it included, besides what may be termed Syria Proper, Phenicia, Palestine, and, according to Pliny, Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Its original name was Aram, whence the Arimi of Homer; and it was divided, in the time of David, into several petty kingdoms, the names of which occur in the sacred writings.† Among

* Dr. Pococke conjectures, that Syria might possibly receive its name from *Sur*, the ancient name of Tyre, the chief city of the whole country.

† See 2 Sam. x. 8; Psal. lx. "Aram Naharaim" is supposed to be Mesopotamia; "Aram Zobah," Cœlo-Syria; "Aram Maachah," the chief town of which was Abel or Abila (Lysanias), answered to the canton of Abilene; "Aram Rehob" appears to have formed the border of the tribe of Asher, but was only a district belonging to a city of that name, like Aram Hamath. Ish-tob were probably a Bedouin tribe inhabiting a tract so called.

these, the kingdom of Damascus was at one time annexed to the Jewish dominions. The Roman province of Syria included the whole of Judea. The Arabs call it *Bar-el-Sham*, the country on the left (or north), in contradistinction to Yemen, or the country on the right (or south); denominations referring to the position of the rising sun. El Sham is the name given also to Damascus, the chief city. It is now (including Palestine) distributed into the pashalics of Aleppo, Tripoli, Sidon or Acre, and Damascus. The first of these includes the ancient Comagene, Cyrrhestica, Chalcidice, Seleucia, and the district of Antioch; the second, Casiotis, and the north part of Phenicia; the third, Phenicia, part of Cœlosyria, and Galilee; the fourth, Apamene, Palmyrene, Eastern Cœlosyria, and the remainder of Palestine. The number of square miles is by Malte Brun computed to be (exclusive of the Desert) 51,778, and the population, at most, two millions.

The history of Syria is included in that of its conquerors. It appears to have been first reduced by Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria, about 750 B.C.; previously to whose invasion it was divided into petty territories, of which the kingdom of Damascus was the principal. After the fall of the Assyrian monarchy, it came under the Chaldean yoke; it shared the fate of Babylonia, when conquered by the Persians; and was again subdued by Alexander the Great. At his death, B.C. 323, it was erected into an independent monarchy, under the Seleucidæ, and continued to be governed by its own sovereigns, till, weakened and devastated by civil wars between competitors for the throne, it was finally reduced by Pompey to a Roman province, about 65 B.C., after the monarchy had subsisted two hundred and fifty-seven years. The

Saracens, in the decline of the Roman empire, next became the masters of Syria, about A.D. 622. When the crusading armies poured into Asia, this country became the grand theatre of the contest between the armies of the Cross and the Crescent, and its plains were deluged with Christian and Moslem blood. Antioch, under the Roman empire the magnificent and luxurious capital of the East, and, next to Rome and Alexandria, the greatest city in the empire, was the first object of the invaders. It sustained, in 1098, a protracted siege uninjured, during which the Christian camp experienced all the horrors of famine: carrion was openly dressed, and human flesh is said to have been eaten in secret. It fell at length through treachery: in the silence of the night, the croises commenced their indiscriminate butchery of its sleeping inhabitants. The dignity of age, the helplessness of infancy, and the beauty of the weaker sex, were, say the historians, alike disregarded by the Latin savages; and Greeks and Armenians were for some time, equally with the Mussulmans, exposed to their fury. More than ten thousand victims perished in this massacre. In the following spring, Jerusalem shared the same fate. On the erection of the transitory Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the county of Tripoli formed a distinct but dependent principality. In the ecclesiastical division, Berytus, Sidon, Acre, and Panias, were episcopal sees in the province of Tyre. Tyre itself was a royal domain. The battle of Tiberias, in 1186, made the illustrious Saladin the master of these places; Jerusalem capitulated the following year, and Antioch submitted to the Moslem conqueror, who thus became lord of both Syria and Egypt. Syria remained subject to the Sultans of Egypt, till, in 1517, Selim I. overthrew the Mamalouk

dynasty, and Syria and Egypt became absorbed in the Ottoman empire.

The situation of Syria, its distance from the seat of government, and the nature of the country, have rendered it difficult to keep it in regular subjection; and the power of the Porte in this country has been for some time on the decline, especially since the time of Djezzar Pasha. A number of petty independent chiefs have sprung up, who have set the power of the sultan at defiance. Burckhardt states, that Badjazze, Alexandretta, and Antakia (Antioch), had each an independent aga. Berber, a formidable rebel who had fixed his seat at Tripoli, where he had maintained himself for six years, had been but recently subdued (in 1812) by the Pasha of Damascus. Aintab (to the north of Aleppo), as well as Edlip and Shogre (between Aleppo and Latikia), had also their own chiefs. The name of the Pasha of Aleppo is become little more than a vain title, the real power being in the hands of the janissaries, while the whole neighbourhood is infested by obscure tribes of Arab and Kourdish robbers. Throughout Syria, as is the case, indeed, with respect to the whole of Asiatic Turkey, the Turks do not form more than two fifths of the population. All civil and military employments, however, are in their hands. Besides Turks, and those natives who may claim to be considered as of genuine Syrian extraction, the country is inhabited by Kourds, Turcomans, Bedouin Arabs, Chinganes, and other nomade hordes; by Druses, Enzairies, and Motoualis; by Maronites, Armenians, Greek Christians, and Jews. No country, perhaps, exhibits a greater variety in the character of its population. The old Syrian language is said to be spoken in a few districts, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Damascus and Mount Libanus. The Arabic

predominates both in the country and the towns. A corrupt mixture of Syriac and Chaldee is spoken in some parts by the peasantry, while the Turkish is spoken by the Osmanlis and the nomade hordes of the north. These various nations and tribes will come more particularly under our notice in describing the districts to which they respectively belong. The most natural division of the country is that which corresponds to its present political distribution into pashalics, to which we shall accordingly adhere. The coast from Akka to Djebail, with the mountains inhabited by the Druses, is comprehended under the pashalic of Seide and Akka. Near Djebail, the pashalic of Tarabolos (Tripoli) begins, and extends along the coast to Latikia. The north of Syria, from the Levant to the Euphrates, is included within that of Haleb (Aleppo). The remainder of the country, including by far the largest territory, is the viceroyalty of the Pasha of Sham (Damascus).

PASHALIC OF AKKA OR SEIDE.

This pashalic, till the time of Djezzar Pasha, took its name from Seide or Sidon, which formed its capital. It was composed of the country of the Druses, and of the coast from Nahr-el-Kelb to Mount Carmel. The celebrated Arab chieftain, known by the name of Shiekh Daher, pushed his conquests so far, however, into the territory of the Pasha of Sidon, that he left him at last only that town, and from this he was driven. But, on the fall of Daher, Djezzar, who succeeded the Sheikh as pasha, seized on all his dominions, and enlarged the boundaries of the pashalic by the annexation of the districts of Saphet, of Tiberias, and of Balbec, which had formerly belonged to Damascus, as well as of Cesarea. By this means, he reaped the benefit of the achievements of Daher,

and Acre became from that time the capital of the province. As these events, though comparatively insignificant, are a specimen of the petty revolutions which are continually taking place within the Turkish empire, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to be put in possession of the outlines of the story, as told by Volney.

Daher (or Dahher, sometimes spelt Dakher), the son of Omar, was a Bedouin Arab, belonging to one of those tribes who frequent the Valley of the Jordan: his family is said to have been one of the most powerful in the district. On the death of his father, which occurred towards the beginning of the last century, he shared the government with an uncle and two brothers. His domain was Szaffad. To this, shortly after, he added Tabaria, which Pococke, in 1737, found him occupied in fortifying against the Pasha of Damascus, who, a little time before, had caused one of his brothers to be strangled. In 1742, another pasha, named Soliman-el-Ahdm, besieged him here, and bombarded the place, to the astonishment of all Syria, which, at that time, had little acquaintance with such a mode of warfare. Daher, in spite of his courage, was daunted, and was at the last extremity, when a fortunate event extricated him from his embarrassment. A sudden attack of the cholic carried off Soliman in two days, and Asad-el-Ahdm, his brother and successor, had not the same reasons or the same inclination to continue the contest. Daher was now left undisturbed, so far as regarded the Ottomans; but his restless character involved him in disputes with his uncle and his brother. More than one affray between them took place, from which Daher came off conqueror; and he at length thought it expedient to terminate these contests by putting to death the parties. Being now invested with all the power of his family, and absolute master of his resources, he

formed new schemes of ambition. The commerce which he had carried on, made him sensible of the advantage of a direct communication with the sea, and he fixed his eyes on Acre as a port exactly suitable to his purpose. It was at that time only a miserable village, in the midst of ruins, open and defenceless. The Pasha of Sidon kept up the show of authority there by means of an aga and a few soldiers, but the whole of the adjacent territory was subject to the Bedouins. A pretext only was wanting, and this was soon afforded by the conduct of the Aga. One day, having obtained intelligence that military stores, destined to be employed against him, had been landed there, the Sheikh marched suddenly towards Acre, despatched to the Aga a threatening letter, which made him take to flight, and obtained possession of the place without striking a blow. This took place about the year 1749. Sheikh Daher was then near sixty-three years of age; but, more than twenty-five years after, he retained vigour sufficient to manage a spirited charger. This bold stroke entailed consequences which he did not fail to anticipate and provide against. He wrote immediately to the Pasha of Sidon, representing that what had taken place between him and the Aga was merely a personal affair, and that he was as much as ever the loyal subject of the Sultan and the Pasha; that he would pay tribute for the districts he had taken possession of, as the Aga had done; and he engaged, moreover, to keep in order the Arabs, and to do all in his power to improve the condition of the country. His memorial, supported by a few thousand sequins, had its effect in the divans of Sidon and of Constantinople: they admitted the force of his arguments, and conceded all that he desired. Not that the Porte was

the dupe of his protestations; but it is its economical policy, to temporise with its rebellious vassals, and, so long as appearances are kept up by their outward homage, to accept of what it can obtain in the shape of tribute, and patiently await the turn in the tide of events, that, sooner or later, is sure to rid the country of the petty despot; in which case, the Sultan never fails to have the largest share of the spoil.

Daher, on the other hand, knew better than to confide in this apparent good-will of the Ottoman. Acre being wholly without defence, the enemy might take him by surprise either by sea or by land; and he resolved to provide against the danger. Under pretence of building for himself a house, he began by constructing a palace, which he fortified. Then, to protect the port, he built some towers on the coast; and, at length, enclosed the whole town, on the land-side, with a wall. All this, says Volney, passed among the Turks for *works*, although a thirty-gun frigate might have bombarded the whole coast without difficulty; and four pieces of artillery would have levelled wall and fortification presently. But, where ignorance is common to both assailants and the assailed, the chances are equal.

After having taken these necessary precautions, Daher turned his attention to improving the condition of the country, with a view to render it more productive. Partly by promises, partly by threats, sometimes by presents, at other times by force of arms, he succeeded in gaining over or subduing the Arab tribes who had infested these parts, and restored peace and security to the half-depopulated country. The husbandman might now sow, without seeing his crops destroyed by cavalry; might reap, without seeing his harvest carried away by banditti.—The fertility of

the soil was a powerful attraction; but the idea of personal security, a blessing to be estimated only by those who have lived exposed to constant alarm, operated as a still stronger inducement. It spread itself throughout Syria; and Mussulman and Christian husbandmen, every where else oppressed and despoiled, took refuge in crowds under the protection of Daher, where they found both civil and religious liberty. Even Cyprus, wasted by the exactions of its governor, by the rebellion which his oppression had occasioned, and by the atrocities of Kior Pasha,* who was sent against the insurgents, saw itself deserted by a colony of Greeks, to whom Daher gave, under the very walls of Acre, lands, which they converted into tolerable gardens. Europeans, finding here a market for their goods, soon formed establishments at Acre; and the country began to assume a new appearance of prosperity. At the same time, Daher renewed his treaties of alliance with the chief tribes of the Desert, with the double view to provide himself a sure retreat in case of a reverse of fortune, and to employ them as a check upon the power of the Pasha of Damascus. He obtained from them also coursers of the finest breed, for which he had always a strong passion, and in exchange he furnished them with clothes and fire-arms. The Motoualis had for some years given disturbance to the pashas of Sidon and Damascus, by pillaging their territories and withholding their tribute. Daher stepped forward as a mediator between the parties, offering to be security for the payment of the tribute. The proposal was accepted, and, by this

* This execrable savage is stated to have ordered a number of the rebels to be thrown from the top of walls on iron spikes, where they remained impaled till they expired in exquisite torture.

means, he secured the friendship of a people able to furnish 10,000 men bearing arms.

Notwithstanding all this, the Sheikh was not left in the peaceable enjoyment of his labours. While, on the one hand, he had to fear from without an attack from the jealous power to which he was nominally subject, he was exposed to internal enemies scarcely less dangerous. According to the impolitic custom of the Orientals, he had committed to his children different local governments, and had placed them at a distance from himself, in countries from which they drew their revenues. These sheikhs, considering themselves as the sons of a powerful prince, must needs maintain a state becoming their high dignity, and their expenses outran their incomes. To make up the deficiency, they had recourse to oppression; the natives brought their complaints to Daher; he became angry, remonstrated, disputes ensued, and sometimes war broke out between the father and his children. Often brothers were at variance. The Sheikh was growing old, and his sons were looking forward to the succession; he must appoint an heir; and contending claims to the preference became a new source of discord. Daher is accused of having favoured these dissensions through a short-sighted and sinister policy: they served to employ his soldiers, but they brought ruin on his finances, and forced him to adopt expedients ultimately prejudicial to his own interests.

In the meantime, the Porte did not see without dissatisfaction the growing power of the Sheikh, and his suspected projects gave still more alarm. These apprehensions were strengthened by a demand which he made, about the year 1768, to be permanently invested with the government of his dominions, for himself and his heirs, under the style and title of

"Sheikh of Acre, Prince of Princes, Governor of Nazareth, Tiberias, and Saphet, and Sheikh of all Galilee." Hitherto he had held his domains only from year to year, as by an annual rent. The Porte yielded every thing to the combined inducements of fear and money; but this step, whether dictated by vanity or by policy on the part of the Sheikh, served to provoke the jealousy and animosity of the Divan, which had, besides, serious grounds of complaint against him, and to nourish an unextinguishable desire of vengeance. Among other causes for this dissatisfaction, the pillage of the caravan to Mecca, in 1757, by his Arab allies, was not to be forgiven. Sixty thousand pilgrims spoiled and dispersed through the Desert, a great number of whom were destroyed by the sword, or perished by hunger, — women carried into captivity as slaves, — the immense booty which fell into the hands of the robbers, — above all, the sacrilegious nature of the outrage, produced throughout the empire an unexampled sensation. Daher had suffered the Arabs to dispose of their booty at Acre; this drew down on him the bitterest remonstrances of the Porte, and he found it no easy task to exculpate himself. At another time it was found out that the Maltese corsairs, who had for some years infested the coast, were suffered to lie off Acre under the disguise of a neutral flag, and to dispose in that port of prizes taken from the Turks. The Moslems cried out sacrilege; the Porte thundered forth its threats; on which Daher, protesting his ignorance, fitted out two galiots for the feigned purpose of chastising or capturing the corsairs, but really with a view to carry on the communication by sea, out of the sight of witnesses. He did more: he pretended that the roads of Caipha were unprotected, that the enemy could

land there in spite of him, and he required the Porte to build a fort there at the expense of the Turkish government. It was done, and some time after, Daher made it appear that the fort was of no use; he razed it, and transported the brass cannon to Acre.

The age of the old Sheikh might have reconciled the Divan to his being suffered to die a natural death, had they not had, in the military talents of Ali, his eldest son, reason to apprehend that his power would be perpetuated in a successor. Still, true to their usual policy, they took no open measures of hostility, but trusted to the operation of secret intrigue, dissension, and time. The individual in whom the Porte placed the most confidence, as a sort of counterpoise to Daher, was Osman, Pasha of Damascus, the personal enemy of the Sheikh. He had been with this view appointed to the pashalic in 1760, and, to increase his influence, his two sons were nominated the Pashas of Tripoli and Sidon. In 1765, Jerusalem and the greater part of Palestine were added to his dominions. Osman seconded all the views of the Porte, and only watched his opportunity for striking a decisive blow. He thought he had found it, and the war began.

The Pasha of Damascus, according to the custom which obtains in most of the great pashalics, used every year to make the tour of his territory, in order to levy the *miri* or land-tax. On these occasions, he always takes with him a body of troops to support his demand. Osman thought to avail himself of this circumstance to take Daher by surprise, and accordingly he set out on his ordinary route towards the district of Nablous. Daher was at that time before a castle in which he was besieging two of his sons; and his danger was the more imminent, as he was then

reposing faith in a truce entered into with the Pasha. But one evening, when he was least expecting it, a Tartar courier arrived, bearing letters from Constantinople. Daher opens them, and immediately suspending all hostilities, despatches an officer to his sons with the message, that they would have to prepare supper for him and three of his followers, for that he had communications to make of the greatest importance, which concerned them all. Daher's character was well known; he was obeyed. He arrives at the hour appointed; supper is served, and they eat together in good spirits: at the close of the repast, he takes the letters from his bosom, and gives them to his sons to read. They were from his spy at Constantinople, and were to the following purport: That the Sultan had deceived him in the last pardon which he had transmitted to him, having at the same moment issued a *kat-cherif* (or warrant) against both his head and his possessions; that every thing was arranged between the three pashas, Osman and his sons, for surrounding and destroying him and his family, and that the Pasha of Damascus was marching upon Nablous with his forces, to seize him by surprise. The astonishment of the auditors may be conceived; a council is held, and some are for marching directly to attack the Pasha, but Ali represents, that a *coup de main* was the only measure likely to succeed, and he begs to be entrusted with the enterprise at the head of five hundred horsemen. It is agreed upon, and he sets out instantly, travelling all night, and lying concealed during the day. The night following, he came up with the enemy before day-break, and while the Turks were sleeping without order or sentinels, dashed in upon them sword in hand, cutting down all who presented themselves. The name of Ali

spread such a panic that nothing was thought of but flight. Scarcely had the Pasha escaped from his tent, when Ali entered it, and found left behind in his hurry, his caskets, his shawls, his burnoose, his poniard, his water-pipe (*nerguil*), and, to crown all, the *kat-cherif* of the Sultan.

From this moment, the war was carried on openly, and the Turks had rarely the advantage in the contest. The expenses which it entailed, soon exhausted the Pasha's coffers, and he had recourse to the usual Turkish expedient — levying *avanias*, or forced contributions. The consequence of these proceedings was, an insurrection at Ramla in Palestine, in the first year of his being governor of those parts: he put it down by fresh severities still more atrocious. Two years after, in 1767, a similar cause was attended with the same results at Gaza. At Jaffa, in 1769, the Pasha, in open violation of the law of nations, had a respectable old man, named Giovanni Damiani, the Venetian consul, put to the torture of the bastinado till he was almost murdered; and he was only allowed to escape with his life on the condition of paying down 60,000 livres. This sort of proceeding is not unusual in Turkey, but, pushed to so unbearable an extreme, it excited universal murmurs, and Palestine wanted only a foreign protector, to follow the example of Egypt, then in revolt against the Sultan.

It was under these circumstances that Ali Bey, the conqueror of Mecca, turned his thoughts towards the conquest of Syria. The powerful ally which he had in Daher, the Russian war in which the Porte was engaged, the discontents of the population, all contributed to favour his ambitious project. Accordingly, in 1770, he issued a proclamation, in which he set

forth, that the Almighty having crowned his arms with a signal benediction, he felt himself called upon to employ them for the relief of the people, and in the repression of the tyranny of Osman, in Syria. At the same time, he sent a body of Mamalouks to Gaza, who pushed on, and occupied Ramla and Loudd (Lydda). Jaffa was divided into two factions: one party were for surrendering to the Egyptians; the other invoked the protection of Osman. The Pasha lost no time in repairing thither, and encamped near the town; but, the second day after, tidings were brought of the approach of Daher, and Jaffa closed its gates against Osman. While, however, the latter was preparing for flight, a party of his troops, stealing along the coast, entered the town at a point where it was not defended by a wall, and sacked it. The next day, Daher appeared, and not finding the Turks, he obtained possession of Jaffa, Ramla, and Loudd without resistance, and placed a garrison in each.

In the February following, Ali's favourite general, Mahommed Bey, entered Palestine, at the head of 500 Mamalouks, and occupied the coast so as to be in communication with the Sheikh at Acre. Having there effected a junction with 1200 Motoualis commanded by Sheikh Nassif, and 1500 Szaffadians (as Daher's people were called), commanded by Ali the son of Daher, they marched, in April, on Damascus. Osman, having had time to prepare for their reception, had assembled on his part an army not less numerous and not better disciplined: he had been joined by the Pashas of Sidon, Tripoli, and Aleppo, and they awaited the enemy under the very walls of Damascus. The 6th of June is given as the date of the decisive encounter. The Mamalouks and the

Szaffadians rushed with such fury on the Turks, that the latter, terrified with the carnage, took to flight; the Pashas were not the last to save themselves, and the allies, left masters of the field, obtained possession, without resistance, of the town, the castle only excepted. That capitulated on the third day, and the place was to have been surrendered on the morrow, when the break of day brought with it the strangest of revolutions. At the moment that they were expecting the signal for its being given up, Mahommed all at once sounded a retreat, and every Mamalouk turned his face towards Egypt. In vain Ali-Daher and Nassif in astonishment demanded the reason of this unaccountable movement. The Mamalouk chief deigned no other answer than a haughty menace, and all decamped in confusion. It was not a retreat, but a flight: one would have thought that the enemy was at their heels. The route from Dămascus to Cairo was covered with baggage, ammunition, and other traces of the fugitives. This strange adventure was, at the time, attributed to a false report of the death of Ali Bey; but the true solution of the enigma was, a secret conference held during the night in the tent of Mahommed Bey. Osman, finding that he could not prevail by force of arms, had recourse to the arts of seduction, and succeeded in inspiring the Egyptian general with jealousy of his own master, Ali Bey, so as to make him and his Beys resolve on their instantaneous return.

Osman, reinstated in his capital, now recommenced hostilities, and, imagining that Daher, stunned with surprise at this unexpected turn of affairs, would be off his guard, meditated surprising him in Acre. Hardly had he set out, when Ali Daher and Nassif, having information of his march, and learning that

he was encamped on the western border of Lake Houle, left Acre by night, and, by break of day, had come up with the enemy: having secured Jacob's Bridge, which they found ill guarded, they fell on his camp sword in hand, and a carnage and general rout took place, similar to the affair of Nablous. A considerable number, in attempting to escape, perished in the waters and marshes of the lake; and it was thought that the Pasha himself had shared this fate; but he had the good fortune to escape, borne on the shoulders of two black slaves, who swam across. While these events were taking place, the Pasha of Sidon, Darouich, son of Osman, had engaged the Druses in his cause, and five hundred *akkals*, headed by Ali Djonbalat, had arrived to support him, while the Emir Yousef, with 25,000 men, had descended into the Valley of the Motoualis, where he laid every thing waste with fire and sword. Ali Daher and Nassif, on learning this news, turned immediately in this direction. On the 21st of October, 1771, an advanced corps of Motoualis routed the Druses, who, by their flight, carried terror into Sidon. The Szaffadians followed close upon them, and Ali Djonbalat, despairing of being able to defend the town, evacuated it precipitately, his akkals pillaging it as they departed. The Motoualis entered, and, in their turn, pillaged the inhabitants, till the Sheikhs arriving, put a stop to it, taking possession of the town in the name of Daher, who appointed a mutsellim to govern it.

The Porte, alarmed at these reverses, now offered to make peace with its too powerful subject on terms extremely advantageous. To carry this point, the government removed the three Pashas, and disclaimed their proceedings. The old Sheikh, now in his eighty-fifth or eighty-sixth year, was not indisposed to close

with the proposals which held out the prospect of his closing his days in peace; but his minister Ibrahim, a man of insatiable avarice, instigated by his own private motives, dissuaded him. He calculated that, the next spring, Ali Bey would return as the conqueror of Syria; instead of which, the rebellion of Mahommed Bey against his patron, in the February of the following year, terminated in Ali's arriving at Acre as a fugitive and a suppliant, with only eight hundred Mamalouks. Their passage was opposed by the Turkish faction in Jaffa, who took advantage of this reverse in the fortunes of Daher, to regain the ascendancy, aided by the Sheikh of Nablous. At the same time, a large army of Turks, which had assembled near Aleppo, was announced to be approaching. But Daher, undaunted, first marched towards Nablous, chastising the rebels as he passed, and having joined Ali Bey below Jaffa, returned with him to Acre, whence he prepared to take the field against the Turks. In the roads of Caipha were some Russian vessels, which were taking in provisions: with these the Sheikh negociated, and, for a present of six hundred purses, engaged them to second his operations by sea. His army at this time is said to have consisted of 5 or 6000 Szaffadian and Motouali cavalry, exclusive of Ali's Mamalouks, and about 1000 Mogrebin infantry. The Turks, united with the Druses, amounted to 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 peasants. They were besieging Sidon, when Daher's approach led them to retreat to the north of the town, there to await his attack. Volney describes the position of the two armies with the minuteness of an eye-witness. The Turkish army, extending from the sea to the foot of the mountains, was drawn up in platoons nearly in the same line. The akkals, on foot,

were posted on the sea-shore behind some hedges of nopals, and in trenches, while the cavalry occupied the plain. Towards the centre, and a little in advance, were eight pieces of cannon, twelve and twenty-four pounders; the only artillery hitherto made use of in the open field. At the foot of the mountains, and on their declivity, was arrayed the militia of the Druses, armed with muskets, unprotected by either intrenchments or artillery. Daher formed his little army so as to present the greatest front possible. His right wing, commanded by Nassif, consisted of the Motoualis and the Mogrebin infantry, intended to oppose the peasant Druses. The left, led on by Ali Daher, was designed to act in concert with the Russians. In the centre were the 800 Mamalouks. The action was begun by the Russian vessels, and no sooner had they fired a few broadsides, than the akkals retreated in confusion. The Mamalouks immediately gallopped full speed on the enemy, and the gunners, intimidated, fired their pieces with precipitation, and took to flight. The volley did but little execution, and the Mamalouks now rushed upon the Turkish cavalry, who made a feeble resistance. In the confusion which ensued, the Pashas first set the example of flight. The Druses, who never engage with good-will on the side of the Turks, retreated to their mountains, and in less than an hour the plain was cleared. The allies would not risk a pursuit; but the Russians, to punish the Druses, proceeded to cannonade Beirout, and made a descent on the coast, where they burned 300 houses.

Daher and Ali Bey now determined to punish the people of Nablous and Jaffa for their treachery; and in July 1772, Ali appeared before the latter town, with a few large cannon, badly mounted and worse

served. Eight months were wasted in besieging, or rather blockading this place, which at length, being in want of provisions, surrendered by capitulation. Having placed a governor here for Daher, Ali Bey returned to Acre, where the Sheikh had been occupied with preparations to enable his ally to return to Egypt. They waited only for a succour of 600 men promised by the Russians; but the rash impatience of Ali Bey determined him to depart without them. Daher in vain endeavoured to detain him, but, finding his resolution fixed, he sent 1500 cavalry to accompany him, commanded by Osman, one of his sons. Not many days after, in April 1773, the Russians arrived with the reinforcement; and the regret which this circumstance occasioned the old Sheikh, was severely aggravated when his son arrived at the head of his fugitive troops, to announce the defeat and death of Ali Bey. This event was the more disastrous, as, in the place of a powerful ally, he had acquired in Mahommed an active and implacable enemy. A fortunate circumstance, however, at this juncture, contributed to console his mind and divert his attention. The Emir of the Druses, thwarted by a powerful faction, had been compelled to solicit the assistance of the Pasha of Damascus, to maintain himself in possession of Beirout. The Pasha had in consequence sent there Achmed-el-Djezzar, afterwards so notorious as Pasha of Acre. No sooner was this man invested with the command of the town, than he determined to seize it for himself. He began by converting to his own use 50,000 piastres belonging to the Emir Yousef, and openly declared that he acknowledged no master but the Sultan. The Emir, astonished at this perfidy, in vain demanded justice of the Pasha of Damascus. Djezzar was disavowed, but not ordered

to restore the town. Piqued at this refusal, the Emir complied with the general wish of the Druses, and contracted an alliance with Daher. The treaty was concluded at Ras-el-Ain, near Tyre, and the Sheikh immediately proceeded with his new allies to reduce the rebel. The Russian ships, which had not quitted the coast, readily engaged, for a second sum of 600 purses, to cannonade Beirout, while the attack was made on the land side by Daher and the Druses. Djezzar, after a vigorous resistance, was obliged to capitulate: he surrendered himself to Daher, who, charmed with his courage, and flattered with the mark of confidence he had given in the surrender, conducted him to Acre, and shewed him every mark of kindness. He even ventured to trust him with a small expedition into Palestine; but Djezzar, on approaching Jerusalem, went over to the Turks, and returned to Damascus.

The defection of the Druses did not discourage the Turks. The Porte again stationed Osman at Damascus, investing him with an unlimited power over all Syria. The first use he made of this, was to assemble a considerable army, commanded by six pashas, with which he marched through the Vale of Bakaa, to the village of Zahla, intending to penetrate into the mountainous country. The strength of this army spread consternation on every side; but the Turks had hardly been encamped six days at the foot of the mountains, before tidings were brought that Ali Daher was approaching to give them battle. Nothing more was necessary to intimidate them. In vain were they told that the enemy had but 500 horse, while they were upwards of 5000 strong: the name of Ali Daher so terrified them, that this whole army

fled in one night, leaving their camp, full of spoils and baggage, to the inhabitants of Zahla.

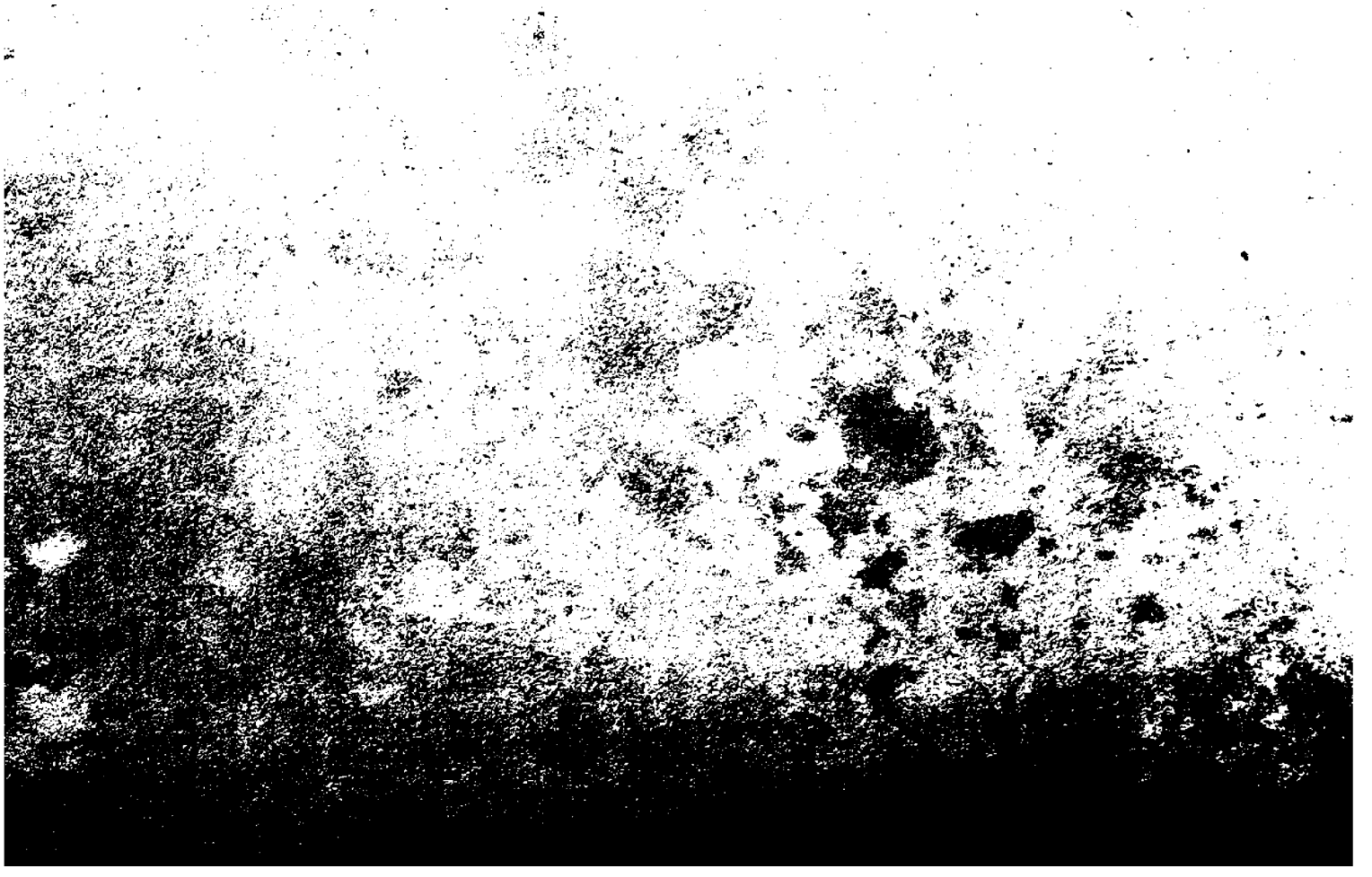
Daher, however, was not much longer to enjoy the success which had hitherto attended his career. For several years, domestic troubles had only been suspended by foreign wars. His confidential minister, Ibrahim, who had engrossed his master's confidence, shamefully abused it to gratify his own avarice: he monopolised every article of commerce; he alone had the sale of corn, cotton, and other articles of exportation, and he alone purchased cloths, indigo, sugars, and other merchandize. The sons of the Sheikh, who saw their real or supposed privileges invaded by these encroachments, loudly complained of the grievance; and Daher, whose judgement was perhaps impaired by his extreme old age, did not adopt measures adapted to appease their discontent. He called his children rebels, and imagined that he had no faithful servant but Ibrahim. The death of Ali Bey, however, had led this crafty minister to abate somewhat of his haughtiness, and to change his line of policy. Finding that he had now more to fear than to hope for, he resolved to make terms with the Porte; and for this purpose, in 1774, he concluded a treaty with a capidji whom the Porte maintained at Acre, by which it was agreed, that Daher and his sons should retain the government of the country, but that Sidon should be restored, and the Sheikh pay the *miri* as formerly. These conditions were extremely unsatisfactory to the sons of Daher, and the more so, because they were agreed on without their being parties to the treaty. They deemed it disgraceful again to become tributaries, and were still more offended that the Porte had not granted to either of them the

title of their father. The consequence was, that they all revolted. Ali retired to Hebron; Achmed and Seid repaired to Nablous, and Osman took refuge among the Arabs.

Such was the posture of affairs when, at the beginning of 1776, Mahommed Bey, now Pasha of Cairo, appeared in Palestine at the head of his Mamalouks. Gaza, destitute of ammunition, did not venture to resist. Yaffa baffled the besiegers for nearly three months: it was at length taken by surprise, when on the point of capitulating, and given up to pillage and massacre. As soon as the fall of Jaffa was known, Daher and Ibrahim fled from Acre, and took refuge at Szaffad. Ali Daher, who had entered into a private treaty with Mahommed, now advanced to take the place of his father; but he soon discovered that he had been deceived, and took to flight in his turn, leaving Acre in the possession of the Mamalouks. The sudden death of Mahommed, who was carried off by a malignant fever in two days, gave a new turn to affairs. The Egyptians fled, leaving the country free of enemies, and Daher lost no time in returning to his capital. But it was not long before he had to encounter another enemy. A Turkish fleet, under the command of Hassan, the celebrated Capudan-pasha, was bombarding Sidon, where Daher had placed a Mogrebin chief named Denyizla. On his evacuating the town, for want of effective succour, the Capudan-pasha instantly appeared before Acre. At the sight of the enemy, a consultation was held how to escape the danger. Ibrahim was for repelling force by force; Denyizla advised having recourse to the safer expedient of corruption, pledging himself that the Pasha might be turned into a friend by a present of 2000 purses. The avarice of Ibrahim led

him to oppose this suggestion; he protested that it was impossible to raise such a sum, and the infatuated old Sheikh took the part of his minister. A quarrel ensued. Denyizla, enraged, after reproaching Ibrahim with his extortion, oppression, and falsehood, quitted the council, and immediately gave directions to his countrymen, who composed the chief strength of the place, not to fire upon the enemy. Daher, however, made every preparation for withstanding the attack. On the following day, Hassan began the cannonade, and Daher answered with the few pieces near him; but, in spite of his reiterated orders, the others did not fire. Finding himself betrayed, the old Sheikh mounted his horse, and leaving the town by the gate which opens towards the gardens on the north, attempted to gain the country; but, while he was passing along the walls of these gardens, a Mogrebin soldier shot him with a musket in the loins; he fell from his horse, on which the Barbary Arabs, surrounding his body, cut off his head, and carried it to the Capudan-pasha. According to the odious custom of the Turks, after treating it with every indignity, he ordered it to be pickled, preparatory to its being sent to Constantinople as a welcome spectacle to the Sultan and the people.

Such was the tragical end of a man worthy, in many respects, of a better fate. Syria had not for a long time beheld a commander of so noble a character. In military affairs, he was signalized by activity, promptitude, courage, and presence of mind; while his policy partook of the frankness of his character. He ever preferred the dangers of open warfare to the arts of intrigue; nor was it till he unhappily made choice of Ibrahim as a minister, that his conduct became chargeable with duplicity. The



HASSAN PASHA.

London, Published by J. Duncan, Paternoster Row, June 1824.

opinion entertained of his justice had established throughout his territories a security unknown in Turkey. One distinguishing feature of his policy was the most perfect religious toleration. In his personal habits, he preserved the simplicity of the Bedouin: at his table he indulged in no luxuries, and he never wore jewels. His chief expense was his stud: he has been known to pay as high as 20,000 livres for a courser of pure breed. In other respects, he was at once economical and generous. Yet, with all these great qualities, he enjoyed but a limited and precarious power. The want of internal order, and of any fixed principle in his administration, was one cause of this; but what operated still more powerfully to weaken his empire, by introducing a train of disorders, was his impolitic appointment of his sons to distant local governments, by which means his house became "divided against itself." The avarice of Ibrahim Sabbar, which alienated from him alike his children, his servants, and his allies, and made his yoke latterly press heavy on all his subjects, was, however, the immediate cause of his ruin. By uniting the most sordid parsimony with the vilest rapacity and extortion, this miserable old man had contrived to scrape together about twenty millions of francs, which only served to mark him out as a prize and victim to the Turks. No sooner was the death of Daher known, than the public indignation broke out against his minister: he was seized and given up to the Capudan-pasha, to whom no prey could have been more acceptable. The fame of Ibrahim's wealth had spread throughout Turkey: it had contributed to animate the resentment of Mahommed Bey, and now formed a principal inducement to the enterprise of Hassan Pasha. He lost no time in endeavouring to

extort from his prisoner the amount of his wealth, and the place where it was deposited, but Ibrahim firmly persisted in denying its existence. The Pasha had recourse first to caresses, then to threats, at length to tortures, but all was in vain; it was only through information obtained by other means, that he made the discovery of the treasures which the wily old miser had lodged with the fathers of the *Terra Santa* convent, and two French merchants. They consisted of several coffers, so large and full of gold, that it required eight men to carry the principal one. Among the gold were found pearls and diamonds of very considerable value. The whole was transported to Constantinople, along with the former owner of this ill-gotten and fatal wealth. Here the Turks, whose cupidity is as insatiable as it is ferocious, had him put to fresh tortures of the most cruel description, in the hope of obtaining from him a confession of further treasures; but he is said to have maintained an unshaken firmness, and to have perished with a fortitude worthy of a better cause.

After the death of Daher, the Capudan-pasha appointed Djezzar Pasha of Acre and Sidon, confiding to him the task of completing the reduction of the rebels. Faithful to his instructions, Djezzar succeeded in obtaining the personal surrender of three of the sons of Daher; but Ali, whom it was most wished to secure, determined on resistance. The following year, Hassan returned, and, in concert with Djezzar, besieged him in Dair Hanna, a strong post about a day's distance from Acre, to which he had retired. Ali made his escape, and might still have made head against his enemies; but they resolved to get rid of him by stratagem. Some Mogrebins, pretending to have been expelled from Damascus,

presented themselves to Ali in his encampment, soliciting his hospitality, which, as an Arab and a man who had never known fear, he readily afforded them. In the night they fell upon him and murdered him, but were unable to carry off his head as a trophy. Hassan, seeing himself rid of this formidable enemy, had his two brothers, Achmed and Said, immediately put to death, with their children. Osman only was spared, in consideration of his rare poetical talents, and was sent to Constantinople. The Mogrebin chief Denyizla was nominated governor of Gaza, but died on his way to that town, not without suspicion of being poisoned. The Emir Yousef was intimidated into making his peace with Djezzar, who, from this period, became in effect the master of the whole country. A mean tomb was subsequently erected by the Pasha to the memory of the Shiekh his predecessor: it is close to the sea, at a little distance from the northern extremity of the wall.

The long reign of Djezzar is unrelieved by any circumstance of pleasing interest: his was a brutal despotism, exhibiting, in many respects, a striking contrast to the more enlightened policy of the Arab Shiekh. The latter raised Acre from a mere village to a large town, and doubled the population of the district: the former, by his rapacity and oppression, converted the fine plain of Acre into a wilderness little better than a marsh. Djezzar was the first governor who laid a tax on wine, grain, and other articles of consumption; and his monopoly was fatal alike to agriculture and to commerce. The magnificence of his public works ill compensated for the destructive and ruinous effects of his oppression, which were visible in the changed aspect of the country. Till the year 1791, the French had factories

at Acre, Sidon, and Beirout; but, about that time, a French dragoman, having in some way offended the Pasha, was, by his order, summarily strangled. The French remonstrated, and threatened Djezzar with an application to the Porte. This he only laughed at; but, to punish what he termed the insolence of the Franks, he issued a mandate, expelling all the French from his territories, allowing them only three days to abandon their respective establishments, under pain of death. In 1797, he conceded permission for French merchants to settle under his government on the footing of those of any other nation, but peremptorily refused to acknowledge any French consul, or to make any compensation for the losses sustained by the factory. When the French invaded Syria, Djezzar declared himself the ally of the English; but he afterwards accused Sir Sidney Smith of having fomented dissensions in his dominions, to divert him from the possibility of assisting the French. "I wished," he said, "to combat the French by his side, but he has taken care that I shall be confined at home to fight against my own people. Have I merited such treatment?" Twice he sent a supply of cattle for the use of the English fleet, for which he required no remuneration, except a few pieces of artillery, or a little ammunition. It is said, that no payment of any kind was ever made to him. His power at last became even more formidable to the Porte than that of Shiekh Daher had been. He enjoyed, with the title of vizier, the united pashalics of Acre, Gaza, Tripoli, and Damascus; so that he was, in fact, absolute master of almost the whole of Syria. There remained only the pashalic of Aleppo for the completion of his desires; and this he probably would have attained, had he lived but a few years

longer. By means of his spies, and the judicious distribution of his money, at the Ottoman court, he contrived to baffle all the machinations of his enemies, and had the rare good fortune to die at last a natural death. Some short time before his decease, conscious that his end was approaching, he sent for his father-in-law, Shiekh Taha, to consult him as to what he should do with the rascals in his prisons. "The greater part of them," he said, "are governors, who, if they return to their posts, will be forced to ruin a great many poor people in order to replace the wealth which I have taken from them; so that it is best, both for their own sakes and for that of others, that I should destroy them. Yes, yes, that is best. Despatch them." In obedience to this humane decision, twenty-three persons are said to have been added to the long list of the victims of his cruelty: they were thrown into the sea together. Two among his prisoners, however, were excepted; one by design, the other, it is supposed, by accident. He held in confinement at Caipha the celebrated Nassif Pasha, a man of considerable abilities, courage, and liberality, and of an ancient Syrian family; who, when the French marched out of Cairo to attack the Grand-vizier, took possession of the city, and gallantly defended it against General Kleber for thirty-four days, at the end of which he made an honourable capitulation. This Pasha, finding himself ungratefully neglected by the Porte, had thrown himself into the arms of Djezzar, who, either out of jealousy or for some unknown reason, after beguiling him with the promise of the government of Damascus, had him arrested and thrown into prison. It is supposed that Djezzar had no intention of leaving him behind, but that his own death took place before he found it

convenient to put his intention into execution, on which Nassif escaped, and retired to Damascus. The other more fortunate survivor, was Ismael, Pasha of Marash, who had also fled to Djezzar for protection from the persecution of the Grand-vizier, but had subsequently lost his favour. Djezzar, having no children, fixed upon this individual as a man likely to inherit his own rancorous hatred of the Grand-vizier, and his own spirit of independence, and he determined on making him the heir of his wealth also, as well as of his government. Accordingly, he sent for him a short time before his death; and Ismael, who expected only to hear the sentence of death passed upon him by the tyrant, must have been beyond measure astonished to hear Djezzar declare him his successor. "There," said he, "I leave you plenty of troops, plenty of money to pay them, and good fortifications to fight in: if you are a man, you will keep them, and my enemies will have no reason to exult in my death." This modern Herod, after an illness of nine months, originating in a tertian fever, expired May 7, 1804, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his pashalic of Sidon.

The body of Djezzar was not cold, when Ismael Pasha assumed the government; and there immediately ensued the most perfect obedience to his authority. He declared, however, that he held his authority only till the will of the Sultan should be made known; and he caused the public seals to be affixed in due form to the numerous magazines containing the immense property accumulated by the deceased. When, however, he found himself superseded by the previous appointment of Ibrahim Pasha, on whom the Porte had secretly conferred the pashalics

of Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon, to be in force from the moment of Djezzar's decease, Ismael determined on availing himself of the extraordinary resources which were put into his power. He accordingly bade defiance to the Porte and all their orders, until he was at length bought over to their friendship by promises and presents. After a turbulent career of only a few years, he fell a victim to treachery, and was succeeded by Sulieman, the present Pasha, whose reign has been as tranquil and favourable to his subjects, as those which preceded it were stormy, destructive, and unhappy.*

ROUTE TO TRIPOLI.

THE road from Acre to Sidon runs near the sea-side, through a rich tract now overgrown with thorns and thistles. The shore is abrupt, with deep water. The villages are thinly scattered, and the population is apparently small; but this fine plain is capable of the highest degree of fertility. It is, in most places, two hours in breadth from the sea to the mountains, and enjoys good streams of water at convenient distances. An hour after leaving Acre, the traveller arrives at a fountain named after the Blessed Virgin. *Semmar's*, or Saint Mary's, is the name of a site on a low hill, supposed by Pococke to be the remains of a convent; and he noticed another place called *Mesrah*, between that and Zib. This last village is supposed to be the ancient Achzib, the Acdippa, or Ecdippon of

* The history of Shickh Daher is abridged from Volney, "Voyage en Syrie," &c. tom. ii. chap. 25. For the subsequent particulars, we are indebted to "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, by W. G. Browne," 4to. (pp. 367—370); Dr. Clarke's Travels, (8vo. vol. iv. chap. 3); and Buckingham's Travels, (vol. i. pp. 126—134).

Pliny and Josephus.* St. Jerome places it nine miles distant from Ptolemais towards Tyre, "to which account," says Maundrell, "we found the situation of Zib exactly agreeing." It is situated on an ascent close by the sea-side, where there is "a sort of bay, sheltered by the hills to the north." To the south of it is the bed of a winter torrent, "over which," Pococke states, "there is a fine bridge of one arch; and to the north-east there is a covered fountain, and a ruin near it. About three miles further there is a fountain called Miesherty. Under the northern hills, lies a village called Beræa, to the east of the road." The Plain of Acre extends about an hour beyond, after which the road ascends a rugged mountain, and becomes "exceeding rocky." The hills in this direction are erroneously styled, by the writers of the middle ages, the Mountains of Saron, which were between Cesarea and Jaffa. This mountain is undoubtedly the "ladder of Tyrus."† It is now called the Mountain of Nakhora, from an old tower and station on its summit. About an hour beyond Bourje Nakhora, Maundrell describes "a heap of rubbish near the sea-side, being the ruins of the castle Scandalium;‡ taking its name from its (reputed) founder, Alexander the Great, whom the Turks call Scander. The ruin is 120 paces square, having a dry ditch encompassing it; and from under it, on the side next the sea, issues out a fountain of very fair

* Jos. xix. 29; Judg. i. 31. Joseph. Antiq. book v. chap. 22; Wars, book i. chap. 13. It was one of those cities out of which the Asherites could not expel the Canaanitish natives.

† 1 Macc. xi. 59. Joseph. Wars, book ii. chap. 10.

‡ It is mentioned under this name by the writers of the middle ages; who say, it was first built by Alexander, and repaired by Baldwin King of Jerusalem, when about to besiege Tyre.

water." The road, a mile beyond this place, passes over the Ras-el-Abiad, or White Promontory, being occasionally cut through the calcareous rock. The road is about two yards in breadth. On the right, the rock is covered with bushes; on the left is a perpendicular precipice, "from which," says Maundrell, "the prospect down is very dreadful, by reason of the extreme depth and steepness of the mountains, and the raging of the waves at bottom." In a storm, the scene must be tremendous. It is, however, perfectly safe, being walled in where necessary. This pass is about a mile in length, and very much resembles some of the roads in North Wales. The tradition of the natives ascribes the cutting of it to the said Scander or Alexander the Great. Under the south side of this cape, Pococke was informed that there is "a very extraordinary large grotto, at some height from the water, to which they can go only by a boat." The White Promontory, or Capo Bianco, has been supposed to be the ancient *Scala* of the Tyrians; it is, no doubt, the *Promontorium Album* of Pliny; but the former appellation is clearly to be restricted to the mountain boundary of Ptolemais, its distance from Ptolemais (Acre), as given by the ancient authorities, identifying it with the Mountain of Nakhora.*

* Maundrell, Brown, and Buckingham correctly speak of the lofty cape traversed by the pass ascribed to Alexander, under the name of the White Promontory; while Pococke and Captain Mangles give the name of Capo Bianco to the mountain which bounds the Plain of Acre, and the latter calls the pass, "the Ladder of the Tyrians." (Travels, p. 197.) But Josephus makes the ancient *Scala* of the Tyrians about twelve miles north of Ptolemais, and Jerome only nine, which can answer only to the Mountain of Nakhora; whereas the pass cut in the cliff is between nineteen and twenty miles from Acre — six hours and

About five miles beyond the tower of Nakhora, between that and Scandalium, but a little out of the road, Pococke observed "the remains of an ancient temple, about thirty feet square, with a colonnade round it, which appeared to have been double to the east, where the entrance probably was." There were many broken columns about it, and two erect, of two feet in diameter, one of which had a fine Ionic capital. He supposes that there was some town in this place. Captain Mangles, alluding apparently to the same site, says: "About three hours before we reached Tsour (Tyre), we observed some ruins on a small eminence on our right; we stopped to visit them, and found they consisted of the remains of a large city, and the ruins of a temple in a most dilapidated state. Two columns only, much defaced, are standing: in the lower part of the capital of one, we distinguished the Echinus moulding. The whole has been composed of the natural stone of the country, which is calcareous and very porous. Beyond this town, we distinctly traced the remains of the great ancient paved way towards Tyre." Mr. Buckingham states, that the place now bears the name of Om-el-Hamid. "From its ascending by stages of masonry, marking square enclosures, it seemed," he says, "to have been a fortified station. On the sides of the hill, and behind it to the eastward, were also scattered vestiges of strong masonry, occupying altogether a considerable space of ground, sufficient to justify a

a third, according to Maundrell, who gives the distances thus: From Acre to the Fountain of the Virgin, one hour; to Zib, two hours more; thence to the mountains, one hour; to Nachera, one hour more; from Nachera to Scandalium, one hour; from the ruins to the pass, one third of an hour: total, six hours and twenty minutes.

presumption of its being the site of some early settlement or important military station." The paved way is described by Pococke as about eighteen feet broad, formed with large round stones, having a margin on each side, partly of hewn stone. He mentions a castle on the hills called El Kapharlah, and, at some distance from it, Bourje-el-Kaphar, another of those small towers which occur at certain intervals along this route. At the first ascent of the road over Capo Bianco, is one which bears the name of Alexander, Bourje Scandaretta; and a fountain called Scandaretta or Ain-el-Scanderoni, occurs in the paved way, near the ruined castle or fort mentioned by Maundrell. The name of the spring is evidently connected with the tradition which ascribes alike the ruins and the road to the Macedonian conqueror; but the fountain is a modern work. Here is a well-built cistern beneath an arch, whence issue two streams, and over it is an Arabic inscription: there is besides, a square platform walled in, for prayers or for shelter, and a flight of steps ascending to it, with the dome of a sepulchre now partly buried by the falling in of adjacent ruins.

The traveller has now entered upon the ancient Phenicia, which Ptolemy, however, makes to begin at the ancient Dora, below Acre, and to extend northward to the river Eleutherus, beyond Tripoli. From this country went forth those adventurous colonists who founded Carthage, and planted their settlements in Sicily, Spain, and Britain. Other ruins and some picturesque rivulets * occur as the traveller proceeds;

* Pococke notices the bed of the torrent *Shebria*, across which there are remains of a wall fifteen feet thick, "intended, probably, to keep up the water for the use of the armies in these parts." Browne thus describes the route from the White Promontory to

and about an hour and a half beyond the White Promontory, he arrives at what are called Solomon's Cisterns, which give its name to the little village of Ras-el-Ain (*i. e.* head of the fountain). Of these ancient works, Maundrell has given a very full description, which we give in his own words:—

"Roselayn is a place where are the cisterns called Solomon's, supposed, according to the common tradition hereabouts, to have been made by that great king, as part of his recompense to King Hiram, for the supplies of materials sent by him toward the building of the temple. They are doubtless very ancient, but yet of a much later date than what this tradition ascribes to them. That they could not be built till since Alexander's time, may be conjectured from this amongst other arguments: because the aqueduct which conveys the water from hence to Tyre, is carried over the neck of land by which Alexander, in his famous siege of this place, joined the city to the continent. And as the cisterns cannot well be imagined to be ancienter than the aqueduct, so, one may be sure the aqueduct cannot be older than the ground it stands upon. Of these cisterns there are three entire at this day; one about a furlong and a half distant from the sea, the other two a little further up. The former is of an octagonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground

Tyre. "We passed the Leontes, now an inconsiderable stream, and easily fordable; but, after rain, it swells to a rapid torrent, as is the case with most of the rivers that fall from the Syrian mountains to the sea. After crossing four small clear streams, running over their beds of pure gravel, and the dry courses of some rivulets, we arrived at Tyre, enchanted with the beautiful verdure and varied scenery of the adjacent country."—*Travels in Africa, &c.*, 4to., p. 371.

nine yards on the south side, and six on the north; and within is said to be of an unfathomable deepness, but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles, but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seems to be all one entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight feet broad. From which, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you have another walk twenty-one feet broad. All this structure, though so broad at top, is yet made hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks, insomuch that I could not with a long rod reach the extremity of the cavity. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water; and is so well supplied from its fountain, that though there issues from it a stream like a brook, driving four mills between this place and the sea, yet it is always brim-full. On the east side of this cistern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct, raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. But this is now stopped up and dry; the Turks having broken an outlet on the other side, deriving thence a stream for grinding their corn.

"The aqueduct, now dry, is carried eastward about 120 paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty, yards square. These have each a little channel, by which they anciently rendered their waters into the aqueduct; and so the united streams of all the three cisterns were carried together to Tyre. You may trace out the aqueduct all along, by the remaining fragments of it. It goes about one hour northward, and then turning to the west, at a small mount, where anciently stood a fort, but now a mosque, it

proceeds over the isthmus into the city. As we passed by the aqueduct, we observed in several places on its sides and under its arches rugged heaps of matter resembling rocks. These were produced by the leakage of the water, which petrified as it distilled from above; and, by the continual adherence of new matter, were grown to a large bulk. That which was most remarkable in them, was the frame and configuration of their parts. They were composed of innumerable tubes of stone, of different sizes, cleaving to one another like icicles. Each tube had a small cavity in its centre, from which its parts were projected in form of rays to the circumference, after the manner of the stones vulgarly called thunder-stones.

"The fountain of these waters is as unknown as the contriver of them. It is certain, from their rising so high, they must be brought from some part of the mountains, which are about a league distant; and it is as certain that the work was well done at first, seeing it performs its office so well, at so great a distance of time."

Hasselquist is probably right in concluding that the water which fills these reservoirs, comes from subterranean springs, and rises in their bottoms, as it does in the birkets or reservoirs in the road from Damascus to Jacob's Bridge.* Their antiquity is attested by the fact above-mentioned, that the water has had time to form, by filtration, considerable stalactites; "several of which," says Volney, "falling from the sides of the canal, or from the interior of the vaults, have filled up whole arches. Are we to suppose the source factitious, and formed by a subterranean canal drawn from the mountains? But then why not have

* Modern Traveller. Palestine, p. 355.

brought it to the rock itself? It is a more simple explanation, to suppose it natural, and to conclude that advantage has been taken of one of those accidents of subterranean rivers of which Syria presents numerous instances. The idea of imprisoning this stream, to make it re-ascend and gain its level, is worthy of the Phenicians." In the Assyrian invasion, guards were placed at the river and *aqueduct* of Tyre, to hinder the inhabitants from drawing water; and during the five years that the city was besieged, the Tyrians had no other water than the wells which they were obliged to dig.* But this aqueduct could not have been the one which now exists, since, as Maundrell remarks, part of it goes over the isthmus formed by Alexander; and the arch, which is the prominent feature of the masonry, leads us to refer its construction to the Romans, subsequently to the Augustan era. Volney mentions a remarkable circumstance attending a well in a ruined tower on the isthmus. The well itself is fifteen or sixteen feet deep, but the water is only two or three, and better is not to be found on the coast. In the month of September or October it becomes turbid, and, for several days, is full of a reddish clay. On this occasion a festival was formerly held, and the inhabitants came in a body, to pour into the well some of the sea-water, which was believed to have the power to restore its usual purity to the spring. At the same time, the waters of the cisterns at Ras-el-Ain become troubled, and take the same taste and colour; from which Volney infers, that the well in the tower communicates with the cisterns by some secret conduit, notwithstanding that the aqueduct is in parts ruined, and whole arches

* Joseph. Antiq. book ix. chap. 14.

are wanting. On the island itself there are remains of cisterns in the form of vaulted caves, paved and walled with the greatest care. A considerable one had recently been discovered beyond the wall of the town, but nothing was found in it, and the mutdsellim had ordered it to be shut up.*

From Ras-el-Ain, the road traverses part of a very fertile plain, of considerable extent, and in about three quarters of an hour conducts the traveller to all that remains of

TYRE.

THIS once magnificent capital, the "joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days"—"the crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth"†—exhibited, at the period of Maundrell's visit (1697), and so late as the year 1797, a scene of most abject and melancholy desolation. "Standing in the sea upon a peninsula," says the above-mentioned traveller, it "promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes in chapters xxvi—xxviii. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle, besides which, you see nothing but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God

* Voyage en Syrie, tom. ii. pp. 202—204.
† Isaiah xxiii. 7, 8.

has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on." Mr. Brown, who visited Tyre in 1797, speaks of its state at that time in similar terms. It was then, he says, reduced to a few miserable huts, inhabited by fishermen, situated in the northern extremity of the isle. Except three fragments of granite columns, nothing of antiquity appeared.* The isle (or peninsula) was desert and rocky, destitute alike of shrubs and grass. Since

* It would seem, if this account be correct, that the work of dilapidation had been going on since the time of Maundrell's visit. He describes one pile in the midst of the ruins, standing up above the rest, which formed the east end of a great church, "probably of the cathedral of Tyre; and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with that famous consecration sermon of Eusebius, recorded by himself in his Eccl. Hist. lib. x. cap. 4.?" He remarks, that in all the ruins of churches which came in his way, being not fewer, perhaps, than a hundred, he invariably found the east end standing and tolerably entire. Dr. Pococke, who visited Tyre in 1737, speaks of other ruins besides the cathedral. "There are," he says, "some few remains of the walls all round, and of a port on the north side, defended by strong walls. At the east end also there are ruins of two great square towers, very strongly built. Within the walls there are ruins of a very large church, built of hewn stone, both within and without, in the Syrian taste, with three naves, each of them ending in a semicircle; there are also very perfect remains of several buildings to the north of it, which probably belonged to the archiepiscopal palace. I saw also some granite pillars, which, they say, are the remains of a church dedicated to St. John; and near it is the ruinous church of St. Thomas, *part of which is repaired*, and serves as a church for two or three Christian families that are there. Besides these, there are few other inhabitants, except some janizaries, who live in a mean castle near the port, to the west of which is the custom-house. There are also ruins of two or three other churches, but nothing that carries any great signs of antiquity. Both Origen and Frederick Barbarossa were buried in the cathedral."

then, however, it has once more arisen, in some measure, from its ruins; and the modern town of *Soor*, in which is preserved its original name,* is a mart that bids fair to regain some degree of importance. Mr. Buckingham thus describes its appearance in 1816:—

"The town of Soor is situated at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, extending to the N.W. for about a mile from the line of the main coast. The breadth of the isthmus is about one third of its length; and, at its outer point, the land on which the town itself stands, becomes wider, stretching itself nearly in right angles to the narrow neck which joins it to the main, and extending to the N.E. and S.W. for about a third of a mile in each direction. The whole space which the town occupies may be, therefore, about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, measuring from the sea to its inland gate. It has all the appearance of having been once an island, and, at some distant period, was, perhaps, of greater extent in length than at present, as from its north-eastern end extends a range of fragments of former buildings, beaten down and now broken over by the waves of the sea. Its south-western extreme is of natural rock, as well as all its edge facing outward to the sea.

"On approaching the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, its appearance has nothing of magnificence. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it with the main land, and, like this,

* The Hebrew name of Tyre was *Tsoor* or *Tzoor*, which the Syrians pronounced Thoor. It signified *a rock*. The Greeks softened it into Τύρος, while by the Romans it was anciently called Sarra.

all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-roofed buildings is relieved only by the minaret of one mosque, with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old Christian church, the square tower without the town, to the southward or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses. On entering the town, it is discovered to have been walled; the portion towards the isthmus still remaining, and being entered by a humble gate, while that on the north side is broken down, shewing only detached fragments of circular towers, greatly dilapidated. These walls, both from their confined extent and style of building, would seem to be of less antiquity than those which encompassed Tyre in the days of its splendour, as they do not enclose a space of more than two miles in extent, and are of ordinary workmanship. They do not reach beyond the precincts of the present town, thus shutting out all the range to the northward of the harbour, which appears to be composed of the ruins of former buildings. The tower to the S.E. is not more than fifty feet square, and about the same height. It is turreted on the top, and has small windows and loop-holes on each of its sides. A flight of steps leads up to it from without; and its whole appearance is much like that of the Saracenic buildings in the neighbourhood of Cairo.

"At the present time, the town of Soor contains about 800 substantial stone-built dwellings, mostly having courts, wells, and various conveniences attached to them, besides other smaller habitations for the poor. There are within the walls, one mosque, three Christian churches, a bath, and three bazars. The inhabitants are, at the lowest computation, from 5 to 8000, three-fourths of which are Arab Catholics,

and the remainder Arab Moslems and Turks.* In the fair season, that is, from April to October, the port is frequented by vessels from the Greek islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Egypt; and the trade is considerable in all the productions of those parts, as Soor is one of the marts of supply from without for Damascus, for which its local situation is still, as formerly, extremely eligible. The northern port, when entered, is sufficiently deep and capacious for the small trading vessels of those seas, and offers the most complete shelter from the winds of every quarter. Its chief disadvantage is the *boghaz*, or bar of entrance; but we were assured, that this is safe and easy of access, excepting only during the westerly gales of the winter, when the harbour is never resorted to but as a place of refuge in distress.

"The dress of the mercantile people here, who are chiefly Christians, resembles that of the same class in Cairo; full drawers, caftans, benishes, and turbans. These last are invariably of blue muslin, sometimes fringed with silver, and having silver-thread worked knots at their ends: they were depressed behind, and thrown up in numerous folds in front, so as to give an air of boldness to the wearer. The lower orders, both Christians and Mahommedans, wear the large Mamalouk trowsers, or *sherwal*, of blue cotton or of cloth, and short benishes, or outer coats, of woollen striped in yellow, white, and red, with an inverted

* This is not quite correct. Mr. Connor was informed (in 1820), by the Greek Catholic archbishop of Tyre, that there were in Soor 1200 Greek Catholics, 100 Greeks, 100 Maronites, 200 Motoualies, and only about 100 Turks. The archbishop is stated by Captain Maugles to be an Arab. He was from home when the travellers arrived, but his wife received them, and behaved to them "with great civility and attention."

pyramid of coloured figures descending from the neck between the shoulders, on the back. Their turbans are wound round the silken edge of a large red *tarboush*, or cap, sufficiently ample to fall behind the head, and have its blue silk tassel touching the benish itself. Many wore also the *bisht* of the Bedouins, a large woollen cloak, with broad alternate stripes of black, or brown and white. All were armed, some with one pistol in the girdle, others with a pair, and others again with a dirk or a sword, but mostly with a long musket slung over the shoulder by a leathern strap. The women were habited partly after the Egyptian, and partly after the Turkish fashion. Some wore black veils with openings for the eyes; others only covered the mouth and the lower part of the face, as at Smyrna; and others, again, wearing over their heads a square piece of white muslin, which fell low down on the back, had their faces totally concealed by a veil of coloured but transparent muslin, like the women of Mokha and the southern parts of Arabia Felix. In the court of the house where we lodged, I observed a female divested of these outer robes, and her garments then appeared to resemble those of the Jewish women in Turkey and Egypt: the face and bosom were exposed to view, and the waist was girt with a broad girdle, fastened by massy silver clasps. This woman, who was a Christian, wore also on her head a hollow silver horn, rearing itself upwards obliquely from her forehead, being four or five inches in diameter at the root, and pointed at its extreme; and her ears, neck, and arms, were laden with rings, chains, and bracelets."*

* Buckingham's Travels, vol. i. pp. 52, 73—78. The use of this singular ornament for the head, Mr. B. remarks, may illustrate some expressions in the Scriptures. See 1 Sam. ii. 1.

There are several learned questions relating to the situation of ancient Tyrus and Palæ-Tyrus, into which it will not be expected that the Modern Traveller should minutely enter. "The strong city of Tzor" is mentioned in the book of Joshua (chap. xix. 29), and its situation is specified as being between "great Zidon" and Achzib. Yet, learned men have contended, that in Joshua's time Tyre was not built. Homer, it has been remarked, never speaks of Tyre, but only of Sidon; and Josephus states, that Tyre was built not above 240 years before the Temple of Solomon, which would be A.M. 2760, two hundred years after Joshua. That there was such a city as Tyre, however, in the days of Homer, is quite certain, seeing that, in the reign of Solomon, there was a king of Tyre; and we apprehend that the Scripture text will be held a sufficient proof of its having had an existence before the land of Canaan was conquered by the Israelites. Nor is Josephus's chronology so accurate as to render his authority on such a point very important. There was Insular Tyre, and Tyrus on the Continent, or Palæ-Tyrus; and it is supposed by some learned writers, that the island was not inhabited till after the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar. But this last supposition is not merely at variance with the doubtful authority of Josephus, but is

Psalm lxxv. 5, 10; cxii. 9. In Abyssinia, silver horns are worn by warriors and distinguished men. They appear to have been originally considered as a symbol of strength or prowess; but, when transferred to the female head-dress, the horn must have been considered as expressive at first of dignity or of wealth, till at length its symbolic meaning would be lost sight of, as it became a common ornament. In like manner, the warrior's plume has become a female decoration. The word *crest*, however, is still familiarly used in a metaphorical sense, answering to that in which *horn* is used in the Scriptures.

scarcely reconcileable with the language of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, who both seem to speak of Tyre as an isle.* Nor is it probable, that the advantageous position of the island would be altogether neglected by a maritime people. The coast would, indeed, first be occupied, and the fortified city mentioned in the book of Joshua was in all probability on the continent; but, as the commercial importance and wealth of the port increased, the island would naturally be inhabited, and it must have been considered as the place of the greatest security. Volney supposes that the Tyrians retired to their isle, when compelled to abandon the ancient city to Nebuchadnezzar, and that till that time, the dearth of water had prevented its being much built upon. Certain it is, that when, at length, Nebuchadnezzar took the city, he found it so impoverished as to afford him no compensation for his labour.† The chief edifices were at all events on the main land,‡ and to these the denunciations of total ruin strictly apply. Palæ-Tyrus never rose from its overthrow by the Chaldean conqueror, and the Mace-

* Isa. xxiii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 17; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 2.

† See Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.

‡ When Alexander the Great signified to the haughty islanders his desire to sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, they returned word, that there was a temple of Hercules without their city, in a place which they called the Old Tyre, and that he might offer his sacrifice there. This was, unquestionably, on the continent, and must have been the temple which Herodotus saw; he was told by the priests, that it had been standing ever since the first building of the city. Perhaps Nebuchadnezzar spared this edifice in honour of the god; or it might be in ruins, as it appears to have been deserted, when the taunting message was sent to the Macedonian. But Herodotus saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to Hercules; and this, in all probability, was on the island, and might be erected after the Chaldean invasion, when old Tyre was destroyed and deserted.

donian completed its destruction; at the same time, the wealth and commerce of Insular Tyre were for the time destroyed, though it afterwards recovered from the effects of this invasion.

Ancient Tyre, then, probably consisted of the fortified city, which commanded a considerable territory on the coast, and of the port which was "strong in the sea." On that side, it had little to fear from invaders, as the Tyrians were lords of the sea; and accordingly, it does not appear that its Chaldéan conqueror ventured upon a maritime assault. Josephus, indeed, states that Salmaneser, king of Assyria, made war against the Tyrians with a fleet of sixty ships, manned by 800 rowers. The Tyrians had but twelve ships, yet they obtained the victory, dispersing the Assyrian fleet, and taking 500 prisoners. Salmaneser then returned to Nineveh, leaving his land forces before Tyre, where they remained for five years, but were unable to take the city.* This expedition is supposed to have taken place in the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, about A.M. 3287, or 717 B.C. It must have been about this period, or a few years earlier, that Isaiah delivered his oracle against Tyre, in which he specifically declared, that it should be destroyed, not by the power which then threatened it, but by the Chaldeans,† a people "formerly of no account." The more detailed predictions of the prophet Ezekiel were delivered a hundred and twenty years after, B.C. 588, almost immediately before the Chaldean invasion. The army of Nebuchadnezzar is said to have lain before Tyre thirteen years, and it was not taken till the fifteenth year after the captivity, B.C. 573, more than seventeen hundred years,

* *Joseph. Antiq. book ix. chap. 14.* † Isa. xxiii. 13.

according to Josephus, after its foundation. Its destruction then must have been entire; all the inhabitants were put to the sword or led into captivity, the walls were razed to the ground, and it was made "a terror" and a desolation. It is remarkable, that one reason assigned by the prophet Ezekiel for the punishment of this proud city, is its exultation at the destruction of Jerusalem: "I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste."* This clearly indicates that its overthrow was posterior to that event; and if we take the seventy years during which it was predicted by Isaiah,† that Tyre should be forgotten, to denote a definite term, (which seems the most natural sense,) we may conclude that it was not rebuilt till the same number of years after the return of the Jews from Babylon. Old Tyre, the continental city, remained, however, in ruins, up to the period of the Macedonian invasion. Insular Tyre had then risen to be a city of very considerable wealth and political importance; and by sea, her fleets were triumphant. It was the rubbish‡ of Old Tyre, thirty furlongs off, that supplied materials for the gigantic mole constructed by Alexander, of 200 feet in breadth, extending all the way from the continent to the island, a distance of three quarters of a mile.‖ The sea that formerly

* Ezek. xxvi. 2. † Isa. xxiii. 15.

‡ To this circumstance Ezekiel may be thought to allude, chap. xxvi. 12, 19.

‖ "Beyond Ecdippa and the Cape Album, follows the noble city of Tyrus, in old time an island, lying about three quarters of a mile within the deep sea, but now, by the great travail and devices wrought by Alexander the Great at the siege thereof, joined to the firm ground. It is renowned for that, out of it, have come three other cities of ancient name; to wit, Leptis, Attica, and that great Carthage which so long strove with the empire of Rome for the monarchy of the world; yea, and

separated them, was shallow near the shore, but, towards the island, it is said to have been three fathoms in depth. The causeway has probably been enlarged by the sand thrown up by the sea, which now covers the surface of the isthmus. Tyre was taken by the Macedonian conqueror, after a siege of eight months, B.C. 332, two hundred and forty-one years after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, and consequently, about one hundred and seventy after it had been rebuilt. Though now subjugated, it was not, however, totally destroyed, since, only thirty years after, it was an object of contention to Alexander's successors. The fleet of Antigonus invested and blockaded it for thirteen months, at the expiration of which, it was compelled to surrender, and received a garrison of his troops for its defence. About three years after, it was invested by Ptolemy, in person, and owing to a mutiny in the garrison, fell into his hands. Its history is now identified with that of Syria. In the apostolic age, it seems to have regained some measure of its ancient character as a trading town; and St. Paul, in touching here on one occasion, in his way back from Macedonia, found a number of Christian believers, with whom he spent

Gades, divided as it were from the rest of the earth, were peopled from hence. But now, at this day, all the glory and reputation thereof standeth upon the dye of purple and crimson colours. The compass of it is nineteen miles, so ye comprise Palæ-Tyrus within it. The very town itself taketh up twenty-two stadia. Near unto it are these towns, Lubydra, Sarepta, and Ornithon; also Sidon, where the fair and clear glasses be made, and which is the mother of the great Thebes in Bœotia." PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* book ix. chap. 36. This account of the size of the insular town so ill accords with the present measurement, that it leads one to question whether the sea may not have encroached upon its ancient boundaries.

a week; so that the Gospel must early have been preached to the Tyrians.* Josephus, in speaking of the city of Zabulon as of admirable beauty, says, that its houses were built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. Strabo also speaks of the loftiness and beauty of the buildings. In ecclesiastical history, it is distinguished as the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem. It shared the fate of the country in the Saracen invasion, in the beginning of the seventh century. It was re-conquered by the Crusaders, in the twelfth, and formed a royal domain of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as an archiepiscopal see. William of Tyre, the well known historian, an Englishman, was the first archbishop. In 1289, it was re-taken by the Saracens, the Christians being permitted to remove with their effects. When the Sultan Selim divided Syria into pashalics, Tyre, which had probably gone to decay with the depression of commerce, was merged in the territory of Sidon. We have seen what was its state of desolation towards the close of the seventeenth century, when the predictions of the Jewish prophets seemed a second time to have been realized. In 1766, it was taken possession of by the Motoualies, who repaired the port, and enclosed it, on the land side, with a wall twenty feet high. The wall was standing, but the repairs had gone to ruin, at the time of Volney's visit (1784). He noticed, however, the choir of the ancient church mentioned by Maundrell, together with some columns of red granite, of a species unknown in Syria, which Djezzar Pasha wanted to remove to Acre, but could find no engineers able to accomplish it. It was at that time a miserable vil-

* Acts xxi. 3, 4.

lage: its exports consisted of a few sacks of corn and of cotton; and the only merchant of which it could boast, was a solitary Greek, in the service of the French factory at Sidon, who could hardly gain a livelihood. It is only within the past five and twenty years that it has once more begun to lift up its head from the dust.*

Two miles to the north of Tyre, in the road to Sidon, occurs a spring which, Pococke says, is called *Bakwok*, and appears to have been enclosed with a wall; he observed also the foundations of a wall that went from it to Tyre, and that seemed to be the remains of an aqueduct.† The waters are rather salt. About an hour from Tyre, the traveller arrives at the river Kasmia (or Casimeer), mistaken by the writers of the middle ages for the Eleutherus. Maundrell describes it "as a river large and deep, running down to the sea, through a plain, in which it creeps along with various meanders and turnings." It had once, he says, a good stone bridge over it, of four arches; but of that nothing then remained except the supporters, between which there were laid beams and boards to supply the room of the arches, and to make a passage over; but so careless and loose was the fabric, that it looked like a trap rather than a bridge. In attempting to ford this stream, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was drowned; he fell from his horse, and sank under the weight of his

* For the historical statements in this brief sketch, see the authorities collected by Pococke, (part i. chap. 20,) and in Buckingham's Travels, vol. i. chap. 2. See also Calmet's Dictionary, art. *Tyre*; and Volney's "Voyage en Syrie," tom. ii. pp. 194—208.

† Possibly, here may have been the aqueduct referred to by Josephus as taken possession of by the forces of Salmaneser.

armour. There is now a bridge over it of one arch; a little below which it encloses a small island. The banks are very picturesque. On the other side, the hills approach very near to the sea, and some spacious sepulchral grots are cut in them. The route now lies through a country nearly barren, thinly peopled, and not very interesting, the mountains on the right being destitute alike of vegetation or picturesque beauty. Captain Mangles says: "We passed through the ruins of five or six large cities, now mere rubbish, and distinguishable as sites of towns only by numerous stones much dilapidated, shewing marks of having been cut square with the chisel, with mortar adhering to them, and fragments of columns. In the afternoon" (they left Tyre at sun-rise) "we crossed several dry torrents, and a river by a bridge of five arches. The banks of all these streams contain quantities of wild flowers, among which was the oleander in full bloom and beauty. (Oct. 22.) As we approached Saida, we observed that the hills were covered with vineyards, but they had not at all a lively appearance. Half an hour before we arrived, we passed the ruins of another ancient city; also, a fragment of another granite column, and a Roman inscription of the time of Septimius Severus." This Maundrell copied, as Mr. Bankes has since done, and found it to be a milestone; "by which," he remarks, "we may observe the exactness of the Romans in measuring out their roads, and marking down upon every pillar the number of miles."

The ancient Ornithon and Sarepta (or Zarephath), lay on this route, or on the hills to the right. Pococke mentions a village on the hills, near the sea, called *Adnou*; and, beyond this, a village lying on the east of the route, called *Serphant*, which he

supposes to be a corruption of Sarepta. "There are," he says, "great marks of improvements about the hills; and at the foot of them are a great number of sepulchral grots cut into the rock. It is said, that the house of the widow who received Elias, and was so miraculously supplied during his stay with her, was by the sea-side, where there now stands a small mosque, into which I entered. There is a little cell in it, where they say the prophet lay. The old Sarepta was most probably here, for I saw several foundations of walls, and those sepulchres must have belonged to the people of this town. About a quarter of a mile north of the mosque are some ruins of a very ancient building, as I conjectured it to be, from a round plinth which projected about a foot beyond the pillar, and the edges of it were taken off; the whole being exactly after the manner of the very ancient architecture which I saw in Egypt." Maundrell indulges the same conjecture, that the principal part of the city stood below, in the space between the hills and the sea, where the ruins are to be seen to a considerable extent. The place shewn him for Sarepta, consisted of "only a few houses on the tops of the mountains, within about half a mile of the sea": it was called *Sarphar*, and is plainly the same place that Pococke refers to. There can be little doubt that this is the ancient Sarepta: the question is, whether the city extended to the coast. The mosque is, no doubt, the successor to some more ancient structure, and is likely to occupy the place of the church built over what was shewn as the prophet's cell in the time of Jerome. That is said to have been in the midst of the city. On the other hand, the sepulchral grots must have been without the city; and the preservation of the name

would lead us to suppose that it occupied the summit of the hill, agreeably to the usual situation of the Syrian cities. Sarepta was not celebrated as a maritime city, but for the excellence of its wines;* and its vineyards, no doubt, clothed the slope of the hill on which the modern village stands. No stress can be laid on the silly legend attaching to the mosque. There was probably some old tower which the Empress Helena chose to consecrate to the prophet's memory; and the church, with the modern town, sprang up afterwards. Sarepta (by Josephus written Sarephta; by the Arabian geographers Tzarphaud and Zarphat) is about fifteen miles N. of Tyre, and ten miles S. of Sidon. It was from this city that Jupiter eloped with Europa. †

The immediate neighbourhood of Saide (Sidon) is a pretty country. The plain at the foot of the hills, which is not above two miles wide, is entirely appropriated to extensive and shady groves and gardens, with narrow lanes between them. The hills are also fruitful, and not so high as those eastward of the Plain of Tyre, which is more than twice the breadth of this plain. Saide is a larger town than Acre: the situation is good, and the air salubrious. There was

* "————Et dulcia Bacchi
Munera, quæ Sarepta ferax, quæ Gaza crearet."
See CALMET, art. *Wines* and *Zarephath.*

† Pococke mentions, as occurring between Sarepta and Sidon, a castle on a promontory called *Bourje Elourby*, near a stream and village of the same name; beyond this, the river *Nosey*; the fountain *El-Borok*, and an old site, *Tel-el-Borok*; the torrents *Ezuron* and *Zaheitanete*; the village *Gasih*; the *Nahr-Sinet*, and the village *Darbeseia*; to the right of this, *Djebel-Macduta*; near Sidon, *Nahr-el-Eiah* (Eliah?) and *Djebel-Saida*, or *Mar-Elias*; at the entrance of the town, *Nahr-el-Barout*. We follow the learned traveller's orthography.

formerly a small but convenient port to the north of the town; but this was filled up by order of the celebrated Emir Fakr-el-Dîn, to prevent the Turkish vessels from entering it. Pococke, describing the ruins, says, that the walls were built with very large stones, twelve feet in length, which is the thickness of the walls; and some of them were eleven feet broad, and five deep. Vessels are now compelled to anchor in the road, and, in the winter season, to harbour at Soor, which might be made a good port, and is even now the best on the coast, being far better than either Acre or Jaffa. There is no English consul or agent at Saide; nor does any ecclesiastical dignitary reside here. There is a French consul. There is also a convent, but no friars; and a church, but Captain Mangles found it shut up. The population is computed at 15,000 souls, of whom 2000 are Christians, chiefly Maronites, and 400 are Jews, who have one synagogue: the rest are chiefly Turks. The chief physician of the place was found by Mr. Connor to be a very intelligent man. His name was M. Bertrand, a native of the place, but of French family, and very respectable connexions. He is well known in the country, and is universally respected. His brother is physician to the prince of the Druses. M. Bertrand readily undertook to promote, as far as lay in his power, the object of Mr. Connor's mission, the distribution and sale of the Scriptures in Syria. There was formerly carried on from this place, a considerable commerce with Marseilles, till Djezzar Pasha banished the French. Hasselquist states, that the exports amounted to at least a million of livres: they consisted of spun cotton, silks, corn, ashes, oil, and galls. The imports were cloths, spices, Spanish iron, and drugs for dyeing, chiefly for Da-

mascus; "which town," he says, "supports Seide and Baruth, that are to be considered only as its harbours." Besides these, the gardens, extending an entire French mile round the town, furnished other places with considerable cargoes of fruit. No vines grow near to Seide; but he enumerates pomegranate-trees, apricots, figs, almonds, oranges, lemons, and plums. The most numerous, however, and "that in which their riches chiefly consist, are mulberry-trees, on which they feed an infinite number of silk-worms." Of the fruit of the *Cordia myxa* or *Sebesten*, which abounds here, bird-lime is made in such quantities that it forms one of the principal articles of trade in the town. A species of sumach (*rhus*) grows wild here.

There are no antiquities worth speaking of in Saide. The castle built by Fakr-el-Dîn is now surrounded with the water, being connected with the main by a bridge. Brown, the traveller, mentions a large tessellated pavement of variegated marbles, representing a horse, festoons, &c., in some places tolerably perfect for ten feet in length: it lies close to the sea on the northern side of the town, which he considers as a proof of the encroachment of the waters. "Many ancient granite columns," he says, "are worked into the walls; and some stand as posts on the bridge leading to the fort. Near the gate of the city is a small square building, which contains the tombs of such of the emirs of the Druses as died when Saide was in their possession." * "The magnificent palace built by Fakr-el-Dîn, in the Italian manner, is now ruinous." In a garden to the south of the

* Hasselquist says, "a sepulchre in which three bashaws are buried."

town is a small mosque, called (according to Pococke) the mosque of Nebbi-Sidon, "where, the Turks say, the patriarch Zabulon was buried." In another garden to the east is a similar mosque, called by the Mahommedans *Zalousa*, by the Europeans *La Cananea*, having the appearance of an ancient chapel: the legend refers to "the Canaanitish woman." On the high ground to the west, is "a large old church converted into a mosque." "The highest ground of the old city seems to have been a little hill on the north side, where there are great remains of an old castle, said to be built by Louis IX. of France.* But, on the summit of the hill, there is a work of an older date, which is a square castle of hewn-stone rusticated; and there are remains of a circular wall, with which that building was probably encompassed: it might be a work of the Greek emperors, repaired by Louis IX. On the north also, by the bed of the torrent El-Hamby, to which I suppose the (ancient) town extended, I observed an old building, which they call the Venetian Khan; and probably, it belonged to them when they traded to these parts."

At a small distance from the town are what Hasselquist terms the sepulchres of the ancient kings of Syria. "They are cut out in a limestone mountain, and have their apertures level with the earth, and so large that one may enter them with ease.

* Mr. Brown says: "The castle, styled of St. Louis, which from an adjacent height *on the south* commands the city, still remains." This agrees with Maundrell, and is no doubt accurate. Pococke expressly says above, "on the *north* side." Such are the conflicting statements of travellers! It is possible, however, that he means the north side of the supposed site of the ancient city.

They consist of vaults, some fathoms square, worked in the mountain, with oblong niches in the walls. In several places may be seen obscure remains of carved work in basso relievo over the niches, and of red painting, such as is seen in the sepulchres at Alexandria. These vaults are of a workmanship very inferior to those of the Israelites at Jerusalem, and in nothing resemble those of Alexandria, though they seem made after their model. A great part of them are now open, and serve as huts for shepherds, or dens for wild beasts. But it would certainly be worth while for an antiquary to search along this hill, to discover some not yet opened, of which there is, beyond doubt, a great number." This traveller notices the aqueducts of the town as "an ancient work, and the noblest that has been preserved. The water has been by them conveyed twelve miles from the hills into the town, and is by pipes carried to every part of it, which is not uncommon in those parts of the east where there are no reservoirs. Near the town there is something curious in this aqueduct. It runs on walls through great part of the town gardens, and has on each side, a grove of all the different sorts of trees to be found here. In some places the channel is open, but, for the most part, it is covered; in a few places are openings on both sides, through which the water runs to the gardens, making pretty cascades, which have an agreeable effect among the green trees."

Tsidon-rabbah, or Sidon the Great, is twice mentioned in the book of Joshua; and it is specified as one of the cities out of which Asher was unable to expel the inhabitants. Its name occurs also still earlier, in the prophecy of the dying patriarch Jacob,

B.C. 1689.* It takes its name, if we may believe Josephus, from its supposed founder, the eldest son of Canaan: other authorities derive the name from a Hebrew word signifying *to fish*.† If the primitive founder was a fisherman, the two accounts may be easily reconciled. It is supposed to have been the mother city of Tyre, though the latter speedily eclipsed its fame, and seems to have acquired the ascendancy.‡ The ancient authorities make it 400 stadia from Berytus, 200 from Tyre, a day's journey from Paneas, and sixty-six miles from Damascus. Pliny states, that it was famous for its glass manufactory; and Strabo assigns to the Sidonians the invention of arithmetic and astronomy. This, however, is probably meant to apply to the Phenicians generally, rather than specifically to the Sidonians. Sidon has generally shared in the fortunes of Tyre, as to its political condition; but its prosperity has risen and fallen almost in an inverse ratio to that of its rival. During the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Sidon was a lordship, and an episcopal see subject to the Tyrian primacy. Louis IX. repaired the city, which appears at that time to have sunk into neglect. When Tyre subsequently became ruined and deserted, Sidon rose into the dignity of a distinct capital, the residence of a pasha of three tails. In the middle of the last century, when Hasselquist found at Tyre only about ten inhabitants, Turks and Christians, who lived by fishing, Sidon was a place of considerable trade; and now it seems as if Acre and Tyre were likely again to absorb, the one its political honours,

* Gen. xlix. 13. Josh. xi. 8., xix. 28. Judg. i. 31.

† So, Bethsaida means the "dwelling of fishermen."

‡ Ezek. xxvii. 8.

and the other its commerce, owing to the maritime advantages of the latter port.

The mountain east of the town (three quarters of a mile distant), derives its name from an old convent on its summit called *Mar-Elias Alza*, which has of late formed the usual residence of Lady Hester Stanhope: during the summer, her ladyship has removed further into the mountain territory of the Druses. At the foot of this hill is a village called El-Hara; about three quarters of the way up, is a mosque with a sepulchre, called Djeb-Zechariah. On the summit, Pococke mentions a cistern and a Turkish praying-place, but does not speak of the convent. The site is probably ancient.

The road, after leaving Saide, becomes very rugged and uninteresting: occasionally, remains of the ancient paved way are to be noticed. Within one hour of the town, the traveller crosses, by a large stone bridge, a river "of no inconsiderable figure;" "its channel is deep, and contains a good stream." It is called *Nahr-el-Aweli*, and has its fountain near Berook in the mountains.* Two hours further bring him to the river *Damer* or *Damour*, the ancient Tamyras. "It is a river," Maundrell says, "apt to swell much upon sudden rains; in which case, precipitating itself from the mountains with great rapidity, it has been fatal to many a passenger." He mentions a French gentleman, M. Spon, who, a few years before, in attempting to ford it, was hurried down by the stream, and perished in the sea, which is only a furlong from the usual passage. Higher up, the stream is broader

* Maundrell. It is probably the same that Pococke calls *Elouly*; but he makes it about two miles from Sidon.

and shallower. Between *Nahr-el-Aweli* and *Bourje-Damour*, the coast, according to Pococke, is indented with a bay about four miles over, about the middle of which is a village called *Jee*, with a mosque near the shore, and a well, "called *the Well of Jonah*, where, they say, the prophet Jonah was thrown out by the whale. Here I saw some broken pillars, a Corinthian capital, and ruins on each side of a mountain torrent, which may be the *Parphirion* of the Jerusalem Itinerary, eight miles from Sidon." A few miles beyond the *Nahr-el-Damour* is an ancient site near a village called *Karnee*. Pococke noticed here an ancient stone coffin, a fine piece of entablature, some large hewn stones, and two round vases of red and white marble. At some distance to the north, on a rising ground, were several stone sarcophagi cut out of the rock, with high and massy lids, "very much like those at Xal near Mount Tabor."* Some have never, apparently, been opened. Beyond these tombs, are the remains of a wall twelve feet thick. Neither Pococke nor Captain Mangles, who notices the same site, appears to have ascertained its present name; but the former conjectures that the city of Lyons of Strabo (*Leontos oppidum*), may have been on this spot. A little beyond are two arches in the mountain's side, the ruins of either a bridge or an aqueduct. The road shortly after leaves the coast, and passes over the hills which form the promontory of Beirout. Here is obtained a fine view of the plain, covered with olive groves, and of several villages on the mountain's side.† About two miles

* See Modern Traveller. Palestine. p. 322.

† Pococke mentions the following places, after passing the ancient tombs: *Bourje-Hele*; the torrent *Alopha*, with a village

from the city is a fine grove of tall pines on the promontory, said to have been planted by the Emir Fakr-el-dîn with his own hands. But Pococke says, this must be a mistake, as the grove is mentioned to have been of great use to the Christians in besieging Beirout, in the time of the "holy wars." He forgets to tell us what is the appearance of the trees, as to size and age. Nothing is more improbable than that the original grove should have escaped the devastation of the various armies that have swept Syria since the days of the Crusades, although Fakr-el-dîn's grove, as it is called, may occupy the same spot. "A finer situation," says the learned traveller, "cannot be imagined: it is a green sod, and ends on the east side with a hanging ground over a beautiful valley, through which the river of Bayreut runs. The north end commands a view of the sea, and a prospect of the fine gardens of Bayreut to the north-west."*

Beirout (Bayruth, Bayreut) is the ancient Berytus. It was made a Roman colony by Augustus Cæsar, who conferred many privileges upon it, and gave it, in honour of his daughter, the name of *Colonia Felix Julia*. The epithet *happy* may have been thought applicable to its fine situation and salubrious climate. It occupies a gentle rising ground on the north side of a broad promontory, and the gardens on the hanging ground over it are very rich and picturesque. It has the benefit of good fresh springs flowing down from the adjacent hills, and "dispersed all over the

of the same name to the east; on the side of the mountains, three large villages called *Sukefet*; beyond, *Djebel-Sewene*; in the route, *Bourje-el-Grage*.

* Volney notices the grove ascribed to Fakr-el-dîn. He says, that Beirout is much incommoded in the summer with heat; "nevertheless it is not unhealthy. They say that it was so

city in convenient and not unhandsome fountains." * The old port is a little bay, and was formerly well secured by strong piers, but these were destroyed by Fakr-el-dîn, from the same policy that led him to fill up the harbour of Saide. The city was anciently celebrated as a place of study, particularly of the civil law, about the reign of Constantine. But, what is a still more enviable honour, in the adjacent plain, the patron saint of England, the renowned St. George, "duelled and killed the dragon;" in memory of which a small chapel was built on the spot, "dedicated at first to that Christian hero, but now perverted into a mosque." † The town was taken from the Saracens by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, after a vigorous siege,

formerly, but that it has ceased to be so, since the Emir Fakr-el-dîn planted a wood of fir-trees, which still exists, a league to the south of the city. The monks of Mahr-Hanna, who are not systematizers, have made the same remark with regard to several convents: they even assert that, since the summits of the hills have been clothed with firs, the waters of different springs have become more abundant and more wholesome, which agrees with other well-known facts."—Tom. ii. p. 172.

* This account of Maundrell's singularly contradicts that given by Volney, who, after speaking of the port as choked up, and the fortifications as contemptible, says: "To this are added two other disadvantages, which must always prevent Bairout from being any other than a bad situation"—he means in a military respect; — "for, on the one hand, it is commanded by a range of hills on the south-east; and, on the other, it is *destitute of water* within the town. The women are obliged to go to draw water an eighth of a league off, at a spring not over good."—Tom. ii. p. 171.

† The mosque, which, Pococke says, was formerly a Greek church, is about three miles from the town, in the road to Djebail. "Near it is a well, and *they say*, that the dragon usually came out of the hole which is now the mouth of it." The lady whom the said dragon was about to devour, *they say*, was "the King of Bayreut's daughter."

A.D. 1111. Saladin recovered it in 1187, and it was afterwards repeatedly taken and retaken. Its diocesan was subject to the archbishop of Tyre. Fakr-el-dîn made this place his capital and his chief residence: the traces of his magnificence are the most interesting remains of which it can boast. Most of the cottons and silks of the Druses are still shipped here. There is an English consul here;—"Mr. Laurella, a very good fellow," is the encomium passed on him by Captain Mangles. According to information supplied by this gentleman, the population, in 1820, amounted to about 10,000 souls; of whom 3000 were Turks, the remainder Druses and Christians.

The fullest description of the town is given by Maundrell; and though it is almost a hundred and thirty years old, it requires but little correction to make it apply to the present state of things:—

"We went to view the palace of the prince (Fakr-el-dîn, or, as he has generally been called, Faccardine), which stands on the north-east part of the city. At the entrance of it is a marble fountain, of greater beauty than is usually seen in Turkey. The palace within consists of several courts, all now run much to ruin; or rather, perhaps, never finished. The stable, yards for horses, dens for lions and other savage creatures, gardens, &c., are such as would not be unworthy of the quality of a prince in Christendom, were they wrought up to that perfection of which they are capable, and to which they seem to have been designed by their first contriver. But the best sight that the palace affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange-garden. It contains a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange-trees of

a large spreading size, and all of so fine a growth, both for stem and head, that one cannot imagine any thing more perfect in this kind. They were, at the time when we were there, as it were, gilded with fruit, hanging thicker upon them than ever I saw apples in England. Every one of these sixteen lesser squares in the garden was bordered with stone; and in the stone work were troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden: there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream as it passed by to flow out and water it. Were this place under the cultivation of an English gardener, it is impossible any thing could be made more delightful. But these Hesperides were put to no better use, when we saw them, than to serve as a fold for sheep and goats; insomuch that, in many places, they were up to the knees in dirt: so little sense have the Turks of such refined delights as these, being a people generally of the grossest apprehension, and knowing few other pleasures, but such sensualities as are equally common both to men and beasts. On the east side of this garden were two terrace walks, rising one above the other, each of them having an ascent to it of twelve steps. They had both several fine spreading orange-trees upon them, to make shades in proper places; and at the north end they led into booths, and summer-houses, and other apartments, very delightful; this place being designed by Faccardine for the chief seat of his pleasure. It may perhaps be wondered, how this Emir should be able to contrive any thing so elegant and regular as this garden, seeing the Turkish gardens are usually nothing else but a confused miscellany of trees, jumbled together, without either knots, walks, arbours, or any thing of art or design, so that

they seem like thickets rather than gardens. But Faccardine had been in Italy, where he had seen things of another nature, and knew well how to copy them in his own country. For indeed it appears by these remains of him, that he must needs have been a man much above the ordinary level of a Turkish genius.

"In another garden we saw several pedestals for statues; from whence it may be inferred that this Emir was no very zealous Mahometan. At one corner of the same garden stood a tower of about sixty feet high, designed to have been carried to a much greater elevation for a watch-tower, and for that end built with an extraordinary strength, its walls being twelve feet thick. From this tower we had a view of the whole city. Amongst other prospects, it yielded us the sight of a large Christian church, said to have been at first consecrated to St. John the Evangelist; but, it being now usurped by the Turks for their chief mosque, we could not be permitted to see it, otherwise than at this distance. Another church there is in the town, which seems to be ancient; but being a very mean fabric, it is suffered to remain still in the hands of the Greeks. We found it adorned with abundance of old pictures; amongst the rest I saw one with this little inscription, Κούαρτος πρῶτος Αρχιεπίσκοπος Βηρούτου: and just by it was the figure of Nestorius, who commonly makes one amongst the saints painted in the Greek churches; though they do not now profess, nor, I believe, so much as know his heresy. But that which appeared most observable, was a very odd figure of a saint, drawn at full length, with a large beard reaching down to his feet. The curate gave us to understand that this was St. Nicephorus; and perceiving that his beard was the chief

object of our admiration, he gratified us with the following relation concerning him: viz. That he was a person of the most eminent virtues in his time; but his great misfortune was, that the endowments of his mind were not set off with the outward ornament of a beard. Upon occasion of which defect, he fell into a deep melancholy. The devil, taking the advantage of this priest, promised to give him that boon which nature had denied, in case he would comply with his suggestions. The beardless saint, though he was very desirous of the reward proposed, yet he would not purchase it at that rate neither; but rejected the previous bribe with indignation, declaring resolutely, that he had rather for ever despair of his wish, than obtain it upon such terms. And at the same time, taking in his hand the downy tuft upon his chin, to witness the stability of his resolution, (for he had, it seems, beard enough to swear by!) behold! as a reward for his constancy, he found the hair immediately stretch with the pluck that he gave it. Whereupon, finding it in so good a humour, he followed the happy omen; and, as young heirs that have been niggardly bred, generally turn prodigals when they come to their estates, so he never desisted from pulling his beard, till he had wiredrawn it down to his feet. But enough both of the beard and the story.

"At the east end of Beiroot are to be seen seven or eight beautiful pillars of granite. On the south side, the town-wall is still entire, but built out of the ruins of the old city, as appears by pieces of pillars and marble, which help to build it. A little without this wall, we saw many granite pillars and remnants of Mosaic floors; and, in a heap of rubbish, several pieces of polished marble, fragments of statues, and other poor relics of this city's ancient

magnificence. On the sea side is an old ruined castle, and some remains of a small mole."

There is a Capuchin convent within the town; and Captain Mangles mentions an ancient bath. Volney states that, in digging to form cisterns, subterranean ruins were discovered, shewing that the modern village is built over the ancient one. "Latakia, Antioch, Tripoli, Saide, and the greater part of the towns on the coast, are," he remarks, "in the same case, owing to the effect of the earthquakes which have overturned them at different periods." What with earthquakes, indeed, and bombardments, to which Beirout has repeatedly been exposed,* and the hostile visitations of Chaldeans, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, Latins, Egyptians, Tartars, and Druses, the only wonder is, that so many traces should remain of the grandeur of former days.

After leaving Beirout, the road for a short time is very pretty, running between gardens. In about an hour and a quarter, the traveller arrives at a rivulet (Maundrell terms it a large river), crossed by a bridge of six arches. It is called by our elder travellers, the river of Bayruth, (through ignorance, confessedly, of any other name,) and Pococke supposes it to be the Magoras of Pliny. But Captain Mangles gives its name, the *nahr-el-Sazib*,† and says, that it receives the *nahr-el-Leban*, or river of milk, so called from its foaming when swelled by the rains. "From hence," says the last-mentioned traveller, "the road led along the sea-beach, until we came to a rocky promontory, whose ascent reminded us of the ladder of the Tyrians," (meaning the pass over Cape Bianco) "though it is neither so high nor so picturesque. On reaching

* See p. 19.

† Volney writes it *nahr-el-Salib*.

the summit, we saw below us on the other side, the *nahr-el-Kelb*, or river of the dog, running beautifully through a deep chasm in the mountains, and a very neat bridge over it." This road is the *Via Antoniniana*, and was cut by the Emperor Aurelius, as is still testified by an inscription engraved in the side of the rock, and given by Maundrell. "In passing this way," he says, "we observed, in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved, which seemed to promise something of antiquity; to be satisfied of which, some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone into that region, before Antoninus cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo-relievo, the size of life. Close by each figure was a large table, planed in the side of the rock, and bordered round with mouldings. Both the effigies and the table appear to have been anciently inscribed all over; but the characters are now so defaced that nothing but the footsteps of them were visible; only there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire. The figures seemed to resemble mummies, and were, perhaps, the representation of some persons buried hereabout, whose sepulchres might probably also be discovered by the diligent observer." This accurate traveller expresses his regret at having been prevented by a very violent storm from copying the inscription. Pococke states, that one of the figures has a cap like the Phrygian bonnet, and he conjectures that the costume is Persian.

The *nahr-el-Kelb* is the Lycus of the Greeks. According to Strabo, it was formerly navigable, though

the stream is very rapid. It is said to derive its name from "an idol in the form of a dog or wolf, which was worshipped, and is said to have pronounced oracles, at this place. The image," adds Maundrell, "is pretended to be shewn to strangers at this day, lying in the sea with its heels upwards; I mean the body of it, for its oracular head is reported to have been broken off and carried to Venice, where (if fame be true) it may be seen at this day." Pococke was shewn this "large stone," which is supposed to be the trunk of the idol, lying in the sea, at the mouth of the river; and, on one side of the road, he noticed "a ruin something like the pedestal of a statue." There is also a relief on the rock over the river at the end of the bridge, which, though much defaced, seems to have represented a dog. The bridge is the work of Fakr-el-dîn. This river is the boundary of the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch; and Volney makes it the modern limit of the pashalics of Saide and Tripoli. Maundrell, however, speaks of an old stone bridge, two hours and a quarter further, at the end of a large bay, which he calls *Junia*, as appointing the limits of the two pashalics. The Castravan mountains, which are very high and steep, here come down to the sea, leaving only the road between them and the bay. At the foot of the promontory which forms the southern extremity of this bay, are the remains of a chapel cut out of the rock, said to be the sepulchre of St. George. Above it is a cottage in which live some poor fishermen. Towards the further side, is another of those square towers which are found all along the coast, and are supposed to have been designed to protect the country against pirates. On the summits of the mountains are seen many small

convents, romantically situated. The valley at the end of this bay is cultivated and studded with cottages. Proceeding along the beach, Captain Mangles noticed a Roman arch, constructed of large stones, over a dry torrent: this is, seemingly, the old stone bridge Maundrell alludes to. Beyond this is a very rugged, uneven pass, which leads over the foot of "the mountain Climax," and, in an hour and a quarter further, to the *nahr-Ibrahim*, so called from a pasha of that name — perhaps the builder of the handsome bridge of one arch by which it is crossed. This river, like the *nahr-el-Kelb*, proceeds from a deep chasm between the mountains: it is the ancient Adonis, and Maundrell was fortunate enough "to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates concerning this river, viz. that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass; for the water was stained to a surprising redness, and, as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way in, to a reddish hue; occasioned doubtless by a sort of red earth washed into the river by the violence of the rain." The night preceding had been very tempestuous, and the rain almost incessant.

After crossing this river, the traveller proceeds along the coast, and in an hour arrives at Djebail, or Gibyle, the ancient Byblus. "On our way," says Captain Mangles, "we crossed over one of those *natural bridges*, over a torrent now dry, spoken of by Volney, who describes them thus: 'In many places the water,

meeting with inclined beds, has undermined the intermediate earth, and formed caverns' or natural arches."

Djebail, Esbele, or Gibele, is supposed to be the country of the ancient Giblites,* who furnished King Hiram with stone-squarers in preparing materials for Solomon's Temple, † and the Tyrians with calkers. ‡ Here, it is said, Cinyras, the father of Adonis, had a palace, and the city became famous for the temples and worship of his son, it being his reputed birth-place. There are remains here of a beautiful church of the Corinthian order, which, as appearing plainly to have been built before the entire corruption of architecture, Pococke is disposed to refer to the fourth or fifth century. The town was taken by the Christians in the time of the Crusades, and shared the fate of Tyre and the other cities of the coast. Anciently, it must have been a place of no mean extent and of considerable beauty, as is evident from the many heaps of ruins (apparently Roman) and the fine pillars scattered up and down in the gardens near the town. On the south side is an old castle, that has been very strong, of rusticated work. The walls are about a mile in circumference, with square towers at about every forty yards distance. The town is now inhabited chiefly by Maronites, who have a convent here. It is a day's journey from Tripoli.

We must now leave the coast, and explore the

* Joshua xiii. 5.

† 1 Kings v. 18. The word rendered "stone-squarers," is, in the Hebrew, Giblim or Giblites, and the Septuagint renders it Βύβλιοι, *i. e.* men of Byblus.

‡ Ezek. xxvii. 9. "The ancients of Gebal" is rendered in the Septuagint, "the elders of Byblus." This place is supposed, moreover, to be the *Alcabile* of the Jerusalem Itinerary.

mountain range of Lebanon, the territories of the Druses and the Maronites. But prior to visiting them, it may be expected that some account should be given of these singular tribes, who, next to the Bedouins, seem to have the strongest claim to be considered as indigenous Syrians. We begin with the Druses, whose country lies to the south of the *nahr-el-Kelb*, and comes therefore within the pashalic of Akka.

THE DRUSES.

THIS singular people, over whose origin there still hangs a considerable degree of obscurity, were long altogether unknown to Europeans. They began first to excite some attention in Europe towards the end of the sixteenth century. Under their celebrated Emir, whose name we have had so frequent occasion to mention, their power attained its zenith. They are now supposed to number about 120,000, according to Malte Brun; but the Reverend Mr. Connor, who visited Deir-el-Kamar, their capital, in 1820, rates them as low as 70,000, of whom 20,000 are capable of bearing arms. The *akkals*, or "the intelligent," who form the sacred order, a sort of aristocracy, in contradistinction to the *djahels*, or "ignorant," are stated to be about 10,000. Niebuhr long ago concluded that the Druses, as well as the Motoualies and Nassaries, are of Arabian ancestry: as to their religion, they seem to bear much the same relation to the Mahommedans as the Samaritans did to the Jews; and what is not a little remarkable, they are charged with precisely the same species of idolatry as that which the Jews attribute to the Samaritans, namely the *worship of a calf*. The account which Volney gives of their origin, is as follows:—

Twenty-three years after the death of Mahommed, the quarrel between Ali his son-in-law, and Moahouia governor of Syria, was the occasion of that first schism in the Mahommedan empire which still exists. Rightly understood, however, the dispute related only to the question of power; the Mussulmans, though divided as to the conflicting claims of the rival representatives of the Prophet, still being agreed as to dogmas. It was not till the century following, that the perusal of Greek books excited among the Arabians a spirit of discussion and controversy, hitherto foreign to their ignorance. The effects were such as might have been expected: reasoning upon matters that did not admit of demonstration, and guiding their inquiries by the principles of an unintelligible logic, they became divided into a crowd of opinions and sects. At the same time, the civil power fell into a state of anarchy, and the ecclesiastical government shared its fate. Thus was the unity of the Mahommedan church destroyed, and various corruptions in consequence made their appearance. The ancient doctrines of metempsychosis, or transmigrations, of a good and an evil principle, and other tenets held by the disciples of Zoroaster, were revived, among others; and in the general disorder, political and religious, which ensued, no fewer than sixty different heresiarchs are said to have arisen, all having numerous partisans. Such was the state of things, when, at the commencement of the eleventh century, Egypt became the theatre of one of the most fantastic spectacles which history exhibits. "In the year 386 of the Hegira," (A.D. 996,) says El Makin, the Arabian historian, "there acceded to the throne of Egypt, at the age of eleven, the third Caliph of the Fatimite dynasty, named Hakim-b'amr-Allah. This prince was one of the most eccentric personages of

whom the memory of man has preserved any recollection. First, he decreed curses to be pronounced in the mosques against the first caliphs, the companions of Mahommed; then he revoked these anathemas. At one time he compelled both Jews and Christians to abjure their religion; then he allowed them to resume their worship. He prohibited the making of socks (*chaussures*) for women, to prevent their leaving their houses. In order to amuse himself, he had one half of Cairo set on fire, while his soldiers pillaged the other half. Not content with these excesses, he proceeded to interdict pilgrimage to Mecca, fasting, and the five prayers; at length, he carried his madness to the extreme of wishing to pass himself off for a divinity. He ordered a list to be drawn up of those gods whom he himself recognised, extending to the number of 16,000. This notion was supported by a false prophet who had recently arrived in Egypt from Persia. This impostor, whose name was Mahommed-Ben-Ismael, taught, that it was useless to practise either fasting, prayer, circumcision, or pilgrimage, or to observe the sacred days; that the prohibition of pork and wine was absurd; and that incestuous marriages were lawful. In order to conciliate the favour of Hakim, he maintained that this caliph was himself an incarnation of the Deity; and instead of his name Hakim-b'amr-Allah, which signifies *governor by the order of God*, he called him Hakim-b'amr-eh, *governor by his own order*. Unhappily for the prophet, his new god had not power to secure him against the fury of his enemies: they killed him in a tumult at the very feet of the caliph, who soon after was massacred on Mount Mokattam, where he professed to hold intercourse with the angels."

The death of these two leaders did not put a stop

to the spread of their opinions. A disciple of Mahommed-Ben-Ismael, named Hamza-Ben-Achmed, propagated them with indefatigable zeal in Egypt, in Palestine, and on the coast of Syria as high as Sidon and Berytus. His proselytes appear to have experienced the same fate as the Maronites: persecuted by those of the dominant persuasion, they took refuge in the mountains of Lebanon, where they could better defend themselves. Thus much is certain, that soon after this epoch, we find them established and forming an independent community, like their Christian neighbours. The difference of their religions might have been expected to render them enemies; but their common political dangers and interests compelled them to mutual toleration; and since then, they have almost always acted in concert, at one time against the Crusaders, or the Sultans of Aleppo, at another, against the Mamalouks and the Ottomans. The conquest of Syria by the latter made no change in their political condition. Selim I., who, on his return from Egypt, meditated no less an enterprise than the conquest of Europe, did not condescend to stop before the mountains of Libanus. Sulieman II., his successor, was too incessantly occupied with important wars. At one time against the knights of Rhodes, the Persians, and the Arabians, at another time, against the Hungarians and Charles the Fifth, to have time to think of the Druses. These contests made them grow bolder; and, not content with their independence, they made frequent descents from their mountains to pillage the subjects of the Turk. The pashas in vain attempted to restrain these incursions: their troops were uniformly beaten or repulsed. It was not till the year 1588, that Amurath III., wearied with the incessant complaints which reached his ears, resolved

on reducing these rebels at any cost, and had the good fortune to succeed. His general, Ibrahim Pasha, attacked the Druses and the Maronites with so much skill and vigour, that he at length fell upon them in their mountains, and taking advantage of dissensions which arose among their chiefs, succeeded in levying a contribution of more than a million of piastres, and in imposing a tribute which has continued to be paid to the present day.

It appears that this expedition led to a change in the internal government of the Druses. Hitherto, they had lived in a sort of anarchy under the authority of several sheikhs or chieftains. The nation was moreover divided into two grand factions, which are found existing among all the Arabian tribes, the Keisy and the Yemeny: they are distinguished from each other by their banners, those of the former being red, those of the latter white.* To save trouble, Ibrahim thought it best that a single chief should be made responsible for the tribute, and have the charge of the administration. This agent, from the very nature of his office, could not fail to gain a great ascendancy, and, under the title of governor, he became almost the king of the republic. But as this governor was taken from the nation, there resulted one consequence which the Turks had not foreseen, and which had well nigh proved fatal to their power. This governor, having at his disposal the whole strength of the nation, had it in his power to give a unanimous direction to its energies, so as to render their operation much more formidable. This power

* Burckhardt states, that the Keisy gained at length the entire ascendancy, and that the name of Yemeny in time became extinct.

was naturally turned against the Turks, since the Druses, in becoming their subjects, had not ceased to be their enemies. Only they were obliged to mask their attacks under different pretexts, in order to save appearances; and they carried on a secret warfare, more dangerous, perhaps, than open war.

It was then, that is to say, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the Emir Fakr-el-dîn commenced his brilliant career. On being appointed governor of the Druses, he began with endeavouring to gain the confidence of the Porte by the warmest professions of devotedness and fidelity. The Arabs were infesting the plain of Balbec, and the neighbourhood of Tyre and Acre; he made war against them, delivered the inhabitants from their incursions, and thus prepared their minds to acquiesce in his government. The city of Beirout offered a desirable point of communication with foreign nations, in particular with the Venetians, the natural enemies of the Turks. Fakr-el-dîn availed himself of the misconduct of the aga, and expelled him. He did more: he knew how to make a merit of this act of hostility with the Divan, by the payment of a larger tribute. He took the same course with regard to Sidon, Balbec, and Tyre; and at length, in 1613, found himself master of the country as far as Ajalon and Saphet. The pashas of Damascus and Tripoli did not witness these encroachments without uneasiness. Sometimes they opposed them by open force, but without being able to stop the course of Fakr-el-dîn: at other times they attempted to ruin him at the Porte by secret intrigues; but the Emir, who had also there in pay his spies and protectors, always contrived to baffle them. The Divan, however, at last took alarm at the progress of the Druses, and began to fit out an expedi-

tion of sufficient force to crush them. Either from policy or through fear, Fakr-el-dîn did not think proper to await the storm. He had entered into alliances with Italy, on which he built the most sanguine expectations; and he resolved to go in person to solicit the promised succour, persuaded that his presence would animate the zeal of his friends, while his absence would tend to allay the wrath of his enemies. In consequence of this determination, which shewed no ordinary decision and enterprise in a barbarian, he embarked at Beirout, having committed the management of all his affairs to his son Ali, and repaired to the court of the Medici at Florence. The arrival of an Oriental prince in Italy did not fail to attract public attention. The question arose, to what nation he belonged; and when he was known to be a prince of the Druses, the origin of that people became a subject of inquiry. The facts of their history, as well as the character of their religion, were found so equivocal, that persons were at a loss whether to make Mussulmans of them, or Christians. This revived the recollection of the Crusades, and it was imagined, that a people who had taken shelter in the mountains, and were inimical to the natives, must needs be the posterity of the Croises. This hypothesis was too favourable to Fakr-el-dîn's project, for him to throw discredit on it: he had, on the contrary, the address to lay claim to certain pretended alliances with the house of Lorraine; and he was seconded by the missionaries and the merchants, who promised themselves a new sphere for conversions and commerce. While this opinion was all the vogue, every one was for finding proofs to establish this romantic discovery. Some persons, learned in origins, struck with the resemblance between the names, contended

that the Druses and Dreux were the same; and they reared on this slender foundation the hypothesis of an imaginary colony of French crusaders who, under their leader, a Count de Dreux, had established themselves in Libanus. This pretty invention was annihilated by the discovery, that Benjamin of Tudela mentions the Druses before the time of the Crusades. But one fact which ought to have led to its being exploded when first started, is, that the dialect spoken by the Druses is pure Arabic, and does not contain a word of European origin. Had they been descended from the Franks, they would have preserved at least some traces of their language; since a community living in a separate canton, and isolated from their neighbours, never can lose its native dialect. The true etymology of their name is to be found in the surname of El Dorzi, or Durzi, assumed by Mahommed Ben Ismael, the founder of their sect.

After remaining nine years in Italy, Fakr-el-dîn returned to re-assume the government of his country. During his absence, his son Ali had repulsed the Turks, restored tranquillity, and kept things in tolerable order. Nothing remained for the Emir to do, but to employ the knowledge he had acquired, in perfecting the internal administration, and promoting the welfare of his nation. But, instead of turning his mind to the serious duties of government, he gave himself up entirely to the frivolous and expensive arts for which he had acquired a passion in Italy. He built in every direction country-houses; he constructed baths and gardens; he ventured even, in open disregard of the national prejudices, to adorn them with paintings and sculptures, which are forbidden by the Koran. It was not long before the effects of this impolitic conduct became manifest. The

Druses, who continued to furnish the same tribute as in time of war, became dissatisfied. The Yemeny faction began to stir; the expensive proceedings of the Prince were loudly complained of, while the pomp which he displayed, rekindled the jealousy of the pashas. They demanded an augmentation of the contributions, and hostilities recommenced. Fakr-el-dîn repulsed them, and they took advantage of his resistance, to render him an object of suspicion and personal jealousy to the Sultan. Amurath IV. took offence that one of his subjects should dare vie with himself, and he determined on his destruction. The Pasha of Damascus received orders, in consequence, to march against Beirout, the Emir's ordinary residence, while forty galleys invested the city by sea, to cut off all succour from that quarter. Fakr-el-dîn, relying on his former good fortune and his Italian allies, resolved upon meeting the storm. His son Ali, the governor of Szaffad, was charged with stopping the progress of the Turkish army, and, notwithstanding a great disproportion of numbers, he ventured to oppose them. In two successive engagements he had the advantage; but, in a third, he was slain, and the aspect of affairs became instantly changed. Fakr-el-dîn, dismayed at the loss of his troops, distressed by the death of his son, and weakened as well by age as by a voluptuous life, lost at once both courage and presence of mind. He saw no other resource but a peace, and he sent his second son on board the vessel of the Turkish admiral, to solicit it, and to bribe his good offices in the negotiation; but the Admiral, detaining both the presents and the envoy, declared that he required the person of the Prince. On this, Fakr-el-dîn took to flight, pursued by the Turks, now masters of the country, and shut

himself up in the rocky fortress of Niha. Here they besieged him, but, after a year had passed in the fruitless attempt to take the place, they retired, leaving him at liberty. Soon after, however, the companions of his adversity, tired of their disgrace, betrayed him to the Turks. Fakr-el-dîn suffered himself to be conducted to Constantinople, in the secret hope of obtaining a pardon; and Amurath, flattered at seeing a prince so celebrated prostrate at his feet, manifested for some time the clemency inspired by a proud consciousness of superiority. But this soon gave way to the more permanent sentiment of jealousy; he lent his ear to the instigations of his courtiers, and, in a fit of his violent humour, ordered him to be strangled, about the year 1631.

After the death of Fakr-el-dîn, his descendants continued, nevertheless, in possession of the government, at the good pleasure and under the sovereignty of the Turks; but the male line having become extinct at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the chief authority was conferred, by the voice of the sheikhs, on the Shehab family, who still enjoy it. The only emir of this dynasty who merits any record, is the Emir Melhem, who reigned from 1740 to 1759. During this interval, he succeeded in repairing the losses sustained by the Druses within, and in obtaining for them from without that consideration from which they had fallen on the overthrow of Fakr-el-dîn. Towards the close of his life, that is to say, about 1754, disgusted with the cares of government, Melhem abdicated, with the intention of spending the rest of his days in retirement and religious meditation as an akkal. But the disorders which arose, recalled him to the charge of public affairs till 1759, when he died generally lamented. He left

three sons, all under age. The eldest, Yousef, ought, according to custom, to have succeeded his father; but, as he was only eleven years of age, the government devolved on his uncle Mansour, by a pretty general law in Asia, which provides that nations shall be governed by a man having attained years of discretion. The young prince was but incompetent to maintain his pretensions; but a Maronite named Said-el-Kouri, to whom Melhem had confided his education, took upon himself this care. Aspiring to see his pupil a powerful prince, that he might himself become a powerful vizier, he laboured with all his might to advance his fortunes. In the first instance, he retired with him to Djebail, in the Kesrouan, where the Emir Yousef possessed large domains. Here he made it his business to ingratiate himself with the Maronites, by seizing every opportunity of serving both individuals and the nation. The large revenues of his pupil and the smallness of his expenditure, furnished him with powerful resources. The domain of the Kesrouan was divided among several sheikhs, who gave little satisfaction: Said negotiated with the Pasha of Tripoli, and got into his hands the whole management. The Motoualies of the Valley of Balbec had for some years been encroaching on the region of Libanus; and the Maronites became alarmed at having those intolerant Mussulmans for such near neighbours. Said purchased of the Pasha of Damascus permission to make war upon them; and he expelled them from the district in 1763. The Druses were constantly divided into two factions: Said connected himself with that which was opposed to Mansour; and he secretly laid the plan which was to ruin the uncle in order to elevate the nephew.

It was at this period, that Sheikh Daher, who had

become master of all Galilee, began to give uneasiness to the Porte, by his growing power and ambitious pretensions. To counteract his ascendancy, the Turkish government had recently united the pashalics of Damascus, Sidon, and Tripoli in the persons of Osman and his sons; and it was clearly seen that an open war was at hand. Mansour, who feared the Turks, but had not the courage to defy them, had recourse to the policy usually adopted in such cases: he pretended to serve them, and favoured the enemy. This was a sufficient reason to Said for taking an opposite course: he supported the Turks against the faction of Mansour, and he executed his manœuvres with so much address and good fortune, that he caused that emir to be deposed in 1770, and Yousef to be appointed in his room.

In the following year, the war broke out between Ali Bey and the Pasha of Damascus. Yousef, being called upon by the Turks, took part on their side; but he had not influence sufficient to induce the Druses to descend from their mountains, to swell the numbers of the Ottoman army. Besides the repugnance which they have at all times to fighting out of their own country, they were at this moment too divided among themselves to quit their homes, and they had reason to congratulate themselves. The battle of Damascus ensued, in which the Turks were completely defeated. The Pasha of Sidon, having made his escape in the general rout, did not feel himself safe even in his own city, and he came to seek an asylum in the residence of the Emir Yousef. It was not a very favourable moment; but when the flight of Mahommed Bey had changed the aspect of affairs, the Emir, believing Ali Bey to be dead, and not deeming Daher powerful enough to carry on the contest singly, declared openly

against him. Sidon was threatened with a siege; he sent 1500 men of his faction to its relief. He then in person, having persuaded the Druses and Maronites to follow him, made a descent, at the head of 25,000 peasants, in the Valley of Bekaa, and, in the absence of the Motoualies, who were serving under Daher, laid waste the country with fire and sword from Balbec to Tyre. While the Druses, elated with this exploit, were marching in disorder on the latter town, 500 Motoualies, having received information of what had taken place, hastened from Acre in a transport of rage and despair, and rushed with such impetuosity on this army, that they put it completely to rout. Such were the surprise and confusion of the Druses, that, imagining themselves to be attacked by Daher himself, and seized with the idea that they must have been betrayed by a party of their own, they turned their arms against each other in their flight. The steep declivities of Djezzin, and the pine-groves which lay in the route of the fugitives, were choked up with the dead, a very small proportion of whom perished by the hands of the Motoualies. The Emir Yousef, ashamed of this disgraceful check, saved himself at Deir-el-Kamar. Shortly after, he would have retrieved his fortunes, but, being again beaten in the plain which extends between Sidon and Tyre, he was compelled to resign to his uncle Mansour the ring, which is, among the Druses, the symbol of authority.

In 1773, a new revolution restored Yousef to the sovereignty; but it was only at the price of a civil war that he could maintain his power. It was then that, to secure Beirout against the adverse faction, he invoked the aid of the Turks, and solicited the Pasha of Damascus to send him a man of talent, who

should be able to defend the town. The sequel has been already given. The individual fixed on for this purpose was the notorious Achmed, afterwards known by his assumed surname, Djezzar, or the butcher. No sooner was he in possession of his trust, than he seized the town on his own account. Yousef, unable to obtain redress, concluded the alliance, offensive and defensive, with Sheikh Daher, which led to his regaining possession of Beirout. The death of Daher, and the appointment of Djezzar in his room, placed Yousef in the unpleasant predicament of being subordinated to this formidable enemy, whose resentment was so much the keener for the consciousness of having been guilty of ingratitude to the object of it. The injurer never forgives. With a policy truly Turkish, affecting by turns gratitude and resentment, Djezzar alternately quarrelled with the Emir and became reconciled to him; always exacting money as the price of peace, or as the indemnification of war, till, within five years, he had managed to extort from Yousef about four millions sterling; an astonishing sum, especially when it is considered, that the whole revenue of the country of the Druses did not then amount to 100,000 francs. In 1784, he made war upon him, deposed him, and appointed in his room, Emir Ismael, of Hasbeia; but, towards the end of the year, Yousef having purchased afresh the despot's good graces, was reinstated at Deir-el-Kamar. He carried his confidence, indeed, so far as to repair to Djezzar at Acre, from which no one expected him to return. But Djezzar was too sagacious to take blood when he had the prospect of money instead. He not only suffered the prince to retain his liberty, but dismissed him with tokens of amity. Some time after, however, he seized Said, the kiaya or minister

of the Emir, under the pretext that he was the originator of all these disorders, and threatened to make him forfeit his head. The Maronites, alarmed for their old patron, immediately offered to ransom him with 900 purses. "When the country is fairly exhausted of its gold," remarks Volney, (having brought down the narrative to his own time,) "woe to both minister and prince!"

The particulars of Yousef's fate and that of his crafty tutor and minister, we are unable to supply. Djezzar, after this, changed the governor of the mountains at his pleasure, every new emir being obliged to enter into engagements to pay a large sum for his investiture. Of these sums, Burckhardt states, that few were paid at the time of Djezzar's death; but bills to the amount of 16,000 purses were found in his treasury, secured upon the revenues of the mountain territory. At the intercession of Sulieman, Pasha of Acre, and of Gharib Effendi, the Porte's Commissioner, afterwards Pasha of Aleppo, this sum was reduced to 4000 purses, of which the Emir Beshir is now obliged to pay off a part annually.

The present Emir is of the same family as his predecessors for the last one hundred and twenty years, that of Shehab. Beshir, (pronounced Beshēēr) is a proper name borne by many of the Druses. The Shehab family came originally from Mecca; they were Mussulmans, and some of them lay claim to the honour of being *Shereefs.** Their name occurs in the history of Mahommed and the first caliphs. Burck-

* That is, descendants of Mahommed, to whom is restricted the privilege of wearing a green robe or turban. The present Emir, though professedly a (Maronite) Christian, still wears the green robe of a shereef, and has the exterior of a Turk.

hardt states, that they emigrated from the Hedjaz about the time of the Crusades, and settled in a village of the Haouran, which takes from them the name of Shohba. The Emir, however, with the whole of his branch of the family, has, within the past five-and-twenty years, embraced Christianity; that part of the family which governs at Hasbeia and Rasheia alone retaining the creed of Islamism. They have never had among them any followers of the doctrines of the Druses.

The present Emir had, in 1820, held his office for upwards of thirty years. He is master of the whole mountain from Belled Akkar to near Acre, including the Valley of Bekaa and part of the Anti-Libanus and Djebel Essheikh. The Bekaa, together with a present of one hundred purses, was given to him in 1810 by Sulieman, Pasha of Acre, for his assistance against Yousef, Pasha of Damascus. He pays for the possession of the whole country, 530 purses, of which 130 go to Tripoli, and 400 to Acre. This is exclusive of the extraordinary demands of the pashas, which amount to at least 300 purses more. These sums are paid as an equivalent for the *miri* or land-tax, which the Emir receives. The power of the Emir, however, is a mere shadow; the real government being in the hands of the Druse chief, Sheikh Beshir, who is the head of the powerful party of Djonbelat. After the old distinctions of Keisy and Yemeny were forgotten, it seems that there arose three sects or parties, the Djonbelat, the Yezbeky, and the Neked. These still exist. Thirty years ago, the former two were equal in power, but the Djonbelat have now got the ascendancy, and carry every thing with a high hand. This family,

which is said to be ancient, derives its origin from the Druse mountain of Djebel Aala, between Latakia and Haleb (Aleppo). In the seventeenth century, one of their ancestors was pasha of the latter city. The Yezbeky, or, as they are also called, El Aemad, are few in number, but are reputed men of great courage and enterprise. Their principal residence is in the district of El Barouk, between Deir-el-Kamar and Zahle. The Neked are chiefly confined to Deir-el-Kamar. Seven of their principal chiefs were put to death thirteen years ago, in the serai of the Emir Beshir, and a few only of their children escaped the massacre: these have now attained to manhood, and are jealously watched by the united factions of Djonbelaty and Aemad. The Sheikh Beshir is both the richest and the shrewdest man in the mountain. No affair of consequence is concluded without his concurrence, which is of course not afforded without being duly paid for. His annual income is computed at about 2000 purses, or 50,000*l.* sterling. The whole province of Shouf is under his command, and he is in partnership with almost all the Druses who possess land and property there. The greater part of the district of Djesn is his own property; and he is increasing his estates every year. The Emir Beshir can do nothing important without his consent, and he is obliged to share with him all the contributions which he extorts from the mountaineers. The Druses, who form the richest part of the population, pay the least, being protected by the Sheikh; and the Emir scarcely dares to do justice to a Christian against a Druse. The Emir and the Sheikh are, however, apparently, on the best terms: the latter visits the Emir almost every week, attended by a

small retinue of horsemen, and is always received with the greatest apparent cordiality.*

The Emir Beshir is an amiable man; and, says Burckhardt, "if any Levantine can be called the friend of a European nation, he is certainly the friend of the English." When the Rev. Mr. Connor visited Deir-el-Kamar, the prince, to whom he was introduced by M. Bertrand, his physician, made many inquiries about England; in particular, respecting his friend Sir Sidney Smith, who formerly saved him from the vengeance of Djezzar Pasha. Since that time, he has always manifested a strong attachment to the English. It is remarkable that, among the western Druses and those of the Haouran, there prevails a belief that there are a great number of Druses in England. Burckhardt accounts for this opinion, by supposing that they have heard that the English differ from the Syrian and Greek Christians in not practising fasting and other outward rites, in which the essence of Christianity is here supposed to consist.† This favourable prejudice may hereafter be turned to advantage.

The usual residence of the Emir, is at the village of Mokhtar, about half an hour's ride from Beteddein. Here he has erected for himself a good house, and keeps up an establishment of two hundred men. His favour-

* This account is taken from Burckhardt, who visited the country in 1812, and it describes the state of things at that period. Probably, some changes have taken place since then, as would seem, indeed, to be the case.

† The Samaritan priest at Nablous, whom Mr. Connor visited, expressed a similar belief with regard to the existence of members of his own persuasion in this country: "he was very inquisitive about the Samaritans who, he had heard, were in England."— See Mod. Traveller. Palestine. p. 249.

ite expenditure is said to be in building. He keeps about fifty horses, of which a dozen are of prime quality. His only amusement is sporting with the hawk and the pointer. In person, the Emir is described as of a good physiognomy; he was about fifty years of age in 1814, but was rendered older in appearance by a long beard. His dress is a rich vest of blue cloth, trimmed with ermine, and round his head and waist he wears shawls of the most valuable kind. His title of address is, "His Highness the Emir Beshir Shehab." His confidential attendants, and even the porters of his harem, are Christians; but his bosom-friend (in 1812) was Sheikh El Nedjem, a fanatical Druse, and one of the most respected of their Akkals.* He never enters a mosque, but has a chapel in his palace, where service is regularly performed by a Maronite priest. In conformity to his Christian principles, he has only one wife, by whom he has several children. Two of his sons had, in 1814, governments in other parts of Lebanon. One of his daughters married a Druse of an emir family, who was not permitted to celebrate the nuptials, till he had been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, had been baptized, and had received the sacrament. What has led, not only the Emir, but so large a portion of the Shehab family,

* Captain Light, who visited Deir-el-Kamar in 1814, states, that, "in the management of his affairs, the Emir employed a Turk, a Maronite, and a Druse. The two former were invested with his domestic concerns, under the title of intendants. The Maronite was a haughty and supercilious personage; the Turk merry and familiar. Both these men had been many years attached to the Emir, and were said to serve him faithfully. The Druse acted as chief judge, and was distinguished by a black robe and white turban." Possibly, the latter personage was the identical Sheikh El Nedjem, mentioned by Burckhardt.

to embrace the religion of the Maronites, whether policy or conviction, it is impossible to determine; but the fact is not a little remarkable, considering that the Emir was not a Druse, but a Mussulman and a Shereef, and that his policy leads him to cultivate the strictest alliance with the Pasha of Acre, and with the Porte, in order to strengthen himself against the Sheikh Beshir and the Druses.* This alliance is said to be very expensive to him. He rarely visits his metropolis, except once a year to receive the pelisse which is annually sent to him from Constantinople as a renewed investiture of his office of emir. His income amounted at most, at the time of Burckhardt's visit, to 400 purses, or about 10,000*l.* sterling, after deducting from the revenue of the mountains, the sums paid to the Pashas, to the Sheikh, and to the numerous branches of his family. The greater part of his family are poor, and, says Burckhardt, "will become still poorer, till they are reduced to the state of fellahs, because it is the custom with the sons, as soon as they attain the age of fifteen or sixteen, to demand their share of the family property, which is then divided among them, the father retaining but one share for himself.† Several princes of the family are thus reduced to an income of about 150*l.* a year." They complain that the Emir neglects them. The Shehabs marry only

* Captain Light states, that the Emir was baptized in his infancy, and that he was in consequence supported by the Maronites, by whose aid he was able to crush his rivals; but how he came to be baptized when so young, and to be adopted by the Maronites, and by what means they acquired the ascendancy attributed to them, does not appear.

† This custom may serve to illustrate the demand of the younger brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 12.

among themselves, or with two Druse families, the Merad and the Kasbeya, the only emir or shereef families, with one exception (the Reslan), among the Druses. These emirs inhabit the district of El Meten. The chief of the Merads, Emir Mansour, is a man of influence, with a private income of about 120 purses. A man of genius and energy of the Shehab family might, by means of the Maronites, Burckhardt thinks, succeed in making himself independent master of the mountains.

The religion of the Druses, there seems now no room to doubt, is nothing more than a Mahommedan heresy, set on foot by a daring impostor, consisting of a few unmeaning rites, and a jumble of childish and heterogeneous notions. The first propagator of these doctrines, we have seen on Arabian authority, came to Egypt from Persia; but neither the previous history nor the nation of this adventurer is known; only, his name is Arabian, and he appears to have been well acquainted with the Koran. He seems to have conceived the idea of patching up a new religion out of all the different systems of which he had a smattering, trusting to a mysterious jargon and a species of freemasonry, for the success of the imposture. The *avatar* of the Deity in the person of the Caliph of Egypt, was the foundation-stone; and the true character of the religion, as well as of its founder, may be judged of from this single circumstance. On his part, it could not originate in fanaticism, but was obviously dictated by policy. He found in the person of the Caliph, a madman just suited to his purpose; and it is not improbable, that he intended to be his godship's successor. This cardinal tenet is said to be still devoutly held, at least by the Djahels. "They believe," says the Rev. Mr. Connor, "that the Deity

was incarnated in the person of Hakem, Caliph of Egypt, and that he will shortly appear again. He is to come, they think, from China, and to meet with, fight, and utterly destroy all his enemies, at a place called *the Black Stone*. The Druses regard the Chinese as belonging to their sect, and as the most exemplary members of it in the world." This prepossession in favour of China is not a little remarkable, but it can scarcely be referred to any other origin than the fantastical representations of the impostor, who, by claiming that distant nation as his votaries, might think to give importance to his pretensions: or the simple fact, when known, that the Chinese are *not Mahommedans*, might subsequently give rise to the notion, as well as to the idea, that there are Druses in England. Among some questions which were put to Burckhardt, in writing, by a Druse Sheikh in the Haouran, were these: "What is the name of the Sultan of China?" "Is the *Moehdy* (the Saviour) yet come, or is he now upon the earth?" In the travels of Van Egmont and Heyman, a long extract is given from a book treating of the worship and mysteries of the Druses, which was communicated to the author by a capuchin of the convent of Tripoli. Although such a channel of information is not the most unexceptionable, yet, the genuineness of the document is almost proved by its inconcpivable absurdity. It is stated, that, in the library of the King of France, there is an Arabic manuscript entitled, "The Book of the Mysteries of the Unity, collected by Hamza Ben Ahmed, High Priest of the Druses." It consists of four volumes in quarto, of which the first three were brought to Paris by Nazarulla Ben Gilda, a Syrian physician, who procured them from one of their high-priests: the fourth

was obtained from another quarter. The beginning of the extract which was communicated to Van Egmont, was so full of absurdities and obscure expressions, as to be utterly incomprehensible, and the rest is little better. It begins thus: "All ye who alone are incorporated under the Arabic word *Daraz*," &c. Then follows some mystical jargon, which introduces an account of one Adam Sapha, who was born in a city of India that no one ever heard of, and a devil named Harez, originally of Ispahan. After this historical preface, we find the names of Moses, Jesus, and Mahommed, introduced as predecessors of "the Maoula or Hakem, who is Mahommed the son of Ismael, and who has sealed and put an end to all other laws. And this is he (it is added) whose divinity as creator has concealed itself under the human nature of our Maoula or Hakem, speaking immediately to the creatures; and he shall shew himself *in the form of a sheep.*" Towards the close of this strange farrago occurs this direction: "Embrace the worship of those who have power over you; for such is the pleasure of our Maoula, till he, to whom the best times are known, shall unsheath his sword, and display the power of his unity or simplicity." Upon this principle, it is certain that the Druses have constantly acted. Burckhardt says: "It seems to be a maxim with them, to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to profess the creed of the strongest. Hence they all profess Islamism in Syria; and even those who have been baptized on account of their alliance with the Shehab family, still practise the exterior forms of the Mahommedan faith. There is no truth in the assertion, that the Druses go one day to the mosque, and the next to the church. They all profess Islamism; and whenever they mix

with Mahommedans, they perform the rites prescribed by their religion. In private, however, they break the fast of Ramadhan, curse Mahommed, indulge in wine, and eat food forbidden by the Koran." *

The Rev. Mr. Connor gives the following statement, without, however, mentioning his authority: "The Druses are divided into two grand classes — that of the 'Akkals,' or *intelligent;* and that of the 'Djahels,' or *ignorant.* The Akkals, in number about 10,000, form the Sacred Order, and are distinguishable by their white turbans, the emblem of purity. Every Thursday evening, the Akkals assemble together in their oratories, and perform their religious rites. What these rites are, no one but themselves knows. Their ceremonies are enveloped in the profoundest mystery; during the performance of them, they place guards around the spot, to prevent the approach of the profane; their wives are permitted to be present: if any of the uninitiated dared to witness any part of their sacred rites, instant death would, on discovery, be the reward of their temerity. All the Akkals are permitted to marry. The chief of the order resides in a village called El Mutna. The title and privileges of the members are not necessarily handed down from father to son. When arrived at a certain age, every individual who wishes it, and whose conduct has not been stained with any flagrant vice, may, after passing through some initiatory ceremonies, enter the order. At the funeral of an Akkal, the principal of the priests who happen to be present, demands of the by-standers their testimony of the conduct of the deceased during his life.

* Travels in Syria, p. 201.

If their testimony be favourable, he addresses the deceased with the words, "God be merciful to thee!" If otherwise, the address is omitted. The funerals of the Akkals, as well as those of the other Druses, are always very numerously attended. The Akkals bear arms only in defence of their country, and never accompany an invading army.

"The Djahels, who form by far the most numerous class, perform no religious rites whatever, unless when circumstances oblige them to assume the appearance of Mahommedans. On these occasions they enter the mosques, and recite their prayers with the Turks. They consider both Jesus Christ and Mahommed as impostors, and cherish an equal dislike to Christians and Turks." [Then, after mentioning their belief in the divinity of the Caliph Hakem, and in his future reappearance, Mr. C. adds:] "They believe in the transmigration of souls; and that, according to the character of the individual, in his first journey through life, will be the nature of the body which his soul will animate in a future state of existence. If his conduct has been fair and honourable, his soul, at his death, will pass into and vivify the body of him who is destined to fill a respectable station in life: if, on the other hand, his conduct has been evil, his soul will enter the body of a horse, a mule, an ass, &c. Those who distinguish themselves by noble and meritorious actions, and shine by their virtues in their career through life, will, as the highest recompense of their merits, pass, after death, into the bodies of Chinese Druses.

"I inquired of M. Bertrand, if it was true that the Druses worshipped a calf; he said that he had questioned many of them about it, and they all denied

it. 'Do you suppose,' they asked, 'that we would worship, as our god, the image of an animal, whose flesh we eat, and of whose skin we make our shoes?'

"Schools are pretty frequent. The Akkals are generally the masters, and are paid by their pupils. They teach reading and writing. The book generally used as an exercise for the children, is the Koran. In some villages, where the only schools are those of the Christians, the Druses send their children thither, where they are taught to read the Psalms of David."

With regard to the secret rites, if any reliance may be placed on the authenticity of the document above cited, they would seem to consist, at least in part, in the adoration of the image of the human form of the Maoula. "Further," it is said, "he (the Maoula) hath shewn us a silver chest, in which is locked up an image of gold, as a similitude of him during his absence, that we may prostrate ourselves before his majesty and greatness, to honour him above all creatures, and to be the more consecrated to him by a consciousness of our being worshippers of his simple divinity.... It is not permitted that the chest in which is the image of the human form of our Maoula, (whose is praise and glory,) be brought out of the house of the teacher; and also, the likeness of the human form of our Maoula (to whom be glory) shall be made only of gold or silver." Whether this chest really contains a representation of the human form, or an emblematic image of the Maoula under any other form, that of a calf or a sheep, or any object of idolatry still more infamous, as has been suspected, we cannot at present tell. The same document refers to "mysteries," the punishment for revealing any part of which, is death, "without mercy, compassion, or lenity." If these mysteries

are not of the impure description that once prevailed in these regions, this extreme jealousy must have been dictated, one would think, by a wish to conceal the absurdity of the ritual. Their worship is clearly idolatrous; and a dread of their Mahommedan neighbours might naturally lead Hamza to fear discovery. But it is charitable to believe that, in other respects, the rites partake more of folly than of wickedness.*

It is stated by Burckhardt, that the Druses, like all the Levantines, are very jealous of their wives, but that adultery is rarely punished with death: the wife is, in such cases, divorced;† "but the husband is afraid to kill her seducer, because his death would be revenged, for the Druses are inexorable with

* Pococke was told, that, by some accident, the statue of a calf had been seen in their retired places. "But if," he adds, "the information of one who pretended to have discovered some of their tenets may be depended upon, they have a small silver box, closed in such a manner as not to be opened, and many, even among them, know not what it contains: they pay a sort of worship to it." The same informant added, on hearsay, that it contained infamous emblems.

† "A Druse," says Burckhardt, "seldom has more than one wife, but he divorces her under the slightest pretext; and it is a custom among them, that if a wife asks her husband's permission to go out, and he says to her 'Go,' without adding, 'and come back,' she is thereby divorced; nor can her husband recover her, even though it should be their mutual wish, till she is married again according to the Turkish forms, and divorced from her second husband." He states also, that their own religion allows them to take their sisters in marriage, but they are restrained from this practice by the Mahommedan laws. This representation, however, is at direct variance with an express prohibition contained in the document given by Van Egmont. The custom, therefore, if it ever existed, must have prevailed in the country *prior* to the dissemination of the Druse doctrines. Burckhardt's *hearsay* information is to be received with great reserve and qualification, as he is sometimes credulous, and not very choice as to his authorities.

respect to the law of retaliation of blood. They know, too, that if the affair were to become public, the governor would ruin both parties by his extortions." It is certainly singular, that, notwithstanding this jealousy, women should be admitted, as he states, into the sacred order of akkal. He thinks that many are induced to avail themselves of this privilege, from parsimony, "as they are thus exempted from wearing the expensive head-dress and rich silks fashionable among them;" the akkals not being allowed to wear any article of gold or silk in their dress. But, in assigning this motive, he evidently speaks on conjecture; and the Druse women must be unlike either Christian or Mahommedan women, to grudge themselves a handsome head-dress. We apprehend, that the parsimony would lie at the door of their husbands, if it could be proved to be the inducement to their becoming akkals. There must, we apprehend, be two parties to that arrangement, if they are married women, as we gather from Mr. Connor's statement that they are, and Burckhardt does not hint at the contrary.

The Druses do not practise circumcision. The question arises, whether this practice was laid aside on their becoming Druses, or whether the non-imposition of this rite by Hamza, was accommodated to their previous tenets. It must not be forgotten, that the origin of their religion does not date further back than the beginning of the eleventh century; and the history of the Druses as a sect, admitting the facts to be accurately given, throws little light on the previous history of the mountain tribes of Lebanon. It would be a curious inquiry, what form of religion the propagation of these doctrines displaced. There seems no reason to doubt the affinity of the Druses to the

great Arabian family; but it is still possible, that there may be some truth in the notion that they are the remains or descendants of a more ancient people, and that the points of resemblance which have led to the hypothesis of their Samaritan origin, are not wholly accidental. They are evidently a mixed population, formed by the aggregation of distinct clans, some of them refugees from distant parts. Thus, the Shehab family derive their origin from Mecca; the Djonbelat from the mountains near Aleppo. "The best feature in the Druse character," says Burckhardt, "is that peculiar law of hospitality which forbids them ever to betray a guest. I made particular inquiries on this subject, and I am satisfied, that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druse to give up a person who has once placed himself under his protection. Persons from all parts of Syria are in the constant practice of taking refuge in the mountain, where they are in perfect security from the moment they enter upon the Emir's territory. Should the Prince ever be tempted, by large offers, to consent to give up a refugee, the whole country would rise, to prevent such a stain upon their national reputation. The mighty Djezzar, who had invested his own creatures with the government of the mountain, never could force them to give up a single individual of all those who fled thither from his tyranny. Whenever he became very urgent in his demands, the Emir informed the fugitive of his danger, and advised him to conceal himself for a time in some more distant part of his territory: an answer was then returned to Djezzar, that the object of his resentment had fled. The asylum which is thus afforded by the mountain, is one of the greatest advantages that the inhabitants of Syria enjoy over those in the other parts of the

Turkish dominions. . . . In 1811, the Druses of Djebel Ala, between Latakia and Antioch, were driven from their habitations by Topal Ali, the governor of Djeser Shogher, whose troops committed the most horrible cruelties. Upwards of 1,500 families fled to their countrymen in the Libanus, where they were received with great hospitality. Upwards of 200 purses were collected for their relief, and the Djonbelat assigned to them convenient dwellings in different parts of the mountain. Some of them retired into the Haouran."*

This statement confirms the representation given by Volney, who remarks, that the Druses have the true Arabian sense of honour on the point of hospitality. "Whoever presents himself at their door in the character either of a suppliant or a traveller, is sure of being supplied with food and lodging in the most generous and unaffected manner. I have frequently seen the simplest peasant give his last morsel of bread to the hungry traveller; and when I have suggested, that they acted improvidently, I have been answered, 'God is bountiful and glorious, and all men are brethren.' Thus, no one thinks of keeping an inn in this country, any more than in other parts of Turkey. When they have once contracted with their guest the sacred engagement of bread and salt, nothing can afterwards induce them to violate it. Some years ago, an aga of the janissaries, guilty of rebellion, fled from Damascus, and took refuge among the Druses. The Pasha got information of it, and demanded the fugitive of the Emir, on pain of war. The Emir, in consequence, demanded him of Sheikh Talhouk, who had received him. The Sheikh in-

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 203, 204, 205.

dignantly returned for answer: 'How long have the Druses been known to betray their guests? Tell the Emir, that as long as Talhouk shall keep his beard, there shall not fall a hair of the stranger's head.' On the Emir's threatening to carry him off by force, Talhouk armed his household. The Emir then, fearing an insurrection, took what is deemed a judicial method in that country: he sent word to the Sheikh, that he would order fifty of his mulberry-trees to be cut down every day, till he should have given up the aga. A thousand were felled, and still Talhouk remained unshaken. At length, the other sheikhs made common cause with him, and the insurrection was on the point of becoming general, when the aga, filled with self-reproach at being the occasion of such disorders, absconded unknown even to Talhouk."

Another distinguishing trait in the Druse character, is their sensibility of public insult. "Nothing," says Burckhardt, "is more sacred with a Druse, than his *public* reputation. He will overlook an insult if known only to him who has offered it, and will put up with blows where his interest is concerned, provided nobody is a witness; but the slightest abuse given in public, he revenges with the greatest fury. This is the most remarkable feature of the national character. In public, a Druse may appear honourable; but he is easily tempted to a contrary behaviour when he has reason to think that his conduct will remain undiscovered. The ties of blood and friendship have no power among them: the son no sooner attains the years of maturity, than he begins to plot against his father." This last trait is not peculiar to the Druse Arabs. Volney draws a more favourable picture, evidently with a leaning in their favour, as compared with their Christian neighbours; whereas

the information furnished by Burckhardt was probably derived from the Catholics, for it could not be the result of personal observation. "The comparison," says the French traveller, "which the Druses have frequent occasion to make between their lot and that of other Turkish subjects, has given them an advantageous opinion of their condition, which, by a natural process, has re-acted on their character. Exempted from the violence and insults of despotism, they look upon themselves as better men than their neighbours, because they have the good fortune to be less trampled on. Hence results a loftier, more energetic, and more active character, a true republican spirit. They are spoken of throughout the Levant, as being restless, enterprising, bold, and courageous even to rashness. They have been known to dash into Damascus in broad day, to the number of only 300, and there to spread around them confusion and carnage. It is remarkable, that, with a government almost the same as theirs, the Maronites have not these qualities in the same degree. I one day inquired the reason of this difference, in a company where the observation was made, in reference to certain recent occurrences. After a moment's pause, an aged Maronite, taking the pipe from his mouth, and stroking his beard, replied: 'Perhaps the Druses would fear death more, if they believed in an hereafter.'—The doctrine of forgiveness of injuries is not known among them. No people are so ready to take umbrage on a point of honour. An insult done or said to either their name or their beard, is revenged on the spot by a blow from a dagger or a bullet; while, among the population of the towns, it would end only in angry words. This sensibility has produced in their manners and conversation, a reserve,

or, if you will, a politeness, which one is surprised to find among a peasantry. It degenerates even into dissimulation and falsehood, especially among the chiefs, who are compelled, by their more important interests, to observe the more caution and management. Circumspection is rendered necessary in all, by the serious consequences of the *lex talionis* above referred to. The custom may appear to us barbarous; but it has the merit of supplying the place of regular justice, which is always uncertain and tardy in countries so often disturbed, and in a state bordering upon anarchy.

"The Druses," continues Volney, "have also the Bedouin prejudice on the subject of *birth*. Like them, they attach great value to antiquity of descent; but no material inconvenience results from it. The nobility of the emirs and sheikhs does not exempt them from paying a tribute proportioned to their revenues, nor does it confer any prerogatives. Every one, having paid his *miri* and his rent, is his own master. One consequence of their prejudices is, that they seldom form alliances out of their own families. They uniformly prefer a relation, though poor, to a rich stranger; and common peasants have been known to refuse their daughters to merchants of Sidon and Beirout, possessed of 12 and 15,000 piastres. They preserve also among them, to a certain extent, the custom which existed among the Hebrews, that of the brother's marrying his deceased brother's widow; but it is not peculiar to the Druses: they hold it, together with several other customs of that ancient people, in common with the inhabitants of Syria, and, in general, with the Arabian nations.

"In short, the proper and distinguishing character of the Druses, is, as I have said, a sort of republican

spirit, which gives them more energy than other Turkish subjects, and an indifference on the subject of religion, which is in striking contrast with the zeal of both Moslems and Christians. In other respects, their domestic habits, their customs, their prejudices, are the same as those of other Orientals." *

The Druse costume is thus described by Captain Light, together with that of the Maronites. The latter is distinguished by his conical cap, ornamented with a tassel hanging over the side of his turban; his dress is varied in its colours; and his sash, if he is possessed of wealth, contains a silver-handled dagger, and silver-mounted pistols. The Druse, more simple, is distinguished by his full turban, differing from those of the other parts of the East, by being swelled out from the head into a shape resembling a common turnip, and flat at top; his dress, a coarse woollen cloak or *beneesh*, of black with white stripes, thrown over a waistcoat and loose breeches of the same stuff, tied round the waist by a sash of white or red linen with fringed ends. The females, of both Maronites and Druses, appeared in a coarse blue jacket and petticoat, without stockings, their hair plaited, hanging down in long tails behind. On their heads they wear a tin or silver conical tube, about twelve inches long, and perhaps twice the size of a common post horn; † over which is thrown a piece of white linen that completely envelops the body, and gives a most singular and ghostlike appearance.

We have dwelt, perhaps, almost too long on this singular people; but before we proceed to take a nearer survey of their country, it will be necessary to intro-

* Voyage en Syrie, &c., tom. ii. pp. 68—74.

† See note at p. 45.

duce the reader to the Christian part of the population, who are now so closely intermixed with the Druses, and, from being vassals, have now acquired the ascendancy. "It was an agreeable thing," says the last-mentioned traveller, "to see Christianity again taking the lead in a Mahommedan region of the East; and I could observe a marked superiority in the style and manners of the Maronites over the Druses."

THE MARONITES.

OVER the origin of this ancient sect there hangs some measure of the same obscurity that envelops that of the Druses; and the matter has been warmly discussed by ecclesiastical historians. Whether they derive their name immediately from Maro the saint, or from Maro the monk, they and their opponents are not agreed. Mosheim's account of the matter is, that the doctrine of the Monothelites, (which affirmed that there was but one will in Jesus Christ,) when condemned and exploded by the general council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, found an asylum among the Mardaites, a people inhabiting the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, who, about the conclusion of the seventh century, were called Maronites, after Maro their first bishop. None of the ancient writers give any account of the person who first instructed these mountaineers in the doctrine of the Monothelites: it is probable, however, that it was John Maro, whose name they adopted, and that this ecclesiastic received his name from having lived, in the character of a monk, in the famous convent of St. Maro, upon the borders of the Orontes, before his settlement among the Mardaites of Mount Libanus. One thing is laid down as certain, from the testimony of Tyrius and

other unexceptionable witnesses, viz. that the Maronites retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth century, when, abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of one will in Christ, they were re-admitted, in the year 1182, to the communion of the Roman Church.* The Maronites, however, and their writers, deny all that William of Tyre has written concerning their heresy and alleged conversion in the year 1182, charging him with having taken his whole account from Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century, a man of no parts or learning. They contend that, in the time of the emperors Mauritius and Phocas, there was no such controversy about the Monothelite heresy, and that a heresiarch of the name of Maron, or Maro, is not so much as mentioned by the writers of that time. According to the Maronites themselves, (one of whom, named Faustus Nairon, published at Rome an apology for Maro and his nation,) they derive their name from the St. Maro who lived about A.D. 400, of whom mention is made by Chrysostom and Theodoret. This saintly person is said to have passed part of his time as a hermit in the desert, and his disciples are stated to have spread themselves throughout Syria, where they built several monasteries, the chief of which stood on the banks of the Orontes, near Apameia.

* They are said to have abjured their heresy before Aimericus, patriarch of Antioch, who lived in the time of Gulielmus Tyrius (William of Tyre), and was the third patriarch of that church. Marcus, bishop of Porto, however, in his "Chronicle of the Order of St. Francis," insists that the Maronites were first converted in 1450, by the learning and assiduity of Father Griptiar, a cordelier. Others, we are told, derive the origin of the Maronites *from India*.— See Van Egmont's Travels, vol. ii. p. 282.

All the Syrians who were not tainted with heresy, it is added, took refuge among them; and for this reason, the heretics of the times called them Maronites.

This being premised, we shall proceed to give Volney's version of their story, since, though he is not always a safe authority, his learning entitles him to a hearing, and he is always entertaining.

"Towards the close of the sixth century, when the eremetical spirit was still at its height, there lived on the banks of the Orontes, an individual named Maro, who, by his fastings, his solitary life, and his austerities, attracted the attention of the surrounding country. It appears that, in the disputes which already subsisted between Rome and Constantinople, he employed his influence in favour of the Western Church. His death, far from cooling the ardour of his partisans, only gave a new impetus to their zeal. A report was spread, that miracles were wrought by virtue of his body; and on the strength of this, crowds assembled from Kinesrin, Aouasem, and other parts, who erected to him in Hamah a chapel and a tomb. Soon afterwards, a convent sprang up here, which acquired great celebrity throughout this part of Syria. In the meantime, the disputes of the two metropolitans grew warmer, and the whole empire took part in the dissensions of prelates and princes. Things were in this state, when, towards the close of the seventh century, a monk of the convent of Hamah, named John the Maronite, succeeded, by his talents for pulpit oratory, in gaining the reputation of being one of the firmest supporters of the cause of the Latins, or partisans of the pope. Their opponents, the partisans of the emperor, on that account named Melkites, that is royalists, were at that time making great progress in

Libanus. To oppose them with success, the Latins resolved to send thither John the Maronite; and, in pursuance of this resolution, they presented him to the pope's agent at Antioch, who, after having consecrated him bishop of Djebail, sent him to preach in those countries. The said John was not long in rallying his partisans and augmenting their numbers; but, thwarted by the intrigues, and even the open attacks of the Melkites, he deemed it necessary to oppose force by force: he accordingly collected together all the Latins, and established himself with them in Mount Libanus, where they formed an independent community, as to both their political and their religious constitution. The fact is noticed by an historian of the Lower Empire (Cedrenus) in the following terms: 'In the eighth year of Constantine Pogonat (A.D. 676), the *Mardaites*, having collected together, took possession of Mount Libanus, which became thenceforth the asylum of vagabonds, slaves, and all sorts of people. They became so strong as to arrest the progress of the Arabs, and to compel the Caliph Moaouia to sue for a thirty years' truce with the Greeks, on condition of paying a tribute of fifty race-horses, a hundred slaves, and 10,000 pieces of gold.'

"The name of *Mardaites*, here used by this author, is a Syriac word, signifying *rebel*, and by its opposition to *Melkite*, or royalist, it proves two things; first, that the Syriac was still spoken at this period, and secondly, that the schism by which the empire was distracted, was of a political as well as a religious nature. It would, moreover, seem, that the origin of these two factions, and the existence of an insurrection in these countries, were anterior to the era assigned to them. For, from the earliest days of

Mahommedanism, we find mention made of particular petty princes, one of whom, named Yousef, commanded at Djebail, and another, named Kesrou, governed the interior of the country, which took, from him, the name of Kesrouan. After them, another is mentioned, who engaged in an expedition against Jerusalem, and died, at an advanced age, at Beskonta, a village in the Kesrouan, where he had fixed his residence. Thus, before the time of Constantine Pogonat, these mountains had become the asylum of malcontents or rebels, who fled from the intolerance of the emperors and their agents. It was doubtless for this reason, and owing to a similarity of opinions, that John and his disciples took refuge here; and it was owing to the ascendancy which they acquired here, or which they previously possessed, that the whole nation took the name of Maronites, which was not opprobrious like that of Mardaites. However this may be, John having established among these mountaineers a regular military discipline, and furnished them alike with arms and leaders, they made use of their liberty in combating the common enemies of the empire and of their little state, and soon rendered themselves masters of almost all the mountains as far as Jerusalem. The schism which broke out among the Moslems at this period facilitated their success. Moaouia, having revolted at Damascus against Ali Caliph of Koufa, found himself compelled, in order to avoid having two wars in hand at the same time, to conclude, in 678, a disadvantageous treaty with the Greeks. Seven years after, Abd-el-Malek renewed it with Justinian II., on the condition, however, that the Emperor should deliver him from the Maronites. Justinian had the imprudence to consent to these terms; and he added to this the baseness of

causing their leader to be assassinated by an emissary whom this too generous man had received into his house under the auspices of peace. After this murder, the agent employed the arts of seduction and intrigue with such dexterity, that he led away 12,000 men from the country, thus leaving a free passage to the advance of the Mussulmans. Soon after, another persecution threatened the Maronites with total destruction; for this same Justinian sent against them a body of troops under the command of Marcian and Maurice, who razed the monastery of Hamah, and massacred there 500 monks. They were proceeding to carry the war into Kesrouan, when happily, during these transactions, Justinian was deposed, on the eve of his giving orders for a general massacre in Constantinople; and the Maronites, under the sanction of his successor, attacked Maurice, and cut his army to pieces in an engagement in which he himself perished. From this period, we lose sight of the Maronites in history, till the invasion of the Crusaders, with whom they were sometimes in alliance, sometimes had misunderstandings. During this interval, which extended through more than three centuries, a part of their territory was wrested from them, and they were restricted, towards Lebanon, to certain bounds. No doubt, too, they paid tribute, whenever the Arab or Turcoman governors were powerful enough to exact it. They were in this state in relation to the Caliph of Egypt, Hakem B'amr Allah, when, about A.D. 1014, he ceded their district to the Turcoman prince of Aleppo. Two hundred years after, Selah-el-dîn (Saladin) having driven the Europeans from these cantons, they found themselves compelled to bend under his yoke, and to purchase a peace by contributions. It was at this time, that is to say,

about A.D. 1215, that the Maronites effected a union with the Church of Rome, from which they have never since been alienated. William of Tyre, who states the fact, says, that they had 40,000 men capable of bearing arms. Their situation was tolerably peaceful under the Mamalouks. This tranquillity was disturbed by Selim II., but that prince, occupied with more serious cares, did not take the trouble to subjugate them. This negligence gave them confidence, and, in concert with the Druses and their emir, the celebrated Fakr-el-dîn, they made daily inroads upon the Ottomans. But these movements had a disastrous issue. Amurath III., having sent against them Ibrahim, Pasha of Cairo, that general reduced them to obedience in 1588, and they have ever since been tributary to the Porte.

"From this period, the pashas, anxious to extend their dominion and their ravages, have frequently attempted to introduce their garrisons and their agas into the mountains of the Maronites; but they have uniformly been repulsed, and have been obliged to content themselves with the first arrangement. The subjection of the Maronites, then, is confined to their paying an annual tribute to the Pasha of Tripoli, to whose jurisdiction their country belongs. Every year he rents it to one or more of the sheikhs, who let it again by districts and villages. This impost is laid almost entirely on the mulberry-trees and the vines, which are the principal, and almost the only articles of cultivation. It varies more or less, according to the season, and according to the measure of resistance which they are able to oppose to the Pasha. There are also custom-houses established at the maritime stations, such as *Djebail* and *Batroun*; but these duties yield an inconsiderable sum.

"The form of government rests not upon any specific convention, but solely on usage and custom. This disadvantage would, no doubt, have given rise long ago to lamentable results, had they not been prevented by several fortunate circumstances. First, their religion, interposing an insurmountable barrier between the Maronites and the Mussulmans, has prevented any ambitious spirits from entering into a league with the foreigners to enslave their nation. Secondly, the nature of their country, presenting every where strong positions, furnishes every village, and almost every family, with the means of independent resistance, and consequently with the power of arresting the progress of a single state. We may assign as a third reason, the very feebleness of the community itself, which, having been from its origin surrounded with powerful enemies, has been able to withstand them only by maintaining union among its own members; and this union can be preserved, it is obvious, only so long as they abstain from oppressing one another, and reciprocally respect the personal security and property of every individual. It is thus that the government has been able to maintain itself in a natural equilibrium; and public manners supplying the place of laws, the Maronites have been hitherto preserved alike from oppression, despotism, and the disorders of anarchy.

"The nation may be considered as divided into two classes; the people and their sheikhs. By the latter, is to be understood the more respectable of the inhabitants, who are distinguished by their ancient family, or their easy circumstances, from the peasantry. All live scattered in the mountains, by villages, by hamlets, sometimes in isolated mansions, which is not the case in the plain. The whole nation are husband-

men. Each improves with his own hands the little domain of which he is the proprietor or occupier. Even the sheikhs follow the same mode of life, and are distinguished from the common people, only by a sorry pelisse, a horse, and some slight difference in their diet and domestic accommodations. All live frugally, without many enjoyments, but without many privations, since they are acquainted with but few objects of luxury. Generally speaking, the nation is poor, but no one is destitute of necessaries; and if any beggars are seen there, they come from the towns on the coast. Property is as sacred as in Europe, and those spoliations and *avanias* are unknown, which are so common among the Turks. You may travel night and day with a security unknown in any other part of the empire. The stranger is sure of meeting with hospitality, as among the Arabs: it is remarked, however, that the Maronites are less generous. Conformably to the principles of Christianity, they have only one wife, whom they espouse, often without having seen her, always without having been in the habit of visiting her. But, in opposition to the precepts of the Christian religion, they have admitted or preserved among them the Arab custom of the *lex talionis*, and the nearest relation of the person murdered is bound to avenge it. According to a practice originating in distrust and the political state of the country, every man, sheikh or peasant, always goes armed with musket and poniard. This is, perhaps, an evil, but one advantage results from it: they are not novices in the use of arms, in case of necessity, as, for instance, in defending their country against the Turks. As the country maintains no regular troops, every person is obliged to march in time of war; and if this militia were well officered, it would

be more effective than many European regiments. The number of men capable of bearing arms has been estimated, according to a recent census (1784), at 35,000, which supposes, on the usual calculation, a population of about 105,000 souls. If we add to this number the various priests, monks, and *religieuses* distributed through more than 200 convents, and further, the people of the maritime towns, such as Djebail, Batroun, &c., we may safely set down the total at 115,000 souls.* This calculation, when compared with the surface of the country, which is about 150 square leagues, will give 760 inhabitants to each square league; which is a considerable number, taking into account that a great part of Libanus is composed of rocks unsusceptible of cultivation, and that even the soil of the cultivated parts is coarse and poor.†

"As to religion, the Maronites are dependent on Rome. In acknowledging, however, the supremacy of the pope, their clergy have continued, as formerly, to elect a head, who has the title of *batrak* (patriarch) of Antioch. Their priests are allowed to marry, as in the primitive age of the Church, but it must be to a

* Mr. Connor, speaking, apparently, on information derived from the patriarch, says: "They may amount to 80,000 souls." This conjecture was, probably, not meant to include all the above classes. According to Malte Brun, they amount to 120,000.

† "There is hardly any place in Syria," says Burckhardt, "less fit for culture than the Kesrouan; yet, it has become the most populous part of the country. The satisfaction of inhabiting the neighbourhood of places of sanctity, of hearing church bells, which are found in no other part of Syria, and of being able to give a loose to religious feelings, and to rival the Mussulmans in fanaticism, are the chief attractions that have peopled the Kesrouan." Nothing but religious freedom, he says, induces the Christians to live here, subject to the extortions of the Druses.—*Travels in Syria*, p. 182.

virgin, not a widow, and they are not allowed to marry a second time. They celebrate the mass in Syriac, of which dialect the greater part do not comprehend a word.* The Gospel only is read aloud in Arabic, that the people may understand it. The communion is partaken of in both kinds: the host is a little round loaf, unleavened, of the thickness of a finger, and about the size of a crown piece. On the top is a wafer, which is the portion of the officiating minister. The rest is cut into little pieces, which the priest puts into the chalice full of wine, and administers to every one by means of a spoon which serves them all. These priests have not, as in Europe, benefices or fixed salaries, but live partly on the produce of their masses, on the offerings of their congregations, and by the labour of their hands: some carry on trades; others cultivate a little domain; all occupy themselves with the maintenance of their family and the edification of their flock. They are in some degree indemnified for their straitened circumstances, by the respect in which they are held: they experience, at every turn, proofs of this, gratifying to their vanity. Whoever meets them, whether poor or rich, great or small, hastens to kiss their hand; they forget not to extend it, and are ill pleased when Europeans abstain from this mark of respect, which, though repugnant to our manners, costs nothing to the natives, who are from infancy accustomed to lavish it. As to other matters, the rites of the Romish Church are not performed in Europe with more publicity or liberty than they are in the Kesrouan. Every village

* Pococke states, that those who can write, being used to the Syriac character in their books, though they do not understand the language, "write the Arabic, their native tongue, in Syrian characters."

has its chapel, and every chapel its bell,—a thing unheard of in every other part of Turkey. The Maronites are vain of this; and, to secure the continuance of these immunities, they suffer no Mussulman to reside among them. They have also usurped the privilege of wearing the green turban, which, out of their territories, would cost a Christian his life.*

"Italy does not number more bishops than this little canton of Syria, where they have preserved the

* The Reverend Father Jerome Dandini, who was sent by the pope on a mission to the Maronite patriarch about the year 1600, has given some further particulars of the manners and ecclesiastical government of the people at that period, which probably still describe the state of things in most particulars. "There are," he says, "two sorts of bishops among them, one of which are but mere abbots of monasteries, and have no care of souls upon them; they have neither the mark nor episcopal habit, but are dressed as other monks are, and have only this privilege, that they carry the mitre and cross in singing mass. The other have under their government the greatest churches, and wear a vest nethermost altogether, according to the custom of the country, and over that a Spain, or violet-coloured cloth, which descends to the ground, with a very great blue turban." The whole account given by the worthy father is sufficiently entertaining, but, perhaps, the most remarkable thing which he mentions, is the ceremonial attendant on the death of the patriarch, at Canobin. The news of his illness did not reach Father Jerome in time for him to arrive till he had been dead two hours. "We found him in the church, sitting in a chair, clad in his sacred habits, having the mitre on his head, and the patriarchal cross in his hand: there were abundance of his relations, both men and women, about him, who wept and beat their breasts, making hideous cries all night. Next day came a multitude of people thither, and, among the rest, a great number of priests, who assembled to inter him. The two deacons repaired there likewise. They carried him at noon to the usual burying-place of the patriarchs, which was not above a musket-shot from thence, and then laid him in that grot, *sitting in a wooden chair*, according to their custom."—See PINKERTON'S *Voyages and Travels*, vol. x. p. 299.

modesty of their primitive condition. The traveller often meets with one of them, mounted on a mule, and followed by a single sacristan. The greater part live in the convents, where they dress and fare like simple monks. Their revenue seldom exceeds 1500 livres; and in this country, where every thing is cheap, this sum is sufficient to procure them every comfort. As well as the priests, they are taken from the order of monks, their recommendation being generally their superior knowledge, a pre-eminence in which it is not difficult to acquire, since the ordinary run of monks and priests know nothing beyond the Catechism and the Bible. Yet, it is remarkable, that these two subaltern classes are the most exemplary in their manners and conduct; while the bishops and the patriarch, always engrossed with cabals and contests for pre-eminence, are incessantly scattering through the country scandal and discord, under the pretext of exercising, according to ancient custom, ecclesiastical discipline: they excommunicate each other, suspend the priests, interdict the monks, inflict public penances on the laity, — in a word, they retain the same petulant and meddlesome spirit that has been the scourge of the lower empire. The court of Rome, perpetually annoyed by their disputes, has endeavoured to promote peace among them, in order to maintain in these countries the only strong hold which is left to her. A short time ago, she was obliged to interfere in a singular affair, from the recital of which some idea may be formed of the spirit of the Maronites.

"About the year 1755, there was, in the neighbourhood of the Jesuit mission, a young Maronite damsel, named Hendia, whose extraordinary life soon attracted general attention. She fasted, wore hair-cloth, had

the gift of tears; in a word, had all the exterior of the ancient hermits, and soon acquired the reputation of one. All the world looked upon her as a model of piety, and many esteemed her a saint. It was but one step more to a reputation for working miracles; and in fact, a rumour of this kind was soon spread. Hendia availed herself of this general enthusiasm to carry her ambitious designs into execution, and taking apparently for her model her predecessors in the same career, she aspired to be the foundress of a new order. To build a convent, funds were requisite. The foundress appealed to the piety of her partisans, and offerings poured in to so large an amount, that, in a few years, she was enabled to erect two large mansions built of hewn-stone, the construction of which must have cost 10,000*l*. The place named the Kourket, is a ridge of hills to the N.W. of Antoura, overlooking, on the west, the sea, which is very near, and towards the south affording a prospect that extends to the roads of Beirout, four leagues distant. The Kourket was soon peopled with monks and nuns. The patriarch for the time being was the director-general. Other offices, great and small, were conferred on divers priests and candidates, who were established in one of the houses. All went on as well as possible. It is true that many nuns died; but the blame was laid upon the air, and it was difficult to imagine the real cause. Over this little kingdom Hendia reigned for nearly twenty years, when an accident, which could not have been foreseen, upset the whole. One summer's day, a commissioner, coming from Damascus to Beirout, was benighted near this convent. The gates were closed, the hour unseasonable; he would not give trouble; so, contenting himself with a little straw for his bed, he laid down in the outer-court

to wait for day. He had been asleep several hours, when he was awaked by an indistinct noise of doors and bolts. From a door issued three women, bearing shovels and pick-axes, followed by two men, who carried a long white package, which seemed very heavy. The party marched towards a neighbouring piece of ground, full of stones and rubbish. There the men laid down their burden, dug a hole, into which they put it, then covered over the hole, and, after this operation, re-entered the mansion, followed by the females. Men in company with nuns, a *sortie* made by night, and attended with mystery, a package deposited in a hidden hole, — all this set the traveller a-thinking. Surprise had at first kept him silent; but his reflections soon gave rise to uneasiness and apprehension, and before day-break he stole away to Beirout. He was acquainted with a merchant in that city, who, some months before, had placed his two daughters at the Kourket, with an endowment of 10,000 livres. He went in search of him, half-undetermined, yet burning with impatience to recount his adventure. They take their seat, cross-legged of course; the long pipe is brought in and lighted; coffee is served. The merchant makes inquiries respecting his journey, and is told that the traveller passed the night near the Kourket. Particulars are asked; he gives them: at length, he throws off all reserve, and relates to his host all that he saw. The first words astonish him; on hearing of the load, he becomes uneasy; and this uneasiness is heightened by reflection into alarm. He knows that one of his daughters is ill; he is aware that many nuns have died lately. Tormented with these thoughts, not daring to entertain more serious suspicions, and unable to get rid of them, he mounts his horse, accompanied with a

single friend, and they proceed together to the convent. On demanding to see the two novices, they are told that they are ill. The merchant insists on their being produced; it is ungraciously refused: he becomes peremptory, and they are obstinate, till at length his suspicions are changed into certainty. In the bitterness of despair, he sets off for Deir-el-Kamar, where he lays before Said, the kiaya of the Emir Yousef, the fact with all its circumstances. The minister, struck with the story, gives him a company of horsemen, with an order to obtain admittance either by fair means or by foul. A kadi having now joined the merchant, the affair assumes a legal form. The first thing they do is to remove the earth, when they discover that the buried parcel is a corpse, which the unhappy father recognises as that of his youngest daughter. On forcing their way into the convent, the other is found in prison, at the point of death. She discloses abominations which make the hair stand on end, of which she was just about to become a victim, like her sister. The saint is seized: she sustained her part with firmness. They proceeded against the priests and the patriarch; his enemies united to ruin him, in order to enrich themselves with the spoil: he was suspended, deposed. The affair was brought to Rome in 1776; the Propaganda gave information, and discoveries were made of the most infamous profligacy and horrors of cruelty. It was proved that Hendia destroyed her nuns, sometimes to get their property into her hands, at other times, because they shewed themselves refractory to her orders; that this woman herself consecrated and said mass; that under her bed were holes through which perfumes were introduced, while she pretended to have ecstacies and visits of the Holy Spirit; that she

had a faction who flattered her vanity, and gave out that she was the Virgin Mary returned to earth, and a thousand other extravagances. In spite of all this, she had the address to keep together a party powerful enough to screen her from the severe treatment which she deserved. She was shut up in several convents, from which she frequently managed to escape. In 1783, she was at the visitation of Antoura, and the brother of the Emir of the Druses interested himself on her behalf. A great number of persons still believe in her sanctity (1766), and but for the accidental circumstance of the traveller's being benighted, even her enemies would have believed it.*

"Within the narrow limits of the Maronite country, there are reckoned no fewer than two hundred convents, monasteries, and nunneries. Their rule

* Burckhardt states, that she survived till within about ten years of his visit to those parts. She must, in that case, have attained upwards of seventy years of age. He attempts to throw discredit on the above story, but his sources of information are far from unquestionable, being, apparently, drawn from the Romish priests. "At three quarters of an hour from Antoura," he says, "I passed the ruined convent of Bekerke (Kourkel), once the residence of the famous Hindye, whose history Volney has given. Now that passions have cooled, and that *the greater part of the persons concerned are dead*, it is the general opinion, that Hindye's only crime was her ambition to pass for a saint. The abominable acts of debauchery and cruelty of which she was accused, are probably imaginary; but it is certain, that she rigorously punished the nuns of her convent who hesitated to believe in her sanctity, or who doubted the visits of Jesus Christ, of which she boasted." This is quite sufficient. It is quite obvious, that the same influence that was exerted to screen her person from the punishment due to her crimes, would continue to operate in her favour even after her death. "Hindye died," it is added, "about ten years since, in retirement, in the convent of Seidet-el-Hakle." (Burckhardt travelled in 1812.)—*Travels in Syria*, p. 183.

is that of St. Anthony,* and they observe it with an exactness which reminds one of former times. The dress of the monks is a coarse stuff of brown wool, resembling the gown worn by the capuchins. Their diet is the same as that of the common people, except that they never taste meat. They have frequent fast-days, and perform long prayers day and night: the rest of their time is occupied in cultivating the ground, or in breaking the rocks to form walls for the terraces which support the vine and mulberry plantations. Every convent has attached to it, a brother shoemaker, a brother tailor, a brother weaver, a brother baker; in short, a mechanic of every necessary trade. A female convent is almost always to be found adjacent to one for men; and yet, scandalous stories are very rare. The females themselves lead a very laborious life; and this activity is no doubt one thing which guarantees them against ennui and the other bad effects of idleness. The court of Rome, when it adopted the Maronites, gave them a college in Rome, where they have the liberty of sending several young persons to be educated gratuitously. It would seem that this measure ought to have introduced among them the arts and the ideas of Europe. But the education given in this school being purely monastic, the scholars carry home little besides a knowledge of Italian, which is of no use to them, and a smattering of technical theology, which leads to no good result: thus they soon sink down to the common level. The three or four missionaries maintained by the French capuchins at Gazir, Tripoli, and Beirout, have not been able to effect any beneficial change in this respect. Their labours consist in preaching

* An Egyptian monk, who lived as a hermit in the desert.

in their church, in making the children learn the catechism and the psalms, and in teaching them to read and write. Formerly, the Jesuits had two missionaries at Ahtoura: the Lazarists have taken their place, and carried on the mission. The most solid advantage which has resulted from these missionary exertions, is, that the art of writing has become very general among the Maronites; and that, by virtue of this acquirement, they have become in these cantons, what the Copts are in Egypt; that is to say, have got into their hands all the situations of writers, inspectors, and *kiayas* among the Turks, and more especially among the Druses, their neighbours and allies." *

Such was the state of things among the Maronites towards the close of the last century. Its substantial correctness is established by the accounts of more recent travellers. Reading, Mr. Connor states to be a very general attainment among them, and almost every village has its school. In these schools nothing, however, is taught, but reading, writing, and the catechism; and the only books used, are the Psalter, and some theological dissertations, for the most part of a subtle and unedifying description, such as translations from the works of Thomas Aquinas. Burckhardt gives a much more unfavourable account of their moral character in some respects, stigmatising the priests especially, as rapacious, hypocritical, and fanatical. Further particulars will occur in the course of our tour through their country.

That part of the mountain chain of Libanus which is usually known by the name of the Kesrouan or Castravan chain, extends from the *nahr-el-Kebir* to

* *Voyage en Syrie, tom. ii. pp. 8—30.*

the *nahr-el-Kelb*, and is comprehended within the pashalic of Tripoli. This whole country is inhabited by the Maronites; and to this their exclusive privileges are confined; though they are now found, in great numbers, in the Druse country, and in the towns on the coast. The convent of Kanobin, the residence of the patriarch, may be considered as their capital. That which Burckhardt, however, calls the "district of Kesrouan," is only about three hours and a half in length from N. to S., and from two to three hours in breadth across the mountains: it begins at or near *nahr Ibrahim* on the north, where it joins the district of El Fetouh, and extends southward to a small khan near *El Mellaha.** This district is under the government of the Sheikh Besheer, of the family of Khazen; its principal and almost sole produce is silk, mulberry-trees being the chief growth of the soil. Wheat and barley are sown, but not in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the people. "The quantity of silk produced," it is stated by Burckhardt, "annually amounts to about 330 English quintals. A man's wealth is estimated by the number of *rotolas* of silk which he makes; and the annual taxes to government are calculated and distributed in proportion to them. The *miri*, or land-tax, is taken upon the

* The principal villages, beginning from the north, are, he says, Ghadsir, Djedeide, Aar Amoun, Shenanayr, Sahel Alma, Haret Szakher, Ghozta, Deir Aoun, Ghadir, Zouk Mikayl, (the residence of the Sheikh,) Djouni, Zouk Meszbah, Zouk-el-Kherab, and Kornet-el-Khamra. It is strange that he omits Antoura, where there is the convent belonging to the Lazarists. El Mellaha is a square basin, hewn in the rock close by the sea, at the southern extremity of the Via Antoniniana: the salt-water is sometimes collected in it for the purpose of evaporation. The whole of *this* district would fall within the pashalic of Saide and Akka.

mule-loads of mulberry leaves, eight or ten trees, in common years, yielding one load; and as the income of the proprietors depends entirely upon the growth of these leaves, they suffer less from a bad crop, because their taxes are proportionably low. The extraordinary extortions of the government are excessive: the Emir often exacts five or six *miris* in the year; and one levy of money is no sooner paid, than orders are received for a fresh one of twenty or thirty purses upon the province. The village sheikh fixes the contributions to be paid by each village, taking care to appropriate a part of them to himself." This traveller states that, in the year 1811, many peasants were obliged to sell a part of their furniture, to defray the taxes. They have scarcely any thing, he says, to live upon, but the worst bread and oil, or soups made of the wild herbs. Yet, notwithstanding the wretchedness to which they are reduced, according to this statement, by the tyrannical exactions of the government, they have still to satisfy "the greediness of their priests." But these contributions, strange to say, they are represented as paying with cheerfulness. "Many of the convents, indeed, are too rich to require their assistance; but those which are poor, together with all the parish-priests and church-officers, live upon the people. * Contributions are never levied on the convents, though the landed property belonging to them pays duties like that of the peasant: their income from abroad is free from taxes. Loans are sometimes required of the convents, but they are

* This is directly at variance with Volney's statement, that the priests contribute to their own support by the labour of their own hands; and the whole statement wears very much the appearance of exaggeration.

regularly reimbursed in the time of the next harvest. The priests are the most happy part of the population of the Kesrouan; they are under no anxiety for their own support; they are looked upon by the people as superior beings, and their repose is interrupted only by the intrigues of the convents, and by the mutual hostilities of the bishops." "Such," exclaims our traveller, "is the condition of this Christian commonwealth, which, instead of deserving the envy of other Christians living under the Turkish yoke, is in a more wretched state than any other part of Syria. But the predominance of their church consoles them under every affliction; and were the Druse governor to deprive them of the last para, they would still remain in the vicinity of their convent." *

The roads in these mountains he represents as bad beyond description. "Indeed, I never before saw any inhabited country so entirely mountainous as the Kesrouan. There are no levels on the tops of the mountains; but the traveller no sooner arrives on the summit, than he immediately begins the descent. Each hill is insulated; so that, to reach a place not more than ten minutes distant in a straight line, one is obliged to travel three or four miles, by descending into the valley, and ascending again the other side." Volney thus describes the scenery:—

"When the traveller penetrates the interior of these mountains, the ruggedness of the roads, the steepness of the declivities, the depth of the precipices, have at first a terrific effect; but the sagacity of the mules which bear him, soon inspires him with confidence, and enables him to examine at his ease the picturesque scenes which succeed one another, so as

* Travels in Syria, pp. 187, 189.

almost to bewilder him. There, as among the Alps, he sometimes travels whole days to arrive at a spot which was in sight when he set out. He turns, he descends, he winds round, he climbs; and under this perpetual change of position, one is ready to think that a magical power is varying at every step the beauties of the landscape. Sometimes, villages are seen ready as it were to slide down the steep declivities, and so disposed that the roofs of one row of houses serve as a street to the row above. At another time, you see a convent seated on an isolated cone, like Mar Shaia in the valley of Tigré. Here a rock is pierced by a torrent, forming a natural cascade, as at *nahr-el-Leban*. There, another rock assumes the appearance of a natural wall. Often on the sides, ledges of stones washed down and left by the waters, resemble ruins disposed by art. In some places, the waters, meeting with inclined beds, have undermined the intermediate earth, and have formed caverns, as at *nahr-el-Kelb*, near Antoura; in other places, they have worn for themselves subterranean channels, through which flow little rivulets during part of the year, as at Mar-Elias-el-Room, and at Mar Hanna. Sometimes these picturesque circumstances have become tragical ones. Rocks, loosened or thrown off their equilibrium by thaws or earthquakes, have been known to precipitate themselves on the adjacent dwellings, and crush the inhabitants. An accident of this kind, about twenty years ago, buried a whole village near Mar-Djordos, so as to leave no trace of its existence. More recently, and near the same spot, the soil of a hill, planted with mulberry-trees and vines, detached itself by a sudden thaw, and, sliding over the surface of the rock which it had covered, like a vessel launched from the stocks,

established itself entire in the valley below. A legal process arose out of this circumstance, a singular but an equitable one, between the proprietor of the indigenous, and that of the migratory soil: the cause was carried to the tribunal of the Emir Yousef, who awarded a compensation for the loss. It might be expected, that such accidents would disgust the inhabitants with their mountain dwellings; but besides their being of rare occurrence, they are compensated by an advantage which renders a residence here more eligible than in the richest plains; I mean the security they enjoy against the exactions of the Turks. This security has appeared so precious a blessing to the natives, that they have displayed amid these rocks an industry which is nowhere else to be seen. By dint of skill and labour, they have compelled a rocky soil to become fertile. Sometimes, to avail themselves of the waters, they have made a channel for them by means of a thousand windings on the declivities, or have arrested them in the valleys by embankments. At other times they have propped up the earth that was ready to roll down, by means of terraces and walls. Almost all the mountains being thus husbanded, present the appearance of a staircase, or of an amphitheatre,* each tier of which is a row of vines

* The country between Tripoli and Batroun is thus described by a recent traveller. "The road was along the roots of Libanus, which meet the sea in a gentle declivity, though their surface is rocky and uneven. We passed through a beautiful and romantic country, inhabited by the Maronites. The sides of the mountains are interspersed with numerous little villages, around which the ground is highly cultivated, either with corn, vines, olive, or mulberry trees; the earth, being supported by terraces formed of dry masonry, having the appearance of the seats of an amphitheatre. The people are seen without arms, an unusual thing in any part of the Turkish dominions; and an air

or mulberry-trees. I have counted upon one declivity, as many as a hundred or a hundred and twenty tiers, from the bottom of the valley to the top of the hill. I forgot for the moment that I was in Turkey; or, if I recollected it, only felt more sensibly how powerful is the influence of the feeblest ray of liberty."*

From Tripoli, there are three routes to Baalbec, which traverse the region of Libanus: one passes to the north of the mountain; the shortest, which is directly to the east of Tripoli, is by the way of Kanobin and the cedars, over the summits of the mountain; the third crosses it from Djebail. The second of these, which is impassable in the winter, was taken by Captains Irby and Mangles; it is described also by Dr. Richardson and by Burckhardt.

"The ascent from Tripoli," says Captain Mangles, "is gradual. The first object of interest is the aqueduct and bridge over the *nahr Kavdas*, or *Abouli* river. These structures are overgrown with bushes and weeds; and the river runs in a picturesque manner under them in two channels. Leaving this place, the road is good, through cultivated plains and groves of olives, passing occasionally beautiful valleys watered by branches of the river. Afterwards, the road becomes very rugged, steep, and irregular, the whole way to the village of Eden, passing between two con-

of liberty and independence is conspicuous in the inhabitants of these mountains, which we vainly looked for in any other part of the country."—WALPOLE'S *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 298.

* Voyage en Syrie, &c. tom. i. pp. 268—72:—"Nothing," says Burckhardt, "can be more striking than a comparison of the fertile but uncultivated districts of Bekaa and Baalbec, with the rocky mountains in the opposite direction; where, notwithstanding that nature seems to afford nothing for the sustenance of the inhabitants, numerous villages flourish, and every inch of ground is cultivated."

spicuous points of the mountain. Eden is delightfully situated, by the side of a most rich and cultivated valley. It contains between four and five hundred families, who, on the approach of winter, descend to another village (Zgarti), only an hour's distance from Tripoli.* The families were in the act of removing to their winter habitations when we arrived; and on our return from Baalbec, all those who had not previously quitted their summer quarters, descended with us. They have an Arab Catholic (Maronite) bishop, a church, and several priests. We arrived at Eden about two o'clock," (having started at four A.M.) "which, including stoppages, makes it ten hours from Tripoli." Dr. Richardson found the descent in returning, a distance of seven hours and a half,—"the most impracticable road," he adds, "I ever travelled. It is rocky and precipitous, and for about five hours a continued and harassing descent;† after which, it improved, and the plantations of mulberry-trees about the villages, or in the bottoms of the narrow dells, were extremely beautiful." In an hour further he arrived at Zgarti, and in another hour and a half, at Tripoli.

* Dr. Richardson makes it "an hour and a half. The village Zgarti," says the Doctor, "which is the winter residence of the two respectable sheikhs of Eden" (Sheikh Latouff and his brother), "is delightfully situated on the bend of the river Reshin, which is here augmented by the influx of the two tributary streams, the Jourti and the Abouali. The water is of a chalky colour, resembling the rocks that lie between it and Eden. From Zgarti to Tripoli, the ride is extremely pleasant, over an undulating surface covered with olive trees."

† Captain Mangles, indeed, states elsewhere, that the first part of the descent from Eden is in some places so steep and difficult, that they observed "the peasants hold on by the tails of their horses to prevent them from falling."

At the source of the waters, a pleasant and picturesque spot at a short distance from Eden, is the convent of St. Antonio di Padua;* the poorest and dirtiest, Dr. Richardson says, he ever beheld. The monks differed in no respect, apparently, from ordinary labourers. The bishop, however, is a man of education, had spent several years at Rome, and spoke good Italian: he wore a long beard, which is not much esteemed in Mount Lebanon. He was "miserably accommodated, in a small house in the village; but it was clean, and he seemed a happy man." The houses of the sheikhs here have good substantial walls, but the best rooms are generally occupied with the silk-worms, and are rarely in a state fit to receive human beings.

* This would seem to be what Pococke calls the Maronite convent of St. Antony Casieeh, which he describes as situated in the romantic valley of the Abouali. "The convent," he says, "is almost all cut out of the rock; the large church being a grot, and so are several other parts of the convent. There is also a large natural grot that extends a great way under ground, in which there are what they call petrifactions of water, that, being hewn, appear to be very fine white alabaster, like that in the grots of Carniola. In a dark part of this grot, they discipline mad people; this place being, as they say, famous for miraculously curing the disorders of the brain. The patients are commonly brought to their senses in three or four days, or a week, and *even sometimes are cured in their way to the convent!!* They bury the monks in a vault above ground, in their habits, in which they appear like skeletons; and I saw one whose skin seemed to be uncorrupted, who, they say, was a holy man. This place is famous, also, for excellent *wine*. I saw the monks in their church, standing four and four, at two square desks, chanting their hymns alternately, and leaning on crutches, as some ease during the long time they are obliged to be at their devotions." From this place, a steep descent conducts the traveller to Kanobin.

THE CEDARS OF LEBANON.

THE ascent from Eden to the Cedars is inconsiderable; the distance, allowing for the windings of the road, which is very rugged, passing over hill and dale, is about five miles. They stand half an hour out of the direct line of route from Baalbec to Besheri (or Beshirai), a village lying in a very rich and picturesque valley, larger and deeper than that of Eden; the traveller leaves it on his right in ascending from the latter place. The ancient cedars, — those which superstition has consecrated as holy, and which are the chief object of the traveller's curiosity, — are now reduced to seven; and these patriarchs of the vegetable world are verging fast to utter extinction. How old they are, it is difficult to conjecture. The inhabitants devoutly believe that they are the remains of the identical forest which furnished the timber of Solomon's temple some three thousand years ago; and every year, on Transfiguration-day, the Maronites, the Greeks, and the Armenians, celebrate a mass here, at the foot of a cedar, upon a homely altar of stone.* It is certain that they were ancient three

* "I went to see the cedar trees," says Father Dandini; "they are called saints, because of their antiquity. And the natives believe they are still the same as those that were in Solomon's time; which is the reason they visit them with great devotion, especially on the day of the transfiguration of our Lord; at which time they say mass most solemnly at the foot of a cedar, upon a homely altar of stone. Moreover, as these trees are but few in number, they esteem it a miracle that they cannot be reckoned exactly. I counted twenty-three, and another of my companions but twenty-one; and there is a great deal of appearance that the same root sends forth in some of them two branches (stems), which are sometimes reckoned for one, sometimes for two. They never fell them to make boards,

hundred years ago. In the middle of the sixteenth century (according to Bellonius, who visited them in 1550), they were twenty-eight in number. Rauwolf, in 1575, makes them twenty-four. Dandini, in 1600, and Thevenot, about fifty years after, make them twenty-three. Maundrell found them, in 1696, reduced to sixteen. Pococke, in 1738, found fifteen standing, and the sixteenth recently blown down. Burckhardt, in 1810, counted eleven or twelve. And finally, Dr. Richardson, in 1818, states them to be no more than seven. In less than half a century more, it is probable that not one of these sylvan monuments will be standing. As this is a spot of so much interest, our readers may be pleased to compare the various descriptions given of the scene by several of our travellers. The account given by Maundrell is as follows: —

"The noble trees grow amongst the snow near the highest part of Lebanon, and are remarkable as well for their own age and largeness, as for those frequent allusions made to them in the Word of God. Here are some of them very old, and of a prodigious bulk, and others younger, of a smaller size. Of the former

but there is an infinite number of other trees for common uses, growing upon two other mountains, which are situated in such a manner, that, being joined to the former, they form a kind of cross. That which they call the *mountain of saints*, forms the top, and the other two the sides. They affirm that certain Turks, who fed their flocks thereabouts, having been so impious and so hardy as to cut down some of these trees they call saints, were punished forthwith with the utter loss of their beasts. One may also see there the spring of a rivulet, which the inhabitants call *the holy river*, for that it takes its source from the mountain whereon grow the cedar saints, in a very hidden and delicious place, and from it descends along the valley, running with little murmuring streams among flint stones." — c. x.

I could reckon up *only sixteen*, and the latter are very numerous. I measured one of the largest, and found it twelve yards six inches in girth, and yet sound, and thirty-seven yards in the spread of its boughs. At above five or six yards from the ground, it was divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree." This was in 1696. — Pococke, one of the most learned and accurate travellers, describes them (in 1738) with greater minuteness. "The cedars," he says, "form a grove about a mile in circumference, which consists of some large cedars that are near to one another, a great number of young cedars, and some pines. The great cedars, at some distance, look like very large spreading oaks; the bodies of the trees are short, dividing at bottom into three or four, some of which, growing up together for about ten feet, appear something like those Gothic columns which seem to be composed of several pillars. Higher up they begin to spread horizontally. One that had the roundest body, though not the largest, measured twenty-four feet in circumference; and another, with a sort of triple body, as described above, and of a triangular figure, measured twelve feet on each side. The young cedars are not easily known from pines: I observed, they bear a greater quantity of fruit than the large ones. The wood does not differ from white deal in appearance, nor does it seem to be harder: it has a fine smell, but not so fragrant as the juniper of America, which is commonly called cedar; and it also falls short of it in beauty. I took a piece of the wood from a great tree that was blown down by the wind, and left there to rot: there are *fifteen* large ones standing." This fallen tree makes up precisely Maundrell's sixteen, which shews the accuracy of that most honest traveller. "I ob-

served," adds Pococke, "that cypress are the only trees that grow towards the top, which, being nipped by the cold, do not grow spirally, but like small oaks; and it may be concluded that this tree bears cold better than any other." * Possibly, the trees in question are of the species of cypress termed white cedar (*Cupressus thyoides*), or Arbor-vitæ-leaved cypress. Some species of cypress, according to Pliny, was indigenous to Mount Ida, and grew on its highest point, though covered with snow; and some of the mountains in Persia are covered with cypress-trees. The cedars grow in a plain between the highest parts of Mount Lebanon, on which the cypress, it seems, is found. It is strange that no other traveller should have noticed this; especially as the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus is a sufficient voucher for the fact that both species were indigenous to these parts: "I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress-tree upon the mountains of Hermon." †

Burckhardt describes the cedars in the following terms: "They stand on uneven ground, and form a small wood. Of the oldest and best-looking trees, I counted *eleven* or *twelve*; twenty-five were very large ones, about fifty of middling size, and more than three hundred smaller and young ones. The oldest trees are distinguished by having the foliage and small branches at the top only, and by four, five, or even seven trunks springing from one base. The branches and foliage of the other were lower; but I saw none whose leaves touched the ground, like those in Kew Gardens. The trunks of the old trees are covered with the names of travellers and other per-

* "A Description of the East," &c. B. II. c. 5.

† Ecclus. xxiv. 13.

sons who have visited them. I saw a date of the seventeenth century. The trunks of the oldest trees seem to be *quite dead*; the wood is of a grey tint. I took off a piece of one of them, but it was afterwards stolen." *

Dr. Richardson visited the cedars in his way from Baalbec to Tripoli. The ascent of what he terms "the mountain foreground" of Libanus, from the Valley of Bekaa, commences at the village of Aad or Aat. The road for some time winds among shrubs and flowers that only half cover the surface of the red earth. After three hours' fatiguing march through this rugged scenery, they passed the ruins of an ancient village, and plunged into a deep, narrow, stony vale, where the rock has been cut down on each side, and hollowed out as if it had once been the bed of a mighty torrent. "We are now," continues Dr. R., "at the base of the snow-crowned Lebanon;† and streams of water, formed by the melting of the snow, are pouring down from it into the vale in a thousand channels." From this point, the ascent is steep, but, by following a winding direction, is not difficult. They passed several deep trenches that had evidently been formed by avalanches from the sides of the mountain. After continuing to ascend for about an hour and ten minutes from the base, they arrived at the snow, which, at that time, (June 10) was fast melting away, and only lay in patches. Half an hour more conducted them to the summit.‡

* Travels in Syria, p. 19.

† Dr. Richardson states, that the natives call the mountain *Djebel Leban*, including under that appellation, Djebel Sheikh, and the whole mountainous track from the Mediterranean to the Jordan. "The distinction of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is unknown among them."

‡ Burckhardt appears to have ascended the mountain from a

The view from this elevated station is thus described: "From the towering height of this snow-covered mountain, we beheld the sea with clouds hanging over it; the irregular mountain foreground that concealed the plains of Tripoli, and seemed to stretch on to the ocean; the delightful village of Eden, and numerous other villages that covered the sides, or occupied the base of a deep and fertile ravine, with a profusion of walnut and mulberry-trees; all of which, seen from the summit of the far-famed Lebanon, formed a most enchanting prospect, which we quitted with reluctance."

"The descent," continues Dr. Richardson, "is rather precipitous, and winds, by a long circuitous direction, down the side of the mountain. In a few minutes we came in sight of the far-famed cedars that lay down before us on our right. The natives call them Arseliban. At first, they appeared like a dark spot on the base of the mountain, and afterwards like a clump of dwarfish shrubs that possessed neither dignity nor beauty, nor any thing that entitled them to a visit, but the name. In about an hour and a

different point. He crossed the plain to the village of Deir-el-Akhmar, which stands just at the foot of the mountain. It was at that time deserted, its inhabitants having retired to Beshirai, to escape the visitations of the nomade hordes who infest the valley. The tobacco of Deir-el-Akhmar is said to be the finest in Syria. After ascending from this village for three hours and a half, he reached the village Ainnete, up to which point the mountain is covered with dwarf oaks. At the end of two hours and a half from Ainnete, he reached the summit, making the whole ascent *six* hours. The highest summit, however, lay half an hour to the right. The honey of Ainnete, and of the whole of Lebanon, is stated to be of a superior quality. Two hours west of Ainnete, is the Lake Liemoun, or Limone, which derives its waters from the melting of the snow: it is about three furlongs over.

half we reached them. They are large, and tall, and beautiful, the most picturesque productions of the vegetable world that we had seen. There are in this clump two generations of trees: the oldest are large and massy, rearing their heads to an enormous height, and spreading their branches afar. We measured one of them, which we afterwards saw was not the largest in the clump, and found it thirty-two feet in circumference. *Seven* of these trees have a particularly ancient appearance; the rest are younger, but equally tall, though, for want of space, their branches are not so spreading. The clump is so small, that a person may walk round it in half an hour. The old cedars are not found in any other part of Lebanon. Young trees are occasionally met with; they are very productive, and cast many seeds annually. The surface all round is covered with rock and stone, with a partial but luxuriant vegetation springing up in the interstices."

Captains Irby and Mangles appear to have seen the cedars only from a distant point, and their account of them is by no means accurate. Describing the general effect of the scene, they represent the spot which they occupy, as nearly surrounded by the barren chain of Lebanon, in the form of an amphitheatre of about thirty miles' circuit, the opening being towards the sea. The *tout ensemble* reminded them of the Appennines at the back of Genoa, more than any mountain scenery they had witnessed.

Although the legend respecting these cedars is clearly apocryphal, yet, in the name of the neighbouring village of Eden, we have a proof that this part of Lebanon was famed, in the time of Ezekiel, (B.C. 572) as the region of the finest cedars. The prophet speaks of "the trees of Eden" as "the

choicest and best of Lebanon." * They, in all probability, extended, at that period, much nearer to the village. The only point of any importance, however, connected with these trees, is the fact, which they clearly establish, that the cedar is the indigenous production of the soil. The oldest cedars in our own country date not above a hundred and fifty years back: they are supposed to reach their maturity in less than three centuries. There can be no doubt that the mountains of Libanus were formerly clothed with far nobler specimens of this majestic tree than any which are at present to be seen there. But now, "Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth." The axe has been busy there during nearly three thousand years, and the torch of war has made still wider desolation.

Beshirai is an hour and a quarter's distance from the cedars; it lies considerably below them on the edge of a rocky descent, on the right bank of the river Kadesha, — the "holy river" referred to by Father Dandini. The valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, and watered by this winding stream, reminded Captain Mangles of the vale of the Dive in Savoy and its "pont de chèvres." Beshirai consists, according to Burckhardt, of about one hundred and twenty houses; yet, strange to say, its inhabitants, who are all Maronites, are stated to have seven churches. The village is surrounded with fruit-trees, mulberry-plantations, fields of dhourra and other corn, though there is scarcely a natural plain twenty feet square; but, by means of artificial terraces, more extended levels are obtained, and water is very abundant, as numerous streams descend on every side

* Ezek. xxxi. 16.

into the Kadesha. The inhabitants have excellent plantations of tobacco; the potatoe, too, succeeds here very well.* They also rear the silk-worm, and manufacture cotton stuffs, used by the mountaineers as shawls for girdles. Forty years ago, the village was in the hands of the Motoualies, who were driven out by the Maronites; it is in the district of Tripoli, but it is in the hands of the Emir Besheer.

At half an hour from Beshirai is the Carmelite convent of Deir Serkis (St. Sergius),—"a most delightful retirement," says Pococke, "in summer: the beauty of the opposite hills, the several cascades and streams of water, and the perpetual freshness of the air in these high regions, make the place very agreeable, while the heats in the plain are almost intolerable; but, in the winter, the fathers reside at Tripoli." Burckhardt found here, in October 1810, a solitary monk, "a very worthy old man, a native of Tuscany, who had been a missionary to Egypt, India, and Persia."

Kanobin, the seat of the Maronite patriarch, is two hours and a half from Beshirai. The road to it leads for two hours and a half over the upper plain, and then descends a precipitous ravine, through which flows a branch of the Kadesha. The convent is built on a steep precipice on the right of the valley, at half an hour's walk from the river, and appears as if suspended in the air, being supported by a high wall built against the side of the mountain. It is described by Maundrell as "a very mean structure, but its situation," he adds, "is admirably adapted for retirement and devotion: for there is a very deep rupture

* The potatoe is stated to have been cultivated for some time past in Kesrouan.

in the side of Libanus, running at least seven hours' travel directly up into the mountain. It is on both sides exceeding steep and high, clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, and every where refreshed with fountains, falling down from the rocks in pleasant cascades; the ingenious works of nature. These streams, all uniting at the bottom, make a full and rapid torrent, whose agreeable murmuring is heard all over the place, and adds no small pleasure to it. Canobine is seated on the north side of this chasm, on the steep of the mountain, at about the midway between the top and the bottom. It stands at the mouth of a great cave, having a few small rooms fronting outward, that enjoy the light of the sun; the rest are all under ground. It had for its founder the Emperor Theodosius the Great; and though it has been several times rebuilt, yet, the patriarch assured me, the church was of the primitive foundation. But whoever built it, it is a mean fabric, and no great credit to its founder. It stands in the grot, but fronting outwards, receives a little light from that side. In the same side there were also hanged in the wall two small bells, to call the monks to their devotions: a privilege allowed nowhere else in this country; nor would they be suffered here, but that the Turks are far enough off from the hearing of them.

"The valley of Canobine was anciently (as it well deserves) very much resorted to for religious retirement. You see here still hermitages, cells, monasteries, almost without number. There is not any little part of rock, that jets out upon the side of the mountain, but you generally see some little structure upon it, for the reception of monks and hermits, though few or none of them are now inhabited."

Pococke describes the church as "a fine large grot." It is dedicated to the Virgin, and is decorated with the portraits of a great number of patriarchs. "During the winter," Burckhardt states, "the peasants suspend their silk-worms in bags to the portrait of some favourite saint, and implore his influence for a plenteous harvest of silk. From this custom the convent derives a considerable income." Not far from the spot is a grotto, called the Chapel of Santa Marina, who is said to have lived as a monk at Tripoli, and on the mountains, in the habit of a man; and not far from this chapel there are descents to two vaults, in one of which the patriarchs are buried, and in the other the monks.

If any situation in the world could be thought secure from hostile intrusion, this might seem to be the one. Pococke describes it as "the most extraordinary and retired that can be imagined, there being only one way to it, which makes it a very secure retreat, and is probably the reason why the patriarchs have taken up their residence here." Their custom was, to pass the summer months at Kanobin, and, in the winter, to descend to Mar Hanna. Yet, Burckhardt states, the vexations and insults to which they were exposed from the Motoualies, in their excursions to and from Baalbec, induced them for many years to abandon this residence altogether; and the present patriarch is the first who, for a long time, has taken up his abode here. It once possessed a considerable library, which has been gradually dispersed, and not a vestige of it now remains. The cells of the monks, too, are, for the most part, in ruins. In the mountains above Kanobin, tigers are said to be frequently met with. "I suppose," says Burckhardt, "ounces are meant."

"Three hours distant from Kanobin, at the convent Kasheya, near the village Eden, is a printing-office, where prayer-books in the Syriac language are printed. This language is known and spoken by many Maronites, and in this district, the greater part of them write Arabic in Syriac characters. The names of the owners of the silk-worms were all written in this character, in different hands, upon the bags suspended in the church."

From Beshirai, Burckhardt crossed over the higher range of Libanus, in a S.E. direction, to Zahle. At one hour's distance, he passed the village Hosrun. Three hours and a half further, following the foot of the upper chain of Libanus, he entered the district of Tanurin (*Ard Tanurin*), so called from a village situated below in the valley. Beyond this, lies the district *Ard Laklouk*, in which is the Greek village of Akoura. The spots in the mountain susceptible of cultivation in this part, are sown by the inhabitants of Tanurin and Laklouk: such as afford pasture only, are visited by the Arabs of the tribe El Haib, who wander about the district for five months. Some of them even remain here the whole winter, except that in winter they descend from the pastures, and pitch their tents round the villages of Tanurin and Akoura, which are situated in a valley sheltered on every side by the perpendicular sides of the Upper Libanus. Others winter on the coast about Djebail, Tripoli, and Tortosa. "I was astonished," says Burckhardt, "at seeing so high in the mountain, numerous camels and Arab huts. Though, like the Bedouins, these Arabs have no fixed habitations, their features are not of the true Bedouin cast, and their dialect, though different from that of the peasants, is not a pure Bedouin dialect. They are tributary to the Turkish gover-

nors, and at peace with the country people; but they have the character of a great propensity to thieving. Their property, besides camels, consists in horses, cows, sheep, and goats. Their chief is Khuder-el-Aisy." The district of Laklouk is compared to some of the pasturages in the Alps. It is covered with grass, and its numerous springs, together with the heavy dews which fall during the summer months, produce a verdure of uncommonly deep tint for Syria.

The inhabitants of Akoura are all Greek Catholics, and have a bad name for avarice and inhospitality: their property consists in cows and other cattle, silk-worms, and olive plantations. Here, according to Burckhardt, Djebel Libnan terminates, being called lower down, Djebel Sannin. It is more barren and wild in this part than further to the north. An hour and three quarters further, is the village Afka, supposed to be the ancient Aphaca, where, according to Zosimus, was an infamous temple dedicated to Venus: it was situated near a small lake, between Heliopolis and Byblus.* Afka is at three hours' distance from Lake Liemoun: it is situated in the bottom of a valley. Burckhardt could not hear, however, of any remains of antiquity in its neighbourhood. The inhabitants are Motoualies, (by him spelt *Metaweli*) under the government of Djebail, and three other Motouali villages lie to the west of Afka.† From this place, the road leads up a steep wady to a high level country, still on the western side of the

* See Pococke's Travels, book ii. chap. 5.

† Burckhardt gives their names, *Mghaicre, Meneitere,* and *Laese.*

summit of the mountain, three or four hours in length, and four in breadth, where, in the spring, the Arabs *El Abid*, and some Turcomans and Kourds come to pasture their cattle. There are no springs here; but the melting of the snow in the spring affords drink for men and cattle; and snow-water is often found during the greater part of the summer, in funnel-shaped channels formed in the ground by the snow, which in many places remains throughout the year.* The pasturage is excellent; it is, in some spots, overgrown with trees, chiefly oaks; the barberry abounds here, and partridges are started at every step. The district is known by the name of *Watty-el-Borje*, from a small ruined tower. The Kourdish shepherds, Burckhardt states, bring annually into Syria from 20 to 30,000 sheep from the mountains of Kourdistan,

* Pococke remarks, that "though all the people about Lebanon drink of the snow-water, yet, they have not that swelling in the neck which the people are subject to who drink of the snow-water of the Alps; which may be owing to a greater freedom of perspiration; and possibly, this snow may not be charged with so great a quantity of nitre as it is in the northern parts. It is observed on Mount Lebanon, that, in the spring-time, when the snows begin to melt, the waters of the river rise, but the fountains continue as before. After a certain time, the fountains flow plentifully, and the waters of the river abate; and then, the fountains continuing to flow, the waters of the river increase again. The reason of which seems to be, that, when the snows first melt, the waters run down on the surface of the frozen snow, without soaking into the ground to feed the springs; and so the greatest part of it runs into the rivers. But when the snow is melted towards the lower parts of the mountains, the water begins to be drunk up by the earth, and consequently increases the fountains; and when the earth is almost full of water, and of course does not imbibe so much as before, it then runs more plentifully into the rivers, continuing to feed the fountains."—*Travels*, book ii. chap. 5.

the greater part of which are consumed by Aleppo, Damascus, and the mountains, as Syria does not produce a sufficient number to supply its own consumption. The Kourdish sheep are larger than those of Syria, but the meat is esteemed of inferior quality. The sheep-dealers first visit with their flocks Aleppo; then Hamah, Homs, and Baalbec; and what they do not sell on the route, they bring to pasture in this district, whither the people of Zahle, Deir-el-Kamar, and other towns in the mountains, repair and buy up thousands of them at from twenty to thirty piastres a head, which they afterwards sell in retail to the peasants at from thirty to forty piastres. The mountaineers of the Druse and Maronite districts rarely, however, partake of animal food: it is only in the largest towns that flesh is brought daily to market.

Beyond Watty-el-Borje, proceeding in a direction S.W. by S. the traveller enters the higher range of the mountain, which is here completely rocky and stony: part of the district belongs to Kesrouan. In two hours he comes to a spring called *Ain Naena*, whence there is a road leading down towards the N.E. into the territory of Baalbec. This route is much frequented by the people of Kesrouan, who bring this way the iron ore of Shouair, (ten hours distant, S.W.) to the smelting-furnaces (*mesbek*) at *Nebae-el-Mauraje*, (two hours further N.E.) where the mountain abounds in oak, Shouair affording no fuel: the distance is reckoned a day's journey and a half. From Ain Naena, it is a gradual descent of three hours to Zahle.

Zahle is a large and pleasant town, built in an inlet of the mountain, on a steep ascent, surrounded with vineyards: it is inhabited almost entirely by Greek Catholics. Forty years ago, Burckhardt says,

it contained only two hundred houses.* In 1810, there were 8 or 900, and the population was daily on the increase, with fugitives from the oppressions of the pashas of Damascus, and the neighbouring petty tyrants. It had then become one of the principal towns in the territory of the Druses. "It has its markets, which are supplied from Damascus and Beirout, and are visited by the neighbouring fellahs, and the Arabs El Naim, and El Harb, and El Faddel, part of whom pass the winter months in the Bekaa, and exchange their butter against articles of dress, and tents, and horse and camel furniture. The inhabitants, who may amount to five thousand, are all Catholic Greeks, with the exception only of four or five Turkish families. The Christians have a bishop, five churches, and a monastery; the Turks have no mosque. The town belongs to the territory of the Druses, and is under the authority of the Emir Beshir; but a part of it still belongs to the family of Aamara, whose influence, formerly very great in the mountain, has lately been so much circumscribed by the Emir, that the latter is now absolute master of the town. The Emir receives the *miri*, which is commonly the double of its original assessment; (in Belad Baalbec it is the triple;) and besides the *miri*, he makes occasional demands upon the town at large. They had paid him forty-five purses a few weeks before my arrival. So far, the Emir Beshir's government resembles perfectly that of the Osmanlys in the eastern part of Syria; but there is one great

* This can scarcely be correct, since Volney, in 1784, speaks of it as having become within the preceding twenty years, the centre of intercourse between Balbec, Damascus, and Beirout, and the interior of the mountains. Mr. Brown, in 1798, says: "it sends forth 700 men fit for war."

advantage which the people enjoy under his command — an almost complete exemption from all personal exactions, and the impartiality of justice, which is dealt out in the same manner to the Christian and to the Turk. It is curious, that the peace of so numerous a body should be maintained without any legal power whatsoever. There is neither sheikh nor governor in the town. Disputes are settled by the friends of the respective parties; or, if the latter are obstinate, the decision is referred to the tribunal of the Emir Beshir, at Deir-el-Kamar. The inhabitants, though not rich, are, in general, in independent circumstances. Each family occupies one, or at most two rooms. The houses are built of mud; the roofs are supported by one or two wooden posts in the midst of the principal room, over which beams of pine-wood are laid across each other; upon these are branches of oak-trees, and then the earth which forms the flat terrace of the house. In winter, the deep snow would soon break through these feeble roofs, did not the inhabitants take care every morning to remove the snow that may have fallen during the night. The people gain their subsistence, partly by the cultivation of their vineyards and a few mulberry plantations, or of their fields in the Bekaa, and partly by their shops, by the commerce in Kourdine sheep, and their manufactures. Almost every family wears cotton cloth, which is used as shirts by the inhabitants and Arabs, and, when dyed blue, as *kombazes* or gowns by the men. There are more than twenty dyeing-houses in Zahle, in which indigo only is employed. The *pike** of the best of this cotton cloth, a *pike* and a half broad, costs fifty paras (about

* The *pike* is a cloth measure equal to two feet English.

1*s.* 6*d.* English). The cotton is brought from Szaffad and Nablous. They likewise fabricate abbas, or woollen mantles. There are above one hundred horsemen in the town. In June, 1810, when the Emir Beshir joined with his corps the army of Solieman Pasha, to depose Yousef Pasha, he took from Zahle 400 men, armed with firelocks."*

On the west side of the town, in the bottom of the wady, is the monastery of Mar Elias, inhabited (in 1810) by a prior and twenty monks. It has extensive vineyards and mulberry plantations, and on the river side, a well-cultivated garden, the produce of which is sold to the town's people. The Lombardy poplar flourishes near Zahle in abundance. One of the chief articles of cultivation is tobacco. The river Berdoun, issuing from the rocks, turns the mills, and waters the plantations. The town is sheltered by the mountains; the air is salubrious, and the heat never excessive. The people, however, complain of two drawbacks,—the oppression of the Emir, and the still more destructive ravages of the locusts.

The diocese of the Greek Catholic bishop, comprehends the whole Christian community in the Bekaa, and the adjoining villages of the mountain: his revenue arises from a yearly personal tax of half a piastre on every male adult in his diocese. This bishop, with five others, is subject to the Greek Catholic patriarch at Mikhalis, and there are, besides, seven monasteries under his jurisdiction. Brown and Burckhardt make honourable mention of old Bishop Basilios, who is described as living in a truly patriarchal manner; his dress a black gown and black abba, with a large oaken stick for an episcopal staff.

* *Travels in Syria, pp.* 5—7.

He was distinguished by the politeness of his manners, his general information, and his desire of knowledge, though at an advanced age. He was adored by his parishioners, only he was not quite intolerant enough towards other sects to satisfy their bigotry. "The pious antipathy between the Greeks and the Catholics reigns here," says Mr. Brown, "in all its fury."

The virulence of religious bigotry among the different sects of Christians, Greeks, Latins, Maronites, Jacobites, in these remote and sequestered regions, is described by Burckhardt as at once amusing and profitable to the Turks: it is, indeed, a pitiable spectacle. The principal hatred, he says, subsists between the Greek Catholics and the Greeks of the Eastern Church: of the latter, many thousands have been converted to Romanism, and "the Greeks of course see with indignation the proselytism of their brethren, which is daily gaining ground. In those parts where no Greeks reside, as in the mountains of Libanus, the different sects of (Roman) Catholics turn their hatred against each other, and the Maronites fight with the Greek Catholics, as they do at Aleppo with the followers of the Greek Church."

Near Zahle, Mr. Brown tells us, that he saw what is called the *Tomb of Noah*, "a long structure, seemingly part of an aqueduct: it extends about sixty feet, the stature of Noah, according to Oriental tradition. The pilgrims who came formerly to worship in the mosque near it, were very numerous, and the religious revenue is said to amount to 300 purses annually." Burckhardt's account differs. The long building contains, he says, the pretended tomb of Noah, which consists of a tombstone above ten feet long, three broad, and two high, plastered all over. The Turks visit the grave, and "pretend that Noah is really

buried there. It is half an hour from Zahle, on the southern side of the village Kerak, which is at the foot of Djebel Sannin, and consists of about 150 houses. It is inhabited entirely by Turks, but belongs to the territory of the Emir of the Druses."

Two hours from Zahle, in the Djebel Sannin, and half an hour from the village of Fursul, is a ruined temple called Heusn Nieha, which is thus described by Burckhardt. "These remains stand in a wady, surrounded by barren rocks, having a spring near them to the eastward. The temple faced the west. A grand flight of steps, twelve paces broad, with a column three feet and a half in diameter at each end of the lower step, formed the approach to a spacious pronaos, in which are remains of columns: here a door, six paces in width, opens into the *cella*, the fallen roof of which now covers the floor, and the side-walls to half their original height only remain. This chamber is thirty-five paces in length by fifteen in breadth. On each of the side-walls stood six pilasters, of a bad Ionic order. At the extremity of the chamber are steps leading to a platform, where the statue of the deity may, perhaps, have stood: the whole space is here filled up with fragments of columns and walls. The square stones used in the construction of the walls are in general about four or five cubic feet each; but I saw some twelve feet long, four feet high, and four feet in breadth. On the right side of the entrance-door, is a staircase in the wall, leading to the top of the building, and much resembling, in its mode of construction, the staircase in the principal temple of Baalbec. The remains of the capitals of columns betray a very corrupt taste, being badly sculptured, and without any elegance either in design or execution: and the temple seems to have

been built in the latest times of paganism, and was, perhaps, subsequently repaired and converted into a church. The stone with which it has been built, is more decayed than that in the ruins at Baalbec, being here more exposed to the inclemency of the weather. No inscriptions were any where visible. Around the temple are some ruins of ancient, and others of more modern habitations." *

This is evidently the site of a considerable place. Above the village is a plain called *Habis*, in which Burckhardt was told that there are a number of excavations in the rock, probably tombs; but he neglected to visit them. From Zahle, it is a journey of about two days, through the valley of Bekaa and over part of the Anti-Libanus, to Hasbeya. The river of Zahle, or *nahr Berdoun*, forms the frontier of the Bekaa, separating it from the territory of the Emir of Baalbec. There is a bridge over it in the valley, a quarter of an hour below the village, and every thing to the southward of that bridge is considered as belonging to the Bekaa, which is under the authority of the Emir Beshir; but the Emir has been involved in perpetual disputes with the pashas of Damascus respecting his right over the villages in this district. He has acquired a degree of influence, however, over Baalbec, and receives the yearly sum of fifteen purses from this district.

Another modern traveller has given a brief account of his journey across Libanus in another direction, directly east of Djebail.

"After a rugged, narrow, stony road of three hours' continual ascent, we arrived at Kafr-Baal, a village consisting of four or five houses. Half an

* Travels in Syria, p. 30.

hour beyond, the scenery becomes rich and magnificent in the extreme. Wady-el-Amid, *the rich valley*, watered by the river Vidar, is on our right, a large and deep stream, and its banks exceedingly fertile. On the other side of the valley are most lofty mountains covered with snow; the clouds passing beneath their summits. Shortly afterwards, we passed the villages Duziyere and Hameige on heights below us, but considerably above the bottom of the valley. At two P.M. (six hours and a half from Djebail,) we arrived at Djebel Djudje, or *the mountain of fowls*, very steep, and covered with holm-oaks: the descent was as a sharp-pointed staircase of rock, and most of us were obliged to dismount. In this part we were embosomed in the depths of snow-topped mountains, wild and horrid in the extreme. At the foot of Djebel Djudje is a rushing stream, the ground on either side being cultivated: this river is called *nahr Mehaal*, and seems to form part of the Vidar. At its head is a fine waterfall, about 100 feet high, composed of five cascades, the first of which has a descent of thirty feet. After passing a short distance to the eastward along the bank of the river, we forded it, and ascended the snowy mountains to the southward. Here the snow was very deep, the road difficult, and our horses frequently fell in the hollows. Throughout the winter, this route is absolutely impracticable. In about an hour we turned to our left, and, after passing a rugged, uneven ground, we arrived at the vale, and then at the village of Alcoura, at the head of the valley.

"Alcoura is a Maronite village, situated at the foot of a very lofty precipice: it consists of about 100 houses, and is tributary to the governor of Djebail. The houses are merely square stone buildings, covered

with beams of rough-hewn trees and branches instead of plank; this again is overlaid with a composition of mud, and forms a terrace: the only openings are a door, and two or three square holes to admit the light. Here the silk-worms were still in the egg, (April 24,) while at Tripoli they were already brought into the garden. At Alcoura, indeed, every thing had the appearance of winter; there were no leaves on the mulberry-trees, nor any other marks of spring vegetation.

"April 25. This morning we attended mass at the village church, which seemed to be officiated precisely in the same manner as the Latin. It appears that the only difference between the Maronites and the Roman Catholics, consists in the former following the Greek Calendar, and observing some festivals and fasts which were omitted by the former. At twenty minutes past eight, A.M., we took leave of Alcoura. In the valley of Alcoura is the village Mogeiree" (probably one of the three Motouali villages mentioned by Burckhardt as west of Afka): "shortly after passing this, we had a view of the sea. In an hour and a half we arrived opposite to Djebel Mitree. Between us and the mountain is the valley of the same name, with a small stream and village called Mitree, belonging to the Motoualies" (probably the same as Meneitere); "and another called Kafr-Uftar: both these villages are on the opposite side of the stream. At the head of the valley Mitree, we halted at the Ain-el-Bukhara, *the fountain of the cow.* Here the mountains are lofty, wild, and uncultivated, rarely interspersed with large juniper-trees. The road led us sometimes over hardened snow, at others, over gravel. At half past noon we saw the highest summit of Libanus; Anti-Libanus running in a direction

N. and S.* Between them extends the plain of Balbec, about two leagues and a half in breadth Hence we soon began to descend the mountain; and, after traversing a steep road for more than two hours, we arrived at the ruined village Sardac, at the commencement of the plain. Here we crossed the valley, which is badly cultivated, and with scarcely any trees; the soil of a reddish colour. We soon distinctly perceived the towering ruins of the temple of the sun. At half-past six, P.M. we arrived at Baalbec."†

The direct route to the capital of the Druse country ascends from Beirout. Burckhardt, however, wishing to visit some convents in Kesrouan, turned up into the mountains at Ghafer Djouni, on the coast, between Djeser Maamiltein and nahr-el-Kelb. In six hours and three quarters, he reached Zouk Mikayl, the capital of the province. Its inhabitants consist, for the most part, of the shopkeepers and artisans who furnish Kesrouan with articles of dress and luxury: he observed, in particular, many boot and shoemakers' shops. A quarter of an hour further is Deir Beshera, a convent of nuns. At the end of seven hours and a quarter, he reached Antoura. This village is distinguished as being the place chosen by the Jesuits for their college. Volney, speaking of it, says, "Here the *ci-devant* Jesuits had an establishment, which does not possess the splendour of those of Europe, but the house is neat in its simplicity; and its situation, the streams which water its

* From this point, the following bearings were taken: Summit of Libanus, N.E. by E. Point of ditto in valley, E.N.E. Baalbec, E.S.E. Direction of the valley of Baalbec, NN.E. and SS.W.

† Travels, from the Papers of Lieut. Col. Squire, in Walpole's Continuation of Memoirs relating to Turkey. pp. 301—3.

vines and mulberry plantations, the prospect which it commands over the valley, and the easy communication with the sea,* render it an agreeable hermitage. The Jesuits wished to annex to it a nunnery situated a quarter of a league in front of it, but the Greeks having dispossessed them of this, they built another, just by their own convent, giving it the name of 'the Visitation.' They also erected, at two hundred paces' distance above their own house, a college, which they wished to fill with Maronite and Greek Catholic students, but it remains deserted. The Lazarists, who have taken their place, maintain at Antoura, a superior and a lay-brother, who serve the mission with equal charity and respectability." Burckhardt found here, in 1810, a solitary Lazarist, the Abbate Gandolfi, who was the Pope's delegate for the affairs of the Eastern Church. At one hour and a half from Antoura, on the top of the mountain, is the convent of Harissa, belonging to the Franciscans of the Terra Santa establishment: it is a well-built convent, capable of receiving upwards of twenty monks, but, at that time, was inhabited by a single Piedmontese friar. The view from the terrace of the convent is extremely beautiful, commanding the bay of Kesrouan and the country as far as Djebail on one side, and down to Beirout on the other. Near it is a miserable village of the same name; below is the village Sahel Alma; and halfway between Harissa and Antoura, is the site of the Kourket convent, or El Bekerke. "On the breaking out of the war between England and the Porte, Mr. Barker, the English consul of Aleppo, received from the Emir Beshir an offer of the convent of Harissa as a place of

* It is about half an hour from the mouth of the nahr-el-Kelb.

refuge. Mr. Barker resided here for two years and a half, and his prudent and liberal conduct have done great credit to the English name in the mountain. The French consuls on the coast applied several times to the Emir Beshir, by express orders from the French government, to have Mr. Barker and his family removed; but the Emir twice tore their letters in pieces, and returned them by the messenger as his only answer." *

Half an hour further to the north, near the village Ghosta, are the convents Kereim and Baklous. Kereim is a rich Armenian monastery: it was found to contain twenty monks. The silk of this place is esteemed the best in Kesrouan. One hour and a quarter further is Ayn Warka, another Maronite convent. "I wished," says Burckhardt, "to see this place, because I had heard that a school had lately been established here, and that the convent contained a good library of Syrian books. But I was not so fortunate as to see the library. The bishop, although he received me well, found a pretext for not opening the room in which the books are kept; fearing, probably, that if his treasures should be known, his convent might some day be deprived of them. I, however, saw a beautiful dictionary of the Syriac language, in large folio, written in the Syriac character, which I suppose to be the only copy in Syria. Its author was Djorjios (Georgius) el Kerem Seddany, who composed it in the year 1619. Kerem Seddany is the name of a village near Beshirai. This dictionary may be worth, in Syria, eight hundred or a thousand piastres, but the convent would certainly not sell it for less than two thousand, besides a

* *Burckhardt, p. 184.*

present to the bishop. The school of Ayn Warka was established fifteen years since, by Yousef, the predecessor of the present bishop. It is destined to educate sixteen poor Maronite children for the clerical profession: they remain here for six or eight years, during which they are fed and clothed at the expense of the convent, and are educated according to the literary taste of the country; that is to say, in addition to their religious duties, they are taught grammar, logic, and philosophy. At present there is only one schoolmaster, but another is shortly expected, to teach philosophy. The boys have particular hours assigned to the different branches of their studies. I found them sitting or lying about in the court-yard, each reading a book, and the master, in a common peasant's dress, in the midst of them. Besides the Arabic language, they are taught to speak, read, and write the Syriac. The bishop is building a dormitory for the boys, in which each of them is to have his separate room; he has also begun to take in pupils from all parts of Syria, whose parents pay for their board and education. The convent has considerable landed property, and its income is increased by alms from the Catholic Syrians. The boys, on leaving the convent, are obliged to take orders.

"From Ayn Warka, I ascended to the convent of Bezommar, one hour and a quarter distant. It belongs to the Armenian Catholics, and is the seat of the Armenian patriarch, the spiritual head of all the Armenians in the East who have embraced the (Roman) Catholic faith. Bezommar is built upon the highest summit of the mountain of Kesrouan, which is a lower branch of the southern Libanus. It is the finest and richest convent in Kesrouan, and is at

present inhabited by the old patriarch Yousef, four bishops, twelve monks, and seventeen priests. The patriarch himself built the convent, at an expense of upwards of fifteen thousand pounds sterling. Its income is considerable, and is derived partly from its great landed possessions, and partly from the benefactions of persons at Constantinople, in Asia Minor, and in Syria. The venerable patriarch received me in his bed, from which, I fear, he will never rise again. The Armenian priests of this convent are social and obliging, with little of the pride and hypocrisy of the Maronites. Several of them had studied at Rome. The convent educates an indefinite number of poor boys; at present there are eighteen, who are destined to take orders; they are clothed and fed gratis. Boys are sent here from all parts of the Levant. I inquired after Armenian manuscripts, but was told that the convent possessed only Armenian books, printed at Venice.

"Half an hour below Bezommar is the convent Essharfe, belonging to the true Syrian church. The rock in this part is a quartzose sandstone, of a red and grey colour. To the left, still lower down, is a considerable village, Deir Aoun, and above it, the Maronite convent, Mar Shalleitta."*

The Rev. Mr. Connor gives an account of an interesting interview with the Syrian patriarch Giarve, at the convent of Deir-el-Sharfe (the same that Burckhardt mentions above), in the year 1820. The proper name of the convent is that of *Santa Maria della Liberatrice.* Its situation is described as noble and commanding, standing on a wooded eminence, and overlooking a large tract of mountain scenery, the

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 185—7.

town of Beirout, a long line of coast, and a wide sweep of the Mediterranean. The convent was at that time undergoing extensive repairs. Its chapel was small, hung round with a great number of little pictures of saints and scripture scenes. "It was pleasing to hear," says the reverend traveller, "in the evening, the sound of the various convent bells in the neighbouring mountains, which summoned the people to vespers." The patriarch had ordered a printing-press, intending, as soon as it should arrive, to commence the printing of the Scriptures, and to issue tracts for the spiritual instruction of his flock, which is very numerous, and widely scattered throughout Syria, Mesopotamia, and other quarters. This prelate appears to be decidedly one of the most enlightened men among all the various Christian communities of this region of Syria. In reply to inquiries respecting the Maronites, by whom he is surrounded, he told Mr. Connor, that they would gladly receive the Arabic Scriptures in an edition that would stand the test of a rigid examination.

From Deir-el-Sharfe, Mr. Connor proceeded to the convent of Mar-Hanna-Shouair, mentioned by Volney as the chief establishment among the Greek Catholics. It contained at this time thirty-five individuals, of whom eight were monks, the remainder laymen and servants. Here there is an Arabic printing-press; but as, on the numerous saints' days, no work is done, and there is only one press, the progress which is made is very slow. The average number of volumes which they issue in the course of a year, may amount, they said, to about a hundred and eighty. Of these, the greater part are Psalters. Seven persons are employed at the press, and the books are bound in the convent. All the profits of the printing establish-

ment go to the patriarch of the Greek Catholics, who resides at Zouk; and he employs the money in the service of his flock.

The history of this printing establishment is curious: it is about ninety years old, and Volney speaks of it, in 1785, as the only one that had succeeded in the Turkish Empire. "It was," he says, "in the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Jesuits, availing themselves of the consideration they derived from the protection of France, began to discover, in their establishment at Aleppo, the zeal for education which they have carried with them every where. They had founded, in that city, a seminary, where they exerted themselves in training up the children of Christians in the knowledge of the Roman faith, and of polemical theology. This latter article is always made the main point with these missionaries, and the consequence is a controversial mania, which is perpetually leading to broils between the partisans of different communions in the East. The Latins of Aleppo, instigated by the Jesuits, soon began to dispute, as in former times, with the Greeks. But as logic requires an accurate knowledge of language, and the Christians, excluded from the Mussulman schools, were acquainted only with the vulgar Arabic, they were unable to satisfy their polemical taste by writing. To compass this object, the Latins resolved to initiate themselves into the scientific knowledge of Arabic. The pride of the Mussulman doctors at first refused to lay open their learning to the Infidels; but their avarice overpowered their scruples, and, for a few purses, this so much boasted science of grammar and the *nahou*, was introduced among the Christians. The student who distinguished himself most by his progress, was named Abd-allah-Zaker; who, to his own

desire of learning, added an ardent zeal to promulgate his knowledge and his opinions. It is impossible to determine to what length this spirit of making proselytes might have been carried at Aleppo, had not an accident, not unusual in Turkey, disturbed its progress. The schismatics, vexed at the attacks of Abd-allah, endeavoured to procure his ruin at Constantinople. The patriarch, excited by the priests, represented him to the vizier as a dangerous man; the vizier, accustomed to these disputes, feigned to pay no attention to his complaint; but the patriarch backing his reasons with a few purses, the vizier delivered him a kat-shereeff, or warrant of the sultan, which, according to custom, contained an order to cut off Abd-allah's head. Fortunately he received timely warning, and escaped into Lebanon, where his life was in safety; but, in quitting his country, he by no means abandoned his ideas of reformation, and was more resolutely bent than ever on propagating his opinions. This he was able to effect only by writings; and manuscripts seemed to him an inadequate method. He was no stranger to the advantages of the press, and had the courage to form the three-fold project of writing, founding types, and printing; he succeeded in this enterprise from the natural goodness of his understanding, and the knowledge he had of the art of engraving, which he had already practised in his profession as a jeweller. He stood in need of an associate, and was lucky enough to find one who entered into his designs. His brother, who was superior at Mar-Hanna, prevailed on him to make that convent his residence; and from that time, abandoning every other care, he gave himself up entirely to the execution of his project. His zeal and industry were so successful, that, in the year 1733, he published the

Psalms of David in one volume. His characters were found so correct and beautiful, that even his enemies purchased his book; and since that period, there have been ten impressions of it. New characters have been founded, but nothing has been executed superior to his. They perfectly imitate hand-writing; they express the full and the fine letters, and have not the meagre and straggling appearance of the Arabic characters of Europe. He passed twenty years in this manner, printing different works, which, in general, were translations of our books of devotion. Not that he was acquainted with any of the European languages; but the Jesuits had already translated several books, and, as their Arabic was extremely bad, he corrected their translations, and often substituted his own version, which is a model of purity and elegance. The Arabic he wrote was remarkable for a clear, precise, and harmonious style, of which that language had been thought incapable; and which proves that, should it ever be cultivated by a learned people, it will become one of the most copious and expressive in the world. After the death of Abd-allah, which happened about 1755, he was succeeded by his pupil, whose successors were the monks of the convent: they have continued to found letters and to print, but the business is at present on the decline, and seems likely to be soon entirely laid aside. The books have but little sale, except the Psalter, which is the classic of the Christian children, and for which there is a continual demand. The expenses are considerable, as the paper comes from Europe, and the labour is very slow. A little art would remedy the first inconvenience, but the latter is radical. The Arabic characters requiring to be connected together, to join them well, and place them in a right line, requires an

immense and minute attention. Besides this, as the combination of the letters varies, according as they occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word, it is necessary to found a great number of double letters; by which means the cases being multiplied, can no longer be collected under the hand of a compositor; but he is obliged to run the whole length of a table eighteen feet long, and seek for his letters in nearly nine hundred divisions: hence a loss of time which will never allow Arabic presses to attain the perfection of ours. As for the inconsiderable sale of the books, this must be attributed to the bad choice they have made of them. Instead of giving versions of works of real utility, calculated to awaken a taste for the arts indiscriminately among all the Arabs, they have only translated mystical books peculiar to the Christians, which, by their misanthropic morality, are formed to excite a disgust for all science, and even for life itself."

Among the publications enumerated as having issued from the conventual press, we find the Psalms of David *(El Mazamir)*, translated from the Greek; the Prophets *(El Onbouat)*; the Gospel and the Epistles *(El Endjib oua el Rasaïel)*; an Explanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms; a Contemplation for the Holy Week; and a few other practical treatises by Jesuit writers.* Among the manuscripts in the library are mentioned, The Theology of St. Thomas, 4 volumes folio; (the transcription of which

* Some of these have, at least, good titles; e. g. *Mizan-el-Zaman*, — "The Balance of Time, or the Difference between Time and Eternity, by Father Nieremberg, Jesuit." *Abatil-el-Aalam*, — "Vanity of the World, by Didaco Stella, Jesuit." *Morched-el-Kati*, — "The Sinner's Guide, by Louis of Granada, Jesuit." "The Priest's Guide." "The Christian's Guide," &c.

cost 1250 livres;) The Sermons of St. Chrysostom; The Garden of Monks, or the Life of the holy Fathers of the Desert; a treatise on Logic, translated from the Italian, by a Maronite; the Koran; The Ocean of the Arabic Language, and an abridgement of the same dictionary; Josephus (*Tarik el Yhoud, l'Yousefous*), a very incorrect Arabic translation; a small work on astronomy, according to the principles of Ptolemy; the work of Ebn-Sina (Avicenna) on Medicine; Theological Fragments on the various Sects of the World; two or three collections of tales and pleasant stories; a few works on grammar and rhetoric; and some others of no value.

From this library, the only one at that time known to exist, except that of Djezzar Pasha, an idea may be formed, remarks Volney, of the literature of all Syria. Among the original works, there is not a single one worthy of translation; and few of the monks could understand the greater part of them.

"The regulations and discipline of this religious house are somewhat singular. The rule of their order is that of St. Basil, who is to the Oriental Christians, what St. Benedict is to the Latins; only they have introduced certain modifications, which have been sanctioned by the Court of Rome. They are allowed to take the vows as early as the age of sixteen, it being an object with all monastic legislators, to captivate the minds of their proselytes from the tenderest age, so as to mould them to their institutes. These vows are, as every where else, those of poverty, obedience, devotion, and chastity; but they are not more strictly observed, it must be confessed, in Syria, than in Europe. The condition of the eastern monks is much harder than that of the monks of Europe, as will appear from the detail of their domestic life. Every day

they spend seven hours in prayers at church, and no one is suffered to absent himself. They rise at four o'clock in the morning, go to bed at nine in the evening, and make only two meals, viz. at nine and five. They live perpetually on meagre diet, and hardly allow themselves animal food in the most critical disorders. Like the other Greeks, they have three lents a year, and a multitude of fasts, during which they neither eat eggs, nor milk, nor butter, nor even cheese. Almost the whole year they live on lentils and beans with oil, rice and butter, curds, olives, and a little salt fish. Their bread is a little coarse loaf, badly leavened, which serves two days, and is fresh made only once a week. With this food, they pretend to be less subject to maladies than the peasants; but it must be remarked, that they have all issues in their arms, and many of them are attacked by hernias, owing, as I imagine, to their immoderate use of oil. The lodging of each is a narrow cell, and his whole furniture consists in a mat, a mattress, and a blanket, but no sheets, for of these they have no need, as they sleep with their clothes on. Their clothing is a coarse cotton shirt striped with blue, a pair of drawers, a waistcoat, and a surplice of coarse brown cloth, so stiff and thick, that it will stand upright without a fold. Contrary to the custom of the country, they wear their hair eight inches long, and, instead of a hood, a cylinder of felt, ten inches high, like those of the Turkish cavalry. Every one of them, except the superior, the purveyor, and the vicar, exercises some trade either necessary or useful to the house: one is a weaver, and weaves the stuffs; another a tailor, and makes their clothes; a third a shoemaker, and makes their shoes; a fourth a mason, and superintends their buildings. Two of them

have the management of the kitchen, four work at the printing-press, four are employed in book-binding, and all assist at the bakehouse on the day of making bread. The expense of maintaining forty, or five and forty persons, of which the convent is composed, does not exceed the annual sum of twelve purses, or six hundred and twenty-five pounds; and from this must be deducted the expenses of their hospitality to all passengers, which of itself forms a considerable article. It is true, most of these passengers leave presents or alms, which make a part of the revenue of the house; the other part arises from the culture of the lands. They farm a considerable extent of ground, for which they pay four hundred piastres to two emirs: these lands were cleared out by the first monks themselves; but at present, they commit the culture of them to peasants, who pay them one half of all the produce. This produce consists of white and yellow silks, which are sold at Beirout, some corn, and wines,* which, for

* "These wines are of three sorts, the red, the white, and the yellow; the white, which are the most rare, are so bitter as to be disagreeable. The two others, on the contrary, are too sweet and sugary. This arises from their being boiled, which makes them resemble the boiled wines of Provence. The general custom of the country is, to reduce the must to two thirds of its quantity. It is improper for a common drink at meals, because it ferments in the stomach. In some places, however, they do not boil the red, which then acquires a quality almost equal to that of Bordeaux. The yellow wine is much esteemed among our merchants, under the name of *Golden Wine (Vin d'or)*, which has been given it from its colour. The most esteemed is produced from the hill sides of the Zouk, or the village of Masbeh near Antoura. It is not necessary to heat it, but it is too sugary. Such are the wines of Lebanon, so highly extolled by Grecian and Roman epicures. The Europeans may try them, and see how far they agree with the ancients in opinion: but they should observe, that the passage by sea ferments boiled wines a second

want of demand, are sent as presents to their benefactors, or consumed in the house. Formerly, the monks abstained from drinking wine; but they have gradually relaxed from their primitive austerity: they have also begun to allow the use of tobacco and coffee, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the older monks.

"The same regulations are observed in all the houses of the order, which, as I have already said, amount to twelve. The whole number of monks is estimated at one hundred and fifty. To these must be added, five nunneries, which are dependent on them. The first superiors who founded them, thought they had performed a good work; but the order now regret their having been instituted, because nuns in a Turkish country are very dangerous, and besides, they spend more than they bring in. But they dare not abolish them, because the nuns are connected with the wealthiest merchants of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, who, for a stipulated sum get rid of their daughters, by placing them in these convents. The merchants, likewise, bestow on them considerable alms. Several of them give a hundred pistoles yearly, and even as high as three thousand livres, (125*l.*) without requiring any other interest than their prayers to God, that would preserve them from the rapacity of the pashas.

time, and bursts the casks. It is probable, that the inhabitants of Lebanon have made no change in their ancient method of making wines, or in the culture of their vines. They are disposed on poles of six or eight feet high: they are not pruned, as in France, which certainly must greatly injure both the quantity and quality of the crop. The vintage begins about the end of September. The convent of Mar-hanna makes about one hundred and fifty earthen jars, containing about one hundred and ten pints each: the price current in the country is about seven or eight sols (four-pence), the French pint."

But, as they imprudently attract their notice, by the extreme luxury of their dress and furniture, neither their presents nor the prayers of the monks, can save them from extortion. Not long since, one of these merchants ventured to build a house at Damascus, which cost him upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand livres (5,000*l.*) The pasha observed it, and presently gave the owner to understand, he had a curiosity to see his new house, and would pay him a visit, and take a dish of coffee with him. Now, as the pasha, might have been so delighted with it, as not to have quitted it again, it became necessary to avoid his politeness, by making him a present of thirty thousand livres, (7,500*l.*)

"Next to Mar-Hanna, the most remarkable convent is that of Deir Mikhalis, or St. Saviour's. It is situated three hours' journey to the north-east of Saide. The monks had collected there a considerable number of printed Arabic books and manuscripts; but when Djezzar carried the war into these districts, his soldiers pillaged the house, and dispersed all the books."

We have now entered on the country of the Druses, the convent of Mar-Hanna being within their territory, about three quarters of an hour south-east of the point where the Ghadiry falls into the sea. The Emir Beshir has had a new road made the greater part of the way up to Deir-el-Kamar from the plain of Beirout, to facilitate the communication between his capital and the provinces of Kesrouan and Djebail. Captain Light, who visited the Emir in the year 1814, was struck, on entering the mountain territory, with the observable difference in the air and manner of the natives from the inhabitants of the coast. "On

ascending the mountain, houses, convents, and hamlets every where presented themselves: the road, though steep, was not bad. Neat caravanserais, where coffee and fruit were sold, invited the passenger to repose under the shade of some full-branched tree. The peasants had an air of kindness mixed with independence, that bespoke the absence of oppression. Having advanced for about two hours, we refreshed at a well called *Ain-el-Sabr*,* where a cottage served as an inn, whose owner offered refreshments to us. We took coffee, fruit, eggs, cheese, and *becca ficas*, i. e. ortolans, under the shade of a wide-spreading Sindian tree. A cup of coffee was thrown at my feet as a token of respect by the keeper of the inn, for which an additional present was expected in return. We again proceeded up the mountain, striking off to the south-west, by the side of a range of hills, abounding with myrtle in full bloom, that spread their fragrance round, through plantations of olives, mulberry, and sycamore, to which were attached vines, twining themselves round the branches, or hanging in festoons, as in the Florentine states of Italy. We passed the villages *Ain-el-Anb*, † and *Ain-el-Anoob*, ‡ where the

* The same, apparently, that Burckhardt calls *Ayn Besaba*, "a fine spring with a basin shaded by some oak-trees." He makes it four hours from El Mellaha on the coast.

† "*Ayn Aanab*," remarkable, says Burckhardt, for a number of palm-trees growing here at a considerable elevation above the sea. The mountain here is full of springs, some of which form pretty cascades. On the front of a small building erected over the spring in this village, he observed on both sides, two figures cut upon the wall, with open mouths, and chained by the neck; whether meant for lions or calves, he could not satisfy himself. Aanab is the hereditary seat of the family of Ibn Hamdan, who are chiefs of the Druses in the Haouran.

‡ "*Ayn Aanoub*," an hour from Ayn Aanab. (Burckhardt.)

peasantry seemed fully occupied. We then descended into a valley, by a bad and almost impassable road, formed into deep steps by the rains, and the constant passage of mules and travellers. The scene was for a short time barren, and even trees were distant from us; we, however, arrived at cultivation on coming to a second range of hills, which we crossed through thickets of myrtle, woods of fir, walnut-trees, carob-trees, and Turkish oak, or Sindian; and descended to the source of the river Damour, whose course is to be traced, through a deep romantic ravine, into the plain of Seida, whence it flows winding into the sea to the north of the town. We crossed by a stone bridge over this river, which rushed through a rocky bed in a rapid stream, and ascended again a high range of mountains, from whose summit there is a grand and extensive view of the coast of Syria and the Mediterranean."

The road, after crossing the bridge over the Damour, immediately ascends to the village Kefer-nouta, on the north side of the river, where it turns round the side of the mountain to Deir-el-Kamar, distant seven hours and a quarter from El Mellaha.

This little metropolis of the principality is situated on the declivity of the mountain, at the head of a narrow valley descending towards the sea. It is stated by Burckhardt to be inhabited by about 900 Maronite, 300 Druse, and fifteen or twenty Turkish families, who cultivate the mulberry and the vine, and manufacture all the articles of dress worn by the mountaineers. They are particularly skilful in work-

"A little above it, the road descends into the deep valley in which the Nahr-el-Kadhi flows," — the same as the Damour. Djeser-el-Kadhi is an hour from Ayn Aanoub.

ing the rich abbas, or silk gowns, interwoven with gold and silver, which are worn by the principal Druse sheikhs, and which are sold as high as 800 piastres a piece. Captain Light states the supposed number of inhabitants at 5000. "I traversed," he says, "the unpaved streets of a long straggling town, which had much the appearance of a second-rate Italian *borgo* in the mountains. It had suffered greatly from the invasion of Djezzar. I was attracted by observing about twenty silk-looms at work in one of the squares of the town, whose mechanism was of the simplest kind; but each enabled one man to furnish a piece of silk large enough for two Turkish vests in two days. I fancied much industry, and certainly saw there less of the misery of other Turkish towns. My appearance in uniform, of course attracted crowds of people, and it was in vain to try to avoid them; there was a respect, however, shewn to the stranger, not often manifested in the East. The buildings did not excite my desire to draw them; there was no scenery. I was content to yield to the curiosity of the crowd, and answered their questions to the best of my abilities. I endeavoured to persuade the women to allow me to sketch their figures: they were alarmed at the idea of enchantment; and even the men fled from fear, when they saw me use my pencil."

Captain Light slept at the Maronite convent. The monks, six in number, were still up when he arrived; it was late: their convent would have contained, he says, many more. "I fared ill in a place where meat was never eaten: a couple of eggs and some bad bread and cheese, were a poor supply of supper after my long ride. I had, however, a good bed, and that

sort of welcome which is given where a handsome return is expected. The monks spoke only Arabic; and, like many other Levantines I had met with, would take the trouble to understand me only when their interest was concerned. They talked much of their poverty, which certainly did not take away from their healthy appearance. My bed consisted of a mattress laid on the ground, covered with a thin cotton of the manufacture of the country, over which was a silken coverlet, stuffed with wool, and lined with the same sort of cotton, that served as an upper sheet: I was surprised to find it clean. I slept comfortably; rose early, and enjoyed the morning air in the balcony of the convent, which overlooks the gardens of the town and the opposite side of the valley. The cultivation here, as elsewhere in the mountainous parts I had passed, was on the acclivities, terraced up by walls to prevent the soil from being washed away. Mulberry and olive are the principal trees; but the produce seemed scanty."

Burckhardt says: "The town seems to be tolerably well built, and has large bazars. The tombs of the Christians deserve notice. Every family has a stone building, about forty feet square, in which they place their dead, the entrance being always walled up after each deposite. This mode of interment is peculiar to Deir-el-Kamar, and arose probably from the difficulty of excavating graves in the rocky soil on which it is built. The tombs of the richer Christian families have a small *kubbe* (cupola) on their summit. The name of this town, signifying *the Monastery of the Moon*, originates in a convent which formerly stood here, dedicated to the Virgin, who is generally represented in Syria with the moon beneath her feet

The Emir Beshir has a serai or palace here, — a low building, in the Italian taste;* but his residence is at Beteddein, on the other side of the valley, about an hour and a half distant. Almost all the villages in this neighbourhood have Syriac names.

The road to Beteddein winds down into the valley, and then ascends the other side, without much variety. Captain Light had opened his umbrella, to shade himself from the noontide rays of a Syrian sun. A Druse peasant who passed him, seemed surprised at this precaution, and in a voice of contempt exclaimed, "The shade is for women, not for men." The Captain shut up his umbrella till his plain-spoken friend had got out of sight.

The new palace is a very costly edifice, — an attempt at Italian architecture: it was building when Burckhardt was there in 1812. He describes it as a large quadrangle, on one side of which are the Emir's apartments and his harem, with a private courtyard; two other sides contain small apartments for his people, and the fourth is open towards the valley and Deir-el-Kamar, commanding a distant view of the sea. The top of the hill on which it stands, has been levelled, Captain Light states, to form the area. In the centre of the quadrangle is a fountain, to which water is conducted by an aqueduct, from a source three hours, or nearly twenty miles, distant; it is conveyed by pipes to different parts of the edifice.

* Volney described it, in 1785, as a large, ill-built house, going to ruin. The town, too, he pronounces to be ill-built and very dirty. The population he states to consist of Greek Catholics and schismatics, Maronites, and Druses, to the number of from 1500 to 1800 souls. Either the state of things is much altered, or the learned Frenchman's account would seem to be very incorrect.

The expense must have been very considerable. Under the west side are the stables, where the Emir had about fifty horses. Beneath the walls of the square are terraced gardens, which, in 1814, were still in an unfinished state. The Emir has had time enough since then to complete them. The character and appearance of the Emir have already been described; but the Captain's account of his interview with his Highness is too picturesque to be omitted.

"My arrival at Beteddein was announced to the Emir; and after a long delay, which I passed among the officers, whose richness of apparel attracted my attention, I was admitted into his presence. My two companions followed as attendants: an officer of the Emir led the way. The room in which the Emir received me, was a spacious oblong, divided into two compartments by a passage of five or six feet wide, paved with marble, and sunk about a foot from the level of the rest of the room. The door opened on this passage; a window closed it. In the centre rose a fountain of marble, into which water gently flowed from a small aperture in the upper part. Both ends of the room were matted: broad cushions, covered with blue cloth, raised above the ground about the height of common chairs, surrounded the sides of the left compartment of the room, in which sat the Emir. The other was hung round with the richest Cashmeer shawls, in folding drapery, which crossed and occupied the whole breadth of that part of the room. To complete this specimen of Eastern magnificence, which brought the Arabian Nights to my remembrance, the walls of the apartment were adorned with Arabic inscriptions taken from the Scriptures and the Koran, written in a large and beautifully gilded character, embossed, and in full relief, and enclosed in pannels

of various sizes, but not without attention to arrangement. Every ornament was finished in a manner I did not expect to see in an Eastern palace.

"The Emir sat alone on one side of the room; his officer stood mute in the centre passage; my attendants kissed his hand, and remained standing near the door. I was received by the Emir with a gentle inclination of the head, and was desired to seat myself on the opposite side, which I did in the European manner. The first ceremonies being over, and pipes and coffee having been introduced, I desired one of my companions to state, that the object of my visit was merely of ceremony and respect to the Emir, whose name was familiar to most Englishmen; that having travelled through Syria for information, I would not lose the opportunity of presenting myself to the sovereign of so rich and industrious a part of the East, who, I understood, was not averse from receiving the visits of travellers. In reply, I was welcomed to Deir-el-Kamar, and offered a palace and subsistence, as long as I chose to remain there.

"On quitting the presence of the Emir, I was joined by a priest, who wore the European dress, and who was confessor to the Emir; an intelligent man, who had been bred up in Italy, and seemed biassed in favour of all the changes that had taken place under the dominion of Bonaparte. From conversation with this priest, I was confirmed in the reports relative to his designs upon Acre, and of the consequences that would have ensued to the Turks from the capture of that town; and I could plainly perceive that French influence prevailed at Beteddein. The Emir was described as a man of mild disposition, continent, and inclined to domestic life: he drank no wine, ate but one meal, taken at mid-day, smoked as much as

most Eastern people, and drank coffee in the same proportion. His employment was chiefly in improving his palace, built from his own plan. His wife was alive: she sometimes made her appearance in the costume of the country, adorned with a golden horn on her head, enriched with precious stones, instead of the ordinary one of the other women of the mountain.

"The Maronite intendant took me into the south-west pavilion, considered as a *chef-d'œuvre:* its floor is of inlaid marble, with a fountain in the centre; the walls are inlaid with ivory and gilding, ornamented with Arabic inscriptions, of the same sort as those in the state apartment."*

The palace at Deir-el-Kamar, where our traveller slept, is decorated in a different style. Mats and pier-glasses, with remains of gilding and painting, compose its furniture and ornaments. It is uninhabited, being appropriated for the reception of such strangers as the Emir may choose to honour.

The country of the Druses is divided into districts, each of which has some distinguishing feature. 1. *El Matein (Metten or Matne)*, on the north, is the most rocky, and contains rich iron mines. In this district are found Druses, Maronites, and Mahommedans. The convent of Mar-Hanna-Shouair is in this district, as well as two Maronite convents. It takes its name from the town of the same name, and is the residence of the principal emir families. 2. *El Gharb*,† a large district, in which there are fine forests of pines. It is the residence of several shiekhs; the principal family

* Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c. By Henry Light, Captain of the Royal Artillery. 4to. 1818. Pp. 219—233.

† *El Gharbi*, according to Burckhardt, means *western*.

is that of Beit Telhouk, under whose protection the Greeks have a convent: the Maronites have two convents under the protection of Beit Shehab. Burckhardt seems to divide this district into *El Gharb-el-Fokany* and *El Gharb-el-Tahtany*. 3. *El Sahel*, or the flat country adjoining the sea: this is rich in mulberry-trees and vines. This district is not mentioned by either Niebuhr or Burckhardt among those belonging to the Druse country, and probably is considered as belonging to the Pasha. 4. *El Shouf*, in which Deir-el-Kamar, the capital, is situated. It contains the largest number of akkals, and produces the finest silks. In this district or province is the village of El Machtara, or Mokhtar, the residence of the Shiekh Beshir. Many of the Djonbelat family reside here, and the inhabitants are chiefly Druses; but there are some Maronite convents. 5. *El Tefah*, the apple district: this lies on the south, and half of it belongs to the Pasha. It borders on the country of the Motoualies. 6. *El Shakif*, where is grown the best tobacco.* (This district is not named by either Burckhardt or Niebuhr.) 7. *El Djoord*,† the highest and coldest region, to which the shepherds retire in summer with their flocks. The principal family is Beit Abd-el-Melek. To these seven divisions, which are all that Volney mentions, must be added, 8. The *Kesrouan*. Niebuhr specifies others, which may possibly be included in Volney's division; viz. 9. *El Arkub*,

* There is not much tobacco cultivated, Niebuhr says, in the Druse country: much more and much better is found in the neighbouring territories of the Nassairies and the Motoualies, and near Latakia. Burckhardt speaks of the tobacco of Deir-el-Akmar, which borders on the Motoualies, as the finest in Syria.

† *Djurd*, in the northern Arabic dialect, Burckhardt says, means "rock mountain."

or *Aarkoub*, the same as *Ard Barouk*; so called from the principal town, belonging to the family of Aemad, or the Yezdeky. It lies between Deir-el-Kamar and Zahle. 10. *Aklin Dsjezzin*, or *El Djessein*, one half of which, Burckhardt says, belongs to the Porte. It was in a cavern near the village which gives name to this district, that Fakr-el-din was besieged by the Turks after the death of his son. 11. *El Shahar*, or *Shehhar*, a small district, in which is the village Kafer-metta: the principal family is that of Mehy-el-Dein. 12. *Aklin-el-Sharub*, or *El Kharroub*, a large district between Deir-el-Kamar and Sidon, in which are found Druses, Christians, and Mahommedans. It abounds with exquisite fruit, and large olive plantations; and contains the villages Berdja, Shahim, Ain Mesbud, and Ainut. Deir Mikaylis, the residence of the Greek Catholic patriarch, is in this district, which is three hours to the N.E. of Saide. 13. *El Solima*. In this district are a Greek convent, and two Maronite convents; the town is the residence of the Emir of the Beit Billama. 14. *El Erras*; a small territory attaching to the village of that name, the residence of a Druse emir. 15. *El Brumana*, the same: this territory contains two Maronite convents. 16. *El Kata*; a considerable district near Kesrouan, inhabited almost exclusively by Maronites: in this district is made the best wine. 17. *El Beskinta*, inhabited only by Christians: the town contains five little churches, and near it is a Maronite convent. 18. *El Hammana*. A village of nearly the same name, *Hammara*, is situated in the Bekaa. 19. *El Shebanie*. 20. *El Andara*, a large district, governed by several sheikhs — perhaps Andjar, near the Anti-Libanus, on the eastern side of the Bekaa. Burckhardt mentions two others: 21. *El Shomar*,

" belonging, for the greater part, to the Pasha;" and, 22. *El Menaszef*, under Sheikh Solieman, of the family of Abou Neked. — Some of these subdivisions have, probably, little claim to the denomination of districts, being only petty territories belonging to the respective sheikhs; but we have given the whole, that future travellers may have it in their power to reduce them to the proper division. *

ROUTE FROM DEIR-EL-KAMR TO DAMASCUS.

From Beteddein, there is a route described by Burckhardt to Damascus. Half an hour from Beteddein is the village Ain-el-Maszer, with a spring and many large walnut-trees; at one hour, the village Kefer-nebra, belonging to one of the principal sheikhs of the Yezdeky. The road lies along the mountain, gradually ascending, through the district of Barouk. At one hour and a quarter are the villages Upper and Lower Beteloun; half an hour further, Barouk and Ferideis: these villages are the principal settlements of the Yezdeky. They are seated on the wild banks of the torrent Barouk, whose source is about one hour and a half distant. The road now ascends the steep side of the higher region of the mountain, which here bears the name of Djebel Barouk. Burckhardt crossed it, Mar. 21. The summit was at that time covered with snow, and a thick fog rested upon it. He was an hour and a half in ascending. "Had it not been," he says, "for the footsteps of a man who had passed a few hours before us, we should not have been able to find our way. We several times

* See Volney, Voyage en Syrie, tom. ii. p. 173. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. 4to., p. 367. Burckhardt's Syria, p. 201.

sank up to our waists in the snow; and, on reaching the top, we lost the footsteps. Discovering a small rivulet running beneath the snow, I took it as our guide; and although the Druse was in despair, and insisted on returning, I pushed on, and after many falls, reached the Bekaa, at the end of two hours from the summit: I suppose the straight road to be not more than an hour and a quarter. The rivulet by which we descended is called *wady Dhobbye*. Small caravans from Deir-el-Kamar to Damascus pass the mountain, even in winter; but, to prevent the sharp hoofs of the mules from sinking deep into the snow, the muleteers are accustomed, in the difficult places, to spread carpets before them as they pass."

From the foot of the mountain, it took an hour to reach the bridge over the *Liettani*, where the Emir Beshir has built a khan for the accommodation of travellers. Twenty minutes further is Djob Djennein, one of the principal villages in the Bekaa, situated on the declivity of the Anti-Libanus, where that mountain begins to form part of Djebel-el-Sheikh: the valley here takes a more westerly course. Crossing the plain obliquely, leaving Djob Djennein on the right, in thirty-five minutes Burckhardt reached Kamel-el-Louz, behind which are many ancient caves in the rocky mountain; in three quarters of an hour he reached the foot of the Anti-Libanus. After a short ascent, the road lies through a narrow plain; then up another wady, in the midst of which is the village Ayty, where there is a fine spring, and a khan, built by the proprietor Sheikh Hassan, a rich Druse, brother of Sheikh Beshir. It is two hours distant from Djob Djennein. The inhabitants manufacture coarse earthen-ware for Damascus. At the end of two hours and three quarters, our traveller

reached the summit of Anti-Libanus; in another hour he descended to a fine plain watered by the *wady Halloue*, and, following its course, came in two hours more to Khan Doumas. At six hours from Djob Djennein, he reached the high uneven plain between Anti-Libanus and the chain of hills which commence near Katana: it is called Szakhret-el-Sham. In another hour and a half, the ruined Khan Meylesoun. In another hour, he descended from the Szakhret into the plain of Damascus, and entered the city at the end of nine hours and three quarters from Djob Djennein. The distance from that place is generally reckoned fourteen hours, and is made a two days' journey by the caravans. Our traveller was well mounted.

The hollow country, or long plain, lying between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is generally supposed to be the ancient Cœlo-Syria Proper, although some of the old geographers include under that name a considerable tract eastward of Anti-Libanus, comprising the plain of Damascus, and part of the Haouran and Perea. The Anti-Libanus, after running in a direction N.E. and S.W., branches out, below the meridian of Damascus, towards the west, and about El Heimte, loses itself in the mountains comprised under the name of Djebel-el-Sheikh.* The summit of this mountain, which, according to Burckhardt, bears west of Damascus, is considered as the highest in Syria, and is always covered with snow. Abulfeda, the Arabian geographer, says, that, south of Damas-

* Burckhardt calls Djebel-el-Sheikh, in one place, the mountains of Hasbeia. At five hours N. of Lake Houle, this chain divides into two branches: the western, further to the south, takes the name of Djebel Szaffad; the eastern joins the Djebel Heish and its continuations towards Banias.

cus, Libanus should be called *Gahel Eltalg*, or *the snowy mount*; its common name in Chaldee. This mountain belongs to the district of the Druse Emir commanding at Rasheia, at one hour and a half from El Heimte, whose territory extends over twenty villages. The Druses in this district affect to adhere strictly to Islamism. Southward of the district of Rasheia, is that of Hasbeia, the emir of which is dependent both on the Emir Beshir and the Pasha of Damascus. These territories yield silk, oil, and bitumen: they are but little known to Europeans,* and our maps are very defective. In this direction, there are many ancient sites and remains. About two hours from Hasbeia, in the mountain east of the road to Banias, is the village Hereibe, where stands a ruined temple quite insulated: it is twenty paces in length and thirteen in breadth; the entrance is towards the west, and it had a vestibule with two columns. On each side of the entrance are two niches, one above the other: the upper one has small pilasters; the lower one is ornamented at the top with a shell, like the niches in the temple at Baalbec. The doorway, which has no decoration whatever, opens into a room ten paces square, in which no columns or sculpture or ornaments are visible: three of the walls only are standing. At the back of this chamber is a smaller one, four paces and a half in breadth by ten in length, in one corner of which is a ruined staircase leading to the top of the building: in this smaller room are four pilasters in the four angles. Under the large room are two spacious vaults. On the outside of the temple, at the east corners, are badly-wrought pilasters of the Ionic order. The roof has

* See *Modern Traveller*. Palestine, pp. 349—352.

fallen in, and fills up the interior. The stone employed is of the same quality as that used at Heusn Nieha and Baalbec.*

Between Banias and Damascus, Burckhardt was informed of several ruined sites, whose names he has given.† This route crosses Djebel Heish, which was stated to abound in tigers (*nimoura*—ounces?), bears, wolves, wild boars, and stags. In parts, it is overgrown with oaks, and affords good pasturage; on which account it is visited during summer by tribes of fellahs, who make cheese for the Damascus market.

The plain between Libanus and Anti-Libanus is divided, according to Burckhardt, into the Bekaa and the territory of Baalbec. It may be questioned, however, whether Baalbec is not the same word as Bekaa, with the mere adjunct common to several of the Syrian cities, as Baal-Berith, Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, &c.‡ The word Bekaa signifies in Hebrew a mulberry-tree,‖ and the plain may very possibly derive its name from that tree, which forms so considerable a part of the wealth of the natives. The two territories of the Bekaa and Belled Baalbec are divided only by the nahr Berdoun near Zahle; and the whole is included within the pashalic of Damascus. The Bekaa is principally inhabited by Turks; one fifth, perhaps, Burckhardt thinks, may be Greek Catholics; there are no Motoualies. "The land is some-

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 35.

† "The ruins of Dara, Bokatha, Bassisa, Alouba, Afkerdouva, Hauratha, (this was described as being of great extent,) Enzouby, Hauarit, Kleile, Emteile, Mesherefe, Zar, Katloube in the Wady Asal, Kseire, Kafoua, and Beit-el-Berek."—*Ibid*, p. 45.

‡ Pococke, however, supposes it to be a corruption of *Baal-beit*, the house of Baal.

‖ See Psalm lxxxiv. 6. margin.

what better cultivated than that of Belled Baalbec, but five-sixths of the soil are left in pasture for the Arabs. The fellahs (peasant cultivators) are ruined by the exorbitant demands of the proprietors of the soil, who are, for the greater part, noble families of Damascus or of the Druse mountains. The usual produce of the harvest is tenfold, and in fruitful years it is often twentyfold." *

The territory of Baalbec comprises, on either side, the mountains up to their summits. In the plain, it extends northward as far as El Kaa, twelve hours from Baalbec, and fourteen from Homs, where the Anti-Libanus terminates, taking an easterly direction, and the valley opens into a wider plain. This whole district is abundantly watered by rivulets, almost every village having its spring: the greater part join the Litani, whose source is between Zahle and Baalbec, about two hours from the latter, near a hill called Tel Hushben. The soil is very fertile, but uncultivated. "Even so late as twelve years ago," says Burckhardt in 1810, "the plain and a part of the mountain, to the distance of a league and a half round the town, were covered with grape plantations: the oppressions of the governors and their satellites have destroyed them, and the inhabitants of Baalbec, instead of eating their own grapes, which were renowned for their superior flavour, are obliged to import them from Fursul and Zahle."

The government of Baalbec has for many years been in the hands of the head family of the Motoualies, Beit Harfush, or Harfouche. We have already

* For a list of the villages in the Bekaa, see Burckhardt, pp. 31 and 207. Djob Djennein is one of the principal. For those lying between Zahle and Baalbec, see ibid. p. 10.

had frequent occasion to mention this sect, and this seems the proper place to introduce their history.

THE MOTOUALIES

ARE supposed to be ancient Syrians, although, as a distinct sect, their name does not occur before the eighteenth century.* They are distinguished from the other inhabitants of Syria by being Mahommedans of the Shi-ite sect, that is, followers of Ali, which is the dominant one in Persia, while the Turks are Sunnites, or adherents of Omar and Moaouia. This distinction, founded on the schism which broke out in the Mahommedan Church in the year 36 of the Hegira, respecting the caliphate or prophetical succession, is the source of an implacable animosity between the two parties. The followers of Omar, who consider themselves as the only orthodox Moslems, assume the name of Sunnites, which is said to have that meaning, and call their opponents Shi-ites, or sectaries. The word Motouali has the same signification, — *sectaries of Ali.* The Shi-ites call themselves *Adli-ites*, or *justice-ites*, on account of certain tenets respecting the justice of God, which they hold in opposition to the Sunnite creed. Moreover, they curse Omar and Moaouia as usurpers and rebels, and honour Ali and Hossein as saints and martyrs; they commence their ablutions from the wrist downwards, instead of beginning from the tip of the finger, like the Turks. Like the Persians, they neither eat nor drink with persons of any other religion, and will not use a plate or vessel out of which a stranger

* Pococke and La Roque call them Amadean Arabs, and Korte, Samojedes.

has eaten, till it has been thoroughly purified; they even consider themselves as polluted, if a stranger touches their clothes. Being, however, under the dominion of the Turks, the Motoualies cannot always venture to treat the Sunnites with all this contempt. They are sometimes obliged, indeed, to pretend to be Sunnites themselves. In general, neither Turks nor Christians like to dwell among them; and the Maronites who are engaged as secretaries by their sheikhs, rarely stay many years in their service.

" Before the middle of the seventeenth century, they were only in possession of Baalbec, their chief station, and of some cantons of the Anti-Libanus, from which they are supposed to have originally proceeded. At this period, we find them under a like government with the Druses, that is, under a number of sheikhs, with one principal chief, of the family of Harfoush. After the year 1750, they established themselves among the heights of Bekaa, and got footing in Lebanon, where they obtained lands belonging to the Maronites, almost as far as Beshirai. They even incommoded them so much by their ravages, as to oblige the Emir Yousef to attack them with open force, and expel them; but, on the other side, they advanced along the river, even to the neighbourhood of Soor (Tyre). In this situation, Sheikh Daher had the address, in 1760, to attach them to his party. The pashas of Seide and Damascus claimed tributes, which they had neglected paying, and complained of several robberies committed on their subjects by the Motoualies; they were desirous of chastising them, but this vengeance was neither certain nor easy. Daher interposed, and, by becoming security for the tribute, and promising to prevent any depredations, acquired allies who were able, as it is said,

to arm 10,000 horsemen, all resolute and formidable troops. Shortly after, they took possession of Soor, and made this village their principal sea-port. In 1771, they were of great service to Ali Bey and Daher, against the Turks. But Emir Yousef, having, in their absence, armed the Druses, ravaged their country. He was besieging the castle of Djezin, when the Motoualies, returning from Damascus, received intelligence of this invasion. At the relation of the barbarities committed by the Druses, an advanced corps, of only 500 men, were so enraged, that they immediately rushed forward against the enemy, determined to perish in taking vengeance. But the surprise and confusion they occasioned, and the discord which reigned between the two factions of Mansour and Yousef, so much favoured this desperate attack, that the whole army, consisting of 25,000 men, was completely overthrown.

"In the following year, the affairs of Daher taking a favourable turn, the zeal of the Motoualies cooled towards him, and they finally abandoned him in the catastrophe in which he lost his life. But they have suffered for their imprudence, under the administration of the pasha who succeeded him. Since the year 1777, Djezzar, master of Acre and Seide, has incessantly laboured to destroy them. His persecution forced them, in 1784, to a reconciliation with the Druses, and to enter into an alliance with the Emir Yousef. Though reduced to less than 700 armed men, they did more in that campaign than 15 or 20,000 Druses and Maronites, assembled at Dair-el-Kamar. They alone took the strong fortress of Mar-Djebaa, and put to the sword fifty or sixty Arnauts,*

* The name given by the Turks to the Macedonian and Epirot soldiers.

who defended it. But the misunderstanding which prevailed among the chiefs of the Druses having rendered abortive all their operations, the pasha obtained possession of the whole valley and the city of Baalbec itself. At this period, not more than 500 families of the Motoualies remained, who took refuge in Anti-Lebanon, and the Lebanon of the Maronites; and, driven as they now are from their native soil, it is probable they will soon be totally annihilated, and even their very name become extinct."

Niebuhr states, that at Belled Beshirai, there were, in his time, seven or eight sheikhs of the family of Nasif, who paid tribute to the Pasha of Sidon. There are also, he adds, some Motouali sheikhs of the family of El Kuanza, who command at Kirrenie and at Hurmel, a town on the Orontes. Burckhardt states, that the Motoualies have more than 200 houses at Damascus, but that they conform there to the rites of the orthodox Mahommedans. The government of Baalbec has been, in later times, an object of contention between two brothers of the Harfoush family, Djahdjah and Sultan. "More than fifteen individuals of their own family have perished in these contests; and they have dispossessed each other by turns, according to the degree of friendship or enmity which the pashas of Damascus bore to the one or the other. During the reign of Yousef Pasha, Sultan was emir. As soon as Solieman was in possession of Damascus, Sultan was obliged to flee; and, in August 1810, his brother Djahdjah returned to his seat, which he had already once occupied. He pays a certain annual sum to the Pasha, and extorts double its amount from the peasants. He resides at Baalbec, and keeps there about 200 Motouali horsemen, whom he equips and feeds out of his own purse. He is well remembered

by several Europeans, especially English travellers, for his rapacity and inhospitable behaviour."

Lieutenant-Colonel Squire, who visited Baalbec in 1802, visited the Emir Djujar (Djahdjah), who was then in possession of the government, tributary to Mohammed Pasha. "As we gave him to understand that we had brought him a small present, (a piece of Lyons stuff,) which is extremely necessary to gain the good-will of these ignorant plunderers,* he received us," says Lieut.-Col. S., "in a very civil manner; told us we might go where we pleased, and remain at Baalbec as long as we wished." Accordingly, after pipes and coffee, they proceeded to visit the temple, attended by a minister of the Emir, and a troublesome suite of inhabitants. They afterwards paid a visit to the Governor's brother, "Emir Suldan," who had just built himself a small hut in the neighbourhood, constructed entirely of plank, "as a place of retirement in the event of an earthquake." He had a fine falcon in his apartment, and told his visitors that he was very fond of hawking; he was also a great sportsman. The party were afterwards told that they had met with more indulgence than any Franks who had ever visited Baalbec.

The magnificent ruins at Baalbec have been often described, by Maundrell, Volney, Pococke, Squire,

* European travellers, however, are hardly justified in bestowing these hard names on the people whose territories they enter as aliens and intruders, merely because a present is expected, as a token of respect, to the chief, agreeably to the universal custom of the East. The charge of mercenary conduct is quite inapplicable. It is not so much the value of the present that makes it sought for, as the compliment; the withholding of which is deemed both an insult and an injury. The antiquity of the custom may be seen from Scripture. See 1 Sam. ix. 7. 1 Kings xiv. 3. 2 Kings viii. 8.

Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Richardson; not to speak of the splendid work by Wood and Dawkins, in which they are delineated. From these we shall endeavour to supply the best account that can be gathered from their united testimony.

BAALBEC.

THE approach from the south is very imposing. In the plain, scarcely any trees are visible, but around Baalbec there is a variety, — the walnut, the willow, the poplar, and the ash; and the town is first descried, at the distance of a league and a half, behind a screen of foliage, over which appears a white line of domes and minarets. In an hour, the traveller reaches these trees, which are chiefly very fine walnut-trees; and presently, by a winding path which leads through indifferent gardens, he finds himself before the wall of the town.

The first object, however, which strikes the attention in approaching Baalbec from the Bekaa, is a temple in the plain, about half an hour's walk from the town, which has received from the natives the appellation of *Kubbet Duris*. It is not seen in approaching from Damascus, nor is it mentioned by Volney. It is thus described by Burckhardt. "It is an octagon building, supported by eight beautiful granite columns, which are all standing. They are of an order resembling the Doric: the capitals project very little over the shaft, which has no base. Over every two pillars lies one large stone forming the architrave, over which the cornice is still visible, very little adorned with sculpture. The roof has fallen in. On the N.W. side, between two of the columns, is an insulated niche, of calcareous stone,

projecting somewhat beyond the circumference of the octagon, and rising to about two feet below the roof. The granite of the columns is particularly beautiful; the feldspar and quartz being mixed with the hornblende in large masses. The red feldspar predominates. One of the columns is distinguished from the rest by its green quartz. We could not find any traces of inscriptions."

The "grand ruin," to which the place chiefly owes its celebrity, stands on the south-west side of the modern town, on the edge of the low ground, near the foot of the Anti-Libanus. It is encircled by the small stream which flows through the valley, called the Liettani. It is now a large, unwieldy mass of building, in the form of an irregular square, narrowed at the north end, and perforated by a number of arched vaults, which are, for the most part, obstructed with rubbish. The outer walls are very much shattered, and exhibit only the repairs of former walls, very badly executed. These outer walls have evidently been built at two separate periods. "The ancient structures," says Maundrell, "have been patched and pieced up with several other buildings, converting the whole into a castle, under which name it goes at this day. The adjectitious buildings are of no mean architecture, yet easily distinguishable from what is more ancient."

"Coming near these ruins," continues this accurate traveller, "the first thing you meet with is a little round pile of building, all of marble.* It is encircled

* "The first building that attracted our notice, was a beautiful small temple of an hexagonal figure: on the outside, four columns of the Corinthian order are yet standing, with niches between them for statues, the cornice very beautifully executed. Since the introduction of Christianity, this elegant building had

with columns of the Corinthian order, very beautiful, which support a cornice that runs all round the structure, of no ordinary state and beauty. This part of it that remains is at present in a very tottering condition, but yet the Greeks use it for a church: and 'twere well if the danger of its falling, which perpetually threatens, would excite those people to use a little more fervour in their prayers than they generally do; the Greeks being seemingly the most undevout and negligent at their Divine service, of any sort of people in the Christian world. From this ruin you come to a large, firm pile of building, which, though very lofty, and composed of huge square stones, yet I take to be part of the adjectitious work; for one sees in the inside some fragments of images in the walls and stones, with Roman letters upon them set the wrong way. In one stone we found graven DIVIS, and in another line, MOSC. Through this pile you pass in a stately arched walk or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.* The temple is an oblong square, in

been used as a Greek church; but, about *forty years ago*, (1802,) having been very much shaken and injured by an earthquake, it is entirely ruined. This little chapel is about sixty yards S.E. of the grand temple."—Lieut.-Colonel SQUIRE'S *Travels, in Walpole.*

* "Near the entrance of the small temple, on the south side, is a complete square tower, built of the materials of the temple, and of exquisite workmanship; indeed, the whole building has been converted into a place of defence, and surrounded by high walls pierced with loop-holes; and in many places are machicoulies. Under the grand temple are two vaulted subterraneous passages on each side, running E. and W., and connected, about twenty yards from the east entrance, by a similar passage running the breadth of the building: the first are about 370 feet in length, the connecting passage 200 feet; the arch is part of a circle, and twenty feet wide. On the soffit, or under-part of

breadth thirty-two yards, and in length sixty-four, of which eighteen were taken up by the πρόναος or anti-temple, which is now tumbled down, the pillars being broken that sustained it. The body of the temple, which now stands, is encompassed with a noble portico, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, measuring six feet and three inches in diameter, and about forty-five feet in height, consisting all of three stones a piece. The distance of the pillars from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine feet. Of these pillars there are fourteen on each side of the temple, and eight at the end, counting the corner pillars in both numbers. On the capitals of the pillars there runs all round a stately architrave and a cornice rarely carved. The portico is covered with large stones hollowed arch-wise, extending between the columns and the wall of the temple. In the centre of each stone is carved the figure of some one or other of the heathen gods or goddesses, or heroes. I remember, amongst the rest, a Ganymede, and the eagle flying away with him, so lively done,

these vaulted passages, are a few heads sculptured in bas-relief: near one of which are these letters,

DIVISIO
MOSCH

The workmanship of the buildings at Balbec is excellent: the stones are large, and so closely joined together without cement, that the blade of a knife could not be inserted between them: the stone itself, taken from the quarries S.W. of the town, is a very hard limestone, approaching the nature of marble. Many of the standing columns have been cut by the barbarous inhabitants to their very centre, towards the bottom, for the sake of the iron which unites the pieces of which each column is composed."—*Ibid.*

that it excellently represented the sense of that verse in Martial,

Illæsum timidis unguibus hæsit onus.

The gate of the temple is twenty-one feet wide; but how high, could not be measured, it being in part filled up with rubbish. It is moulded and beautified all round with exquisite sculpture. On the nethermost side of the portal, is carved a Fame hovering over the head as you enter, and extending its wings two-thirds of the breadth of the gate; and on each side of the eagle is described a Fame, likewise upon the wing. The eagle carries in its pounces a caduceus, and in his beak the strings or ribbons coming from the ends of two festoons, whose other ends are held and supported on each side by the two Fames. The whole seemed to be a piece of admirable sculpture. The measure of the temple within, is forty yards in length, and twenty in breadth. In its walls all round are two rows of pilasters, one above the other; and between the pilasters are niches, which seem to have been designed for the reception of idols. Of these pilasters, there are eight in a row, on each side; and of the niches, nine.

"About eight yards' distance from the upper end of the temple, stands part of two fine channelled pillars, which seem to have made a partition in that place, and to have supported a canopy over the throne of the chief idol, whose station appears to have been in a large niche at this end. On that part of the partition which remains, are to be seen carvings in relievo, representing Neptune, tritons, fishes, sea-gods, Arion and his dolphin, and other marine figures. The covering of the whole fabric is totally broken down,

but yet this I must say of the whole, as it now stands, that it strikes the mind with an air of greatness beyond any thing that I ever saw before, and is an eminent proof of the magnificence of the ancient architecture. About fifty yards distant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornice at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile; but what one now sees of it, is but just enough to give a regret, that there should be no more of it remaining.* Here is another curiosity of this place, which a man had need be well assured of his credit before he ventures to relate, lest he should be thought to strain the privilege of a traveller too far. That which I mean is a large piece of the old wall, or περίβολος, which encompassed all these structures last described. A wall made of such monstrous great stones, that the natives hereabouts (as it is usual in things of this strange nature) ascribe it to the architecture of the devil. Three of the stones, which were larger than the rest, we took the pains to measure, and found them to extend sixty-one yards in length; one twenty-one, the other two each twenty

* "I cannot help," says Capt. Mangles, "making a few observations on one mass of ruins, the imposing grandeur of which particularly struck us: I allude to that remnant of a colonnade where there are six columns standing. The beauty and elegance of these pillars are surprising: their diameter is seven feet, and we estimated their altitude at between fifty and sixty feet, exclusive of the epistylia, which is twenty feet deep, and composed of immense blocks of stone, in two layers of ten feet each in depth. The whole of this is most elaborately ornamented with rich carved work in various devices. We imagined these pillars to be the remains of an avenue of twenty columns on each side, forming an approach to the temple. The space originally included by these pillars was 104 paces long by 58 broad."

yards. In deepness they were four yards each, and in breadth of the same dimension. These three stones lay in one and the same row, end to end. The rest of the wall was made also of great stones, but none, I think, so great as these. That which added to the wonder was, that these stones were lifted up into the wall, more than twenty feet from the ground."

Dr. Richardson noticed in the south-west corner of the outer wall, stones nine and ten paces long, ten feet broad, and six feet thick. They are cut with the bevelled edge exactly like the cutting of the stones in the subterranean columns of the Haram Shereeff at Jerusalem, which Dr. R. supposes to be of Jewish workmanship.* "Indeed," he adds, "the similarity of the workmanship struck me forcibly, and I am disposed to refer them both to the same people, and nearly to the same era. The stones are compact limestone, which is the common stone of the country; and the soil of age with which they are covered, compared with the other parts of the building, which are decidedly Roman, would warrant our referring them to the remote period of eight and twenty hundred years ago, (B.C. 1004,) the era of Solomon, King of Israel and Judah, who built Hamath and Tadmor in the desert. The second builders of this enormous pile have built upon the foundations of the former building, and, in order that the appearance of the whole might seem to be of one date, they have cut a new surface upon the old stones. This operation has not been completely finished, and some of the stones remain half cut, exhibiting part of the old surface and part of the new, so that the different eras of the building are exemplified in the same stone." Dr. Richardson

* See Modern Traveller. Palestine, p. 114.

measured two of the stones near the south-west corner in the south wall, and found one of them to be sixty-seven feet long by nearly fourteen feet in breadth, and nine feet thick: the other was sixty-four feet long, but he could not measure its breadth and thickness. There was a third stone, apparently of the same dimensions. These had been partly cut for a new surface, and partly not. Dr. Pococke saw in the quarry about half a mile from the town, a hewn stone, not detached from the rock,* of still larger

* "The walls are built of very large hewn stones, which are laid in such a manner as if they were designed to form the members of a basement. It is probable, they proposed to build such another wall to the south of the temple, and to have adorned the whole with a magnificent colonnade, or colossal statues of the gods of Heliopolis. But what is surprising, in the wall to the west of the temple, there are three stones near twenty feet above the ground, each of which is about sixty feet long; the largest of them is about sixty-two feet nine inches in length. On the north side, there are likewise seven very large stones, but not of so great a size. What I wanted in the measures of these stones as to their thickness and breadth, which is said to be about twelve feet, I presume I found pretty near in the quarry half a mile from the town, out of which the stones were doubtless taken. I saw there a stone hewn out, but the bottom of it was not separated from the rock, which measured sixty-eight feet in length, seventeen feet eight inches wide, and thirteen feet ten inches thick. The stones were probably conveyed to the walls on rollers through the city, the ground on the inside being levelled for that purpose; for though the wall is near thirty feet above the ground on the outside, it is notwithstanding on a level with the top of the wall within. The quarry in which this stone lies is very large, and the place is called St. Elias. There are several little grots round it: they shew one where, they say, that prophet really was; though it is most probable that these grots were inhabited by the Greek monks or hermits of St. Elias, now called the Carmelites by the Latin Church, and on this account the place may have its name. This quarry consists of a fine white stone, but somewhat brittle

dimensions. "They are, perhaps," continues Dr. Richardson, "the most ponderous masses that human hands or human machinery ever moved into a wall, and here they are between twenty and thirty feet above the foundation. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any building, except the one under consideration, where we can find stones the half of the above dimensions, or even the fourth of it. The northern wall of Jerusalem, which, Josephus says, was built of stones thirty feet long, has long since been destroyed, and every stone broken to pieces. In the pyramids of Egypt we saw one or two stones eighteen feet long, and at Koom Ombos measured one of twenty-three feet; but these are but occasional blocks introduced for purposes of particular security. A whole wall, or a whole building, of nearly four hundred feet a-side, constructed of stones from thirty to sixty feet long, is something more than Cyclopean; the labours of Hercules were but a joke to this. However, I am not disposed to think that these immense blocks

There is a quarry of finer stone at a small hill a mile to the west of the city, which appears to have been much worked; and it is probable that they took the pillars and stones for the finest work from that place." — POCOCKE's *Travels*, book ii. chap. 6. Burckhardt describes these grots as "two small excavated tombs, with three niches in each for the dead;" the style of workmanship resembling those in the Turkman mountains to the north of Aleppo, towards Deir Samaan. In the hills behind this quarry, to the south-west of the town, he says, are several other tombs, excavated in the rock, but of larger dimensions. "In following the quarry towards the village of Duris, numerous natural caverns are met with in the calcareous rocks. I entered more than a dozen of them, but found no traces of art, except a few seats or steps rudely cut out. These caverns serve at present as winter habitations for the Arabs who pasture their cattle in this district. The principal quarry was a full half hour to the southward of the town."

formed any part of the original wall; they do not harmonize with that which is around them, and the part which is below them, is the repaired, and not the original wall. Most probably they were intended for stone columns, to serve some ornamental purpose in the interior. The great disproportion of their length to their breadth and thickness, their being all in the same part of the wall, and there being none like them in any other part of the building, seem to authorise the supposition. The place which they occupy in the wall, is nearly on a level with the floor of the interior of the building, and hence they were edged into it by the repairer, who knew no better use for them. The northern part of this outside wall is more modern, and, in my opinion, Roman. The stones are much smaller, and it is vaulted below, to support the floor within. The southern part seems to be banked up with earth and stone, without arches. So much for the shell of this magnificent structure, which has evidently been a wall of defence to protect the precious structures within. These we approach over an arched bridge and many fragments of the ruined walls. The floor in the interior is raised by arches and embankments, between twenty and thirty feet above the level of the surrounding ground, and is completely covered with the ruins of ancient temples, which have been all of the Corinthian order of architecture, and built of a coarse species of marble. Many fragments of large-grained red granite lie scattered about in different places, and the whole interior of the walls is one continued series of architectural decoration, pilasters and cornices of the most minute workmanship succeeding each other; all round, there have been chapels and niches for setting up images, and places for the votaries to perform their devotions.

Besides this preparation for the general rites of pagan idolatry, there are the remains of several temples for the rites of particular deities. One of these is seen from the road over a breach in the wall; it is peripteral and hypethral, and appears at one time to have been used as a Christian church; both columns and walls still remain. Of another temple there are only six columns, and of others merely the substructions. On the north side of the building there are several apartments, which were probably used for the accommodation of the hierarchy. The whole fitting up of the interior must have been extremely elegant, and bears evident marks of Roman workmanship, though I cannot assign any exact date either as to when it was reconstructed, or when it was overthrown. There is one large stone covered with an Arabic inscription, which might throw some light on the subject; but I was unable to read it, and had not time to procure a person to read it for me."

"After surveying the extraordinary magnificence of the temple of Baalbec," remarks M. Volney, "one is with reason astonished that the Greek and Latin writers have scarcely spoken of it. Mr. Wood, who has consulted them on this subject, has found no mention of it, except in a fragment of John of Antioch, which attributes the construction of the edifice to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The inscriptions which still remain accord with this opinion, which would sufficiently account for the Corinthian order being employed, since that style of architecture was not much used till the third century of Rome. But the eagle sculptured on the soffit, is incorrectly adduced in confirmation of this opinion. If its crooked beak, its talons, and the caduceus which it holds, would lead us to conclude that it was meant for

an eagle, the tuft upon its head, resembling that of some pigeons, proves that it is not the Roman eagle. Besides, the same bird is found in the temple of Palmyra, and must therefore be an Oriental eagle consecrated to the Sun, who was the divinity of both temples. The worship of the Sun existed at Baalbec from the most remote period of antiquity. A statue like that of Osiris, had been transported there from the Egyptian Heliopolis, and the ceremonies of the worship are described by Macrobius.... We have no account of the ancient state of the city, but it may be presumed that its position, on the route from Tyre to Palmyra, would give it a share of the commerce of those wealthy capitals. Under the Romans, in the time of Augustus, it is referred to as a garrisoned place; and an inscription remains, which proves this to have been the fact, for the words in Greek letters, *Kenturia prima*, are still legible. A hundred and forty years after this period, Antoninus Pius built the present temple in the place of the more ancient one, which had, no doubt, fallen to ruin. But when, in the reign of Constantine, the Christian religion had acquired the ascendancy, the modern temple was at first neglected, then converted into a church, of which there yet remains a wall that concealed the sanctuary of the idol. The church existed till the Saracen invasion: the Arabs probably envied the Christians so noble a possession. In the subsequent wars, it was converted into a place of defence. On the outer wall, on the pavilions, and at the angles, were built the battlements which are still to be seen; and from that period, the temple fell rapidly into decay." What, indeed, with earthquakes and the Turks, it is only a wonder that so much remains standing of this majestic pile.

The minutest description of these magnificent ruins is furnished by Dr. Pococke. Speaking of the great temple, he says: "The several members of the columns and pedestals of the pilasters, both within and without, are carried all round the building, and the whole temple is built as on one solid basement. The ground is risen near to the top of this basement, both within and without, except on the south side without, where the basement is seen in all its proportions. The architecture of the sides within, and of the further end, is of two kinds, that of the main body of the temple being in one style; but the small pillars that support the pediments are only supposed: those places seem to have been designed for statues. I went down into the vaults under this part by the light of wax candles; they consist of two rooms. Going into the inner vault, I was startled to see a dead body lie in its clothes; the murder was committed about six months before by a Greek for the sake of his money, and the body was never removed. The entablatures of the temple, both within and without, are exceedingly rich; in the quarter-round of the cornice without, there are spouts, carved with a lip and flowers that do not project; and the frieze is adorned with festoons, supported by heads of some animal. Nothing can be imagined more exquisite than the door-case to the temple; almost every member of it is adorned with the finest carvings of flowers and fruits; the frieze, particularly, with ears of corn, most beautifully executed. The top of the door-case consists of three stones; the middle stone is finely adorned with reliefs. Possibly, the eagle which is carved on the door-case might represent the Sun, to whom this temple was dedicated; the winged persons on each side of

it may signify the Zephyrs, or air, which operates with it; and by the several other particulars may be figured, that the sun produces fruitful seasons and plenty. The caduceus which the eagle has in its claws, may be an emblem of commerce and riches, which are the consequence of this bounty of nature.

"This fine temple is deservedly admired as one of the most beautiful pieces of antiquity that remain; and yet it is a melancholy thing, to see how the barbarous people of these countries continually destroy such magnificent buildings, in order to make use of the stone. They privately chip the pillars, for the purpose of undermining them; and when they fall, the stones are so large, that they can carry away but very few of them. The pillars of the portico before the temple are ruined, except four at the south-east corner, and four of the pillars on the south side are fallen. There is likewise a wall built across the portico before the temple, insomuch that a great part of the beauty of it is destroyed; and yet the admiration of every one must be greatly raised, who has the least taste for architecture, and considers all the particular parts of it. It appears that the temple was converted into a church by the Christians.

"There is another piece of antiquity in Baalbec, near the famous temple, which has been taken very little notice of by travellers. It seems to be part of a grand temple which was never finished; the entrance is very magnificent, consisting of two grand courts, encompassed with buildings. This temple, which seems to have been designed in a very fine taste, is sixty-eight paces north of the other, and extends further to the west, very near to the city walls. Several stones of these buildings are left rough, and others are only marked out to be hewn into bases, or

other forms; which is a plain proof that this temple was never finished. As the other temple was dedicated to the Sun, so it is probable, this was erected in honour of all the gods of Heliopolis, from an inscription which I saw on one of the basements of the colonnade at the front of the entrance. (DIIS HEL. VI.) This temple stands on higher ground than the other, the bottom of its basement being nearly as high as the top of the other; the wall of the basement is left rough, and seems designed either to have been adorned with all the members of a pedestal, or to have been joined by some other building. It is twenty-seven feet above the ground on the side next to the old temple. There now remain but nine pillars, each consisting of only one stone; they support an entablature, which is very grand, but exactly of the same architecture as that of the other temple, except that, in the quarter-round of the cornice, lions' heads are cut, as spouts for the water. I measured the top of a base of one of the pillars, on which there was no column, and found it seven feet ten inches in diameter. They are eight feet and an inch apart, so that the inter-columniation is but little more than one diameter, of which I believe there are few instances; what is called the pycnostyle, which is a diameter and a half, being the least that is mentioned by the ancients. To the west of the nine pillars is the base of a tenth; and in a line from it, I saw the bases of pillars across, which shewed the end of the colonnade; and by the measures, I imagine it consisted of ten pillars in breadth: some of the broken ones are still remaining on their bases. To the east of the nine pillars, I found that there were six more in the same row, so that there were in all sixteen in length, and I had reason to conclude that there were

no more; so that this temple was nearly in the same proportion as the other, which has eight pillars in breadth, and fourteen in length.

"The south side of the two courts which lead to the temple, were either never finished, or have been much ruined; but the other side remains so entire, especially that of the inner court, that it was not very difficult to make a plan of them. The spaces on each side were doubtless designed for some apartments, of which there are remains to the north. There are pedestals in the front, which seem to have been designed for statues, being too small for pillars. If there had been a colonnade, this building would have very much resembled the design of Bernini, executed at the Louvre. There is a square pavilion at each end, and the rooms within are adorned with the same architecture as the walls in the front. This magnificent entrance is at least twenty feet above the ground to the east, and, without doubt, a grand flight of stairs was designed to it, the foundation wall having been left rough between the two pavilions; and, in De la Roque's time, there seem to have been steps to this terrace. This grand entrance leads to a court, which seems to have been an octagon of unequal sides, of which there is very little remaining. Beyond this, is a large court of an oblong-square figure. On each side of the middle of the court, there are remains of two low walls, adorned with the members of a pedestal. They have doors through them, and it is probable there was a magnificent colonnade on them, leading to the grand temple; and this colonnade seems to have been standing in De la Roque's time, who says, there was a double row of pillars, which formed porticoes or galleries sixty fathoms long, and eight broad. Under these buildings, on each side of the

two courts, is a long arcade; there is also a cross one under the buildings, which divides those courts. The arcade to the south seems to have been a private entrance to both the temples; it leads to the area near the north-east corner of the old temple; the other is a way to go round the walls of the city, which there set in to the south. In these arcades, I saw two busts in mezzo-relievo; one was very singular, being the face of a young person, with bull's horns coming out of his shoulders, and a particular relief at the bottom, something like a coronet reversed. All these buildings in later times were turned into a castle, and an addition was made of a very strong building near the south-east corner of the old temple, and another to the south-west on the town wall, which they have almost destroyed for the sake of the stones. It is said, this fortress was demolished by Feckerdine; and mounds of unburnt brick still remain in some parts, which were put up in the breaches, and against the walls, as if they were designed to resist the force of cannon."

"South of the grand temple," says Lieut.-Col. Squire, "and without the line of its terrace, is a smaller temple, whose sides are tolerably perfect, presenting a striking specimen of the Corinthian order of architecture. The long sides of the temple, north and south, are about 120 feet in length; the short sides 70. It is surrounded by a corridor, composed of fluted pillars, supporting a roof fourteen feet wide, carved and executed in a most elaborate manner. It is divided into compartments, and ornamented with the sculptured portraits of princes and queens. One of these latter, which has fallen, we observed to be of a colossal size, and nourishing an infant at the breast. The roof on the north side is composed of eight large stones, each

sixteen feet long, and of the breadth of the corridor: they are cut in a small degree in the form of an arch: the pillars are about thirty feet high, and composed of three stones. On the east side, after creeping through an opening in a wall, apparently built by the Saracens, we arrived at the portal of the (great) temple, of magnificent workmanship. This entrance is about twenty-five feet high, and twenty feet in width: on each side are lines of sculpture, representing small figures intertwined with garlands of flowers and fruits: parallel to these again is a variety of ornaments. On the under part of the architrave of this entrance is the representation, in bas-relief, of an eagle with expanded wings, grasping a sort of caduceus, the emblem of majesty, and holding in its mouth the joined ends of two festoons, each of which, at the other end, is held by a figure representing a youth with wings: the festoons are enriched with different sorts of fruits and flowers; and the north side is in the most perfect preservation. This architrave is composed of three stones, the centre one of which has fallen at least four feet below the others, in consequence of an earthquake. The roof of this temple is entirely destroyed; the interior, however, surrounded by niches richly ornamented, with handsome pediments, sufficiently indicates its former magnificence. From the remains of plaster on the walls, it appears that this building was once used as a church. The columns within, with a rich entablature, produce a fine effect; and they are tinged with a reddish yellow."

Burckhardt had visited the ruins of Palmyra only a few months before he came to Baalbec. His impression was, that the first view of Palmyra as a

whole, when it first breaks upon the traveller, is infinitely more striking, but there is not any one spot in those ruins so imposing as the interior view of the temple of Baalbec. The Temple of the Sun at Tadmor is upon a grander scale, but it is choked up with Arab houses, and the architecture is decidedly inferior. At Baalbec he observed, he says, no Greek inscriptions, but a few in Latin* and in Arabic, and one in Cufic characters on the side of a staircase leading into some subterranean chambers below the small temple, which the Emir has walled up to prevent a search for hidden treasures. "The walls of the ancient city may still be traced, and include a larger space than the present town ever occupied, even in its most flourishing state. Its circuit may be between three and four miles. On the eastern and northern sides, the gates of the modern town, formed in the ancient wall, still remain entire; especially the northern gate, which is a narrow arch, comparatively very small. I suppose it," he adds, "to be of Saracen origin."

Dr. Pococke describes, on the highest ground that is enclosed within the walls, a very fine Tuscan pillar, which he supposes to have been connected with some considerable buildings on this spot, as he noticed in the walls a great number of broken entablatures, reliefs, pedestals, and several small fluted Corinthian pillars in a fine taste, and some imperfect Greek inscriptions, which seemed to be of great antiquity. The pillar was raised on a square foundation, five feet seven inches high,

* Near a well on the south side of the town, between the temple and the mountain, Burckhardt found upon a stone the following inscription: C. CASSIVS ARRIANVS MONUMENTUM SIBI—OCO SUO VIVVS FECIT.

consisting of three steps: the two uppermost, which were not high, might be designed, he thought, to be wrought into a base and plinth. The shaft and capital were composed of eighteen stones, each about three feet thick. Near ten feet below the capital, it was encompassed with an ornament of five festoons, very finely wrought, and on the top of the capital were two tiers of stone, forming a small basin about three feet deep. "From this basin," he adds, "there is a hole through the capital, and a semi-circular channel, nine inches wide and six deep, cut down the south side of the column and steps; it is supposed that this was a passage for water. The tradition is, that the water was conveyed from this pillar to the top of the famous temple, on which the people are so weak as to imagine there was a garden; but it is most probable that the rain waters were conveyed from the building which I suppose to have been here, into this small basin, and ran down the channel, which was probably covered so as to make it a tube, and might be conveyed to some part of the city, possibly to the temple, where it might be necessary to raise the water to a certain height; or it might relate to some machinery of the ancient superstition."

Lieut.-Col. Squire states, that he found this column (in 1802) thrown down and destroyed. "The capital, the base, the channel for the water, remain exactly according to Pococke's relation. Near this spot is a stone, eight feet long, six wide, and fourteen inches in thickness: it may have served as a canopy to a throne, for, at the four angles, are evident marks that there were four small columns for its support. It is now standing on one of its edges: the interior is elegantly sculptured with roses and serpents, and

divided into four compartments. On this height is a Saracen tomb of very good execution, in a S.W. direction.

The ruined town of Baalbec* contained, in 1810, according to Burckhardt, about seventy Motouali families, and twenty-five of Greek Catholics; but he does not mention any Maronites, though there are certainly some of this persuasion among the inhabitants. Amid its ruins, he says, are two handsome mosques and a fine bath. Lieut.-Col. Squire, describing its appearance a few years before, says: "Only one-fifth part of the original enclosure of Baalbec appears to be inhabited, and that part is towards the south-east. The whole town presents a most wretched appearance, as the principal part of the hovels have been destroyed by earthquakes, which, it appears, very frequently occur. Here is a church and a mosque." Since then, it appears to have undergone some improvement. The Emir lives in a spacious serai. "The inhabitants," Burckhardt states, "fabricate white cotton cloth like that of Zahle: they have some dyeing houses, and had, till within a few years, some tanneries. The men are the artisans here, not the women. The property of the people consists chiefly of cows, of which every house has ten or fifteen, besides goats and sheep. The goats are of a species not common in other parts of Syria; they have very long ears, large horns, and long hair, but not silky like that of the goats of Anatolia. The

* In 1751, according to Volney, it contained 5000 inhabitants; but the earthquake of 1759 was most ruinous in its effects, and the subsequent wars of the Emir and Djezzar Pasha so entirely destroyed its commerce, that, in 1785, it numbered only 200 inhabitants.

breed of Baalbec mules is much esteemed, and I have seen some of them worth on the spot from 30*l.* to 35*l.* sterling.

"The mountains above Baalbec are quite uncultivated and barren, except at the Ras-el-Ain, or sources of the river of Baalbec, where a few trees only remain. This is a delightful place, and is famous among the inhabitants of the adjoining districts, for the salubrity of its air and water. Near the Ain, are the ruins of a church and mosque." The air of Belled Baalbec itself, as well as of the Bekaa, is stated to be far from healthy. The chain of the Libanus interrupts the course of the westerly winds, which are regular in Syria during the summer months; and this renders the climate hot and oppressive.

About three quarters of an hour east by north from Baalbec, in a wady of the Anti-Libanus, is the source of the rivulet Djoush. Ten or twelve years before Burckhardt's journey, at a time when the plague was raging in the town, all the Christian families quitted Baalbec, and encamped for six weeks round these springs. The rivulet flows down to Baalbec, and joins the river. "A little higher in the mountain than the spot where the water of the Djoush first issues from the spring, is a small perpendicular hole, through which I descended, not without danger, about sixteen feet, into an aqueduct which conveys the water of the Djoush underground for upwards of 100 paces. This aqueduct is six feet high and three feet and a half wide, vaulted above, and covered with a thick coat of plaster: it is in perfect preservation; the water in it was about ten inches deep. In following up this aqueduct, I came to a vaulted chamber about ten feet square, built with large hewn stones, into which the water

falls through another walled passage, but which I did not enter, being afraid that the water falling on all sides might extinguish the only candle that I had with me. Below this upper passage, another dark one is visible through the water as it falls down. The aqueduct continues beyond the hole through which I descended, as far as the spot where the water issues from under the earth. Above ground, at a small distance from the spring, and open towards it, is a vaulted room, built in the rock, now half filled with stones and rubbish."

The neighbourhood of Baalbec abounds in walnut-trees. The nuts are sold at Zahle, and fetch from two piastres to two and a half per 1000. During the winter, the territory is visited by various tribes of Turkmans and Bedouins, who pay tribute to the Emir of Baalbec for the right of pasture. The road to Tripoli crosses the plain in a N.W. direction to Deir-el-Akmar, distant about three hours' march: it stands just at the foot of the mountain. About an hour's distance from Baalbec, is the village of Yeid, probably the *Nead* of Pococke, where, he says, are some ruins; "particularly, of a building about forty feet long." About a league further, stood, in his time, a pillar called *Hamoudiade*, resembling the one at Baalbec already described. The capital is of the Corinthian order; the shaft consists of fourteen stones, each about three feet thick; and it stands on a foundation six feet three inches high, built so as to form five steps. He was told that it was hollow. From Deir-el-Akmar, the direct route to Tripoli crosses the mountain in the direction of Ainnete and Beshirai, leaving the vale of Eden and the Cedars on the right. We now return to the coast.

PASHALIC OF TRIPOLI OR TARABOLOS.

THE pashalic of Tripoli, on which we have now entered, comprising the line of coast from the nahr-el-Kelb to Latakia, is bounded on the east by the course of that river and the chain of mountains which overlook the bed of the Orontes. The greater part of this territory is mountainous, the only plain being that which extends along the coast between Tripoli and Latakia. This tract is watered by numberless mountain streams, and might be rendered extremely fertile, but it is less highly cultivated than the rocks of Libanus. The principal productions are wheat, barley, and cotton: in the neighbourhood of Latakia, tobacco and the olive are chiefly cultivated. A great part of Mount Libanus is included in this pashalic, which is divided into the following *mekatta*, or districts. 1. *Djebbet Beshirai* (*Tschubbet Besherré*), a considerable district lying to the east of Tripoli, inhabited chiefly by Maronites and Greek Christians, including the villages Beshirai, Haddet, Ban, Antoura, Hatschid, Blausa, Hasroun, Kefer Shab, Bosun, Kirkasha, and Kefer Sarun. Kanobin and Eden are also in this district. 2. *El Zawye* (*Sawie*), a small district on the lower part of Libanus. 3. *Batroon*, a village with a small district belonging to it on the coast. 4. *El Koura*, a district on the lower part of Libanus, divided from El Zawye by the river Kadesha. (See pp. 146, and 236.) 5. *El Fetouh* (*Ftûch*), a district to the east of Djebail, bordering on the Kesrouan. (See p. 127.) 6. *Akoura*, a small district with a village of the same name, the residence of a Maronite bishop. (Akkar?) 7. *El Dhennye* (*Dennie*), a district to the N. and N.W. of Beshirai. 8. *Djebail*, a district on the

coast belonging to the town of that name. 9. *Tjebbet* (*Tschubbet*) *el Meneitra*, or Meneitere, a considerable territory, inhabited chiefly by Motoualies. The nahr Ibrahim has its source in this district, which includes the village Afca. (See p. 147.) These are enumerated by Niebuhr, besides which Burckhardt mentions: 10. *El Hermel*, on the eastern declivity of Libanus towards Baalbec. 11. *El Kattaa*, a mountainous district east of Batroun. 12. *El Kella*. (See p. 237.) 13. *El Shara*. The situation of this district is not specified. 14. *El Akkar*, the northern declivity of Libanus. 15. *Tartous* (*Tortosa*), a district on the coast, belonging to the town of the same name. 16. *Szaffeita*, a mountainous district east of Tartous. To these must be added, the mountain territories of the Enzairies and Ismaylies, extending from the nahr-el-Kebir beyond Latakia; and the district of Latakia.

About a century ago, the districts of Djebail, Beshirai, El Zawye, El Dhannye, El Meneitere, El Hermel, and part of Akkar, were all in the possession of the Motoualies, who held them as a fief of the pashas of Tripoli. At the time of Niebuhr's visit, the greater part of these districts had belonged to them for two centuries. They were driven from this part of the country by the Emir Yousef;* and Niebuhr dates from that event, their occupation of the Belled Baalbec, from which they drove, he says, the former inhabitants, in the same manner as they had been driven by the Druses from their own districts. Burckhardt states, that they have still possessions at Djebail, in El Dhannye, El Hermel, and El Meneitere. In Beshirai, almost all the inhabitants, and in Akkar, El Shara, and

* See page 84.

Koura, three-fourths are Christians. The whole of Libanus is now comprised within the territory of the Emir of the Druses, who pays to the Pasha of Tripoli, as the *miri* of the mountain, 130 purses; collecting for himself upwards of 600 purses.*

The history of the internal government of this pashalic for the last fifty years, exhibits a striking specimen of the constant fluctuation of affairs in this part of the Turkish empire. In the year 1768, Tripoli was governed by Fettah Pasha, of three tails, who, after having governed for a few years, was driven out by the inhabitants under a leader named Mustafa. Abd-er-rahman Pasha was nominated as the successor of Fettah Pasha, but the rebels still maintained their ascendancy in the town; and he found it necessary to dissemble. He affected to submit to Mustafa, till he found an opportunity of having him put to death at Latakia, whither he had gone to collect the *miri*. The town was at the same time surprised, the castle taken, and all the ringleaders put to death.† Abd-er-rahman held the pashalic for about two years. The next name that occurs, is that of Yousef Pasha, the son of Osman, Pasha of Damas-

* Burckhardt (1812).

† Volney refers to these circumstances, which were then (1785) recent. "The Tripolitans," he says, "are regarded as a mutinous race. Their title of janissaries, and the green turban which they wear, calling themselves *shereefs*, cherish in them this disposition. It is only about a dozen years ago, that the oppressive conduct of a pasha drove them to extremities: they expelled him, and for eight months maintained their independence. But the Porte sent among them a man brought up in its own school, who, by promises, oaths, pardons, and so forth, conciliated them, divided them, and ended by cutting the throats of 800 of them in one day. Their heads are yet to be seen in a cave near the Kadesha. It is thus the Turks govern!"

cus, the rival of Sheikh Daher: he governed for eight or ten years, and was succeeded by his brother Abdallah, afterwards named in succession, Pasha of Damascus, and, in 1812, Pasha of Orfa. To Abdallah Pasha, who retained the government five years, succeeded Hassan Pasha: he was commissioned to assassinate Djezzar, but that crafty tyrant was beforehand with him, and had him poisoned. Derwish Pasha governed two years, and, after him, (about 1792,) Solieman Pasha, since Pasha of Acre. During the invasion of Syria by the French in 1798-9, Khalyl Pasha, the son of Abdallah Pasha, held the government: he was driven out by an insurrection of the inhabitants under Mustafa Dolby, who obtained possession of the castle, and held it for two years.* Djezzar Pasha, some time before his death, united in his own person this pashalic with those of Acre and Damascus; it was afterwards conferred on Ibrahim Pasha, his successor. Ibrahim was driven away by Mustafa Aga Berber, a man of considerable talents, and great energy of character, who maintained himself here for six years. The pashalic was in the mean

* Lieut.-Col. Squire, who visited Tripoli in 1802, two months only after this insurrection took place, calls the expelled pasha Yousef. "We are told," he says, "that the inhabitants of Tripoli are in a frequent state of rebellion, disagreeing with the pashas appointed by the Porte. About two months since, Yousef Pasha was compelled to make his escape to Cyprus; and at present the town is governed by Mustafa, aga of the janissaries. Those who were of the party of Mustafa, having gotten possession of the citadel, obliged the Pasha to retire to that quarter of the town which is called the Marina: he remained in a small house with his troops in the neighbourhood, until he saw there was no safety for his person but in flight. He, therefore, after plundering every house he had possession of, took advantage of a dark night, embarked on board a small vessel, and landed at Cyprus."—WALPOLE's *Continuation of Memoirs*, p. 294.

time conferred on Yousef Pasha of Damascus; but Berber refused to pay the *miri* into his hands, and, having fortified the castle, boldly set him at defiance. On the approach of Yousef, at the head of an army 5000 strong, all the inhabitants fled to the mountains, except the French consul, who was the secret enemy of Berber. The Pasha's troops took possession of the abandoned town, and so completely sacked it, that they left nothing but bare walls: every piece of iron was carried off, and even the marble pavements were torn up and sold. The son of the French consul is stated to have gained a considerable sum by buying up part of the plunder. Siege was now laid to the castle, and some French artillerymen having been brought from Cyprus, a breach was soon made; but, though defended by only 150 men, none had the courage to advance to the assault. After a siege of five months, Solieman Pasha of Acre interceded for Berber; and Yousef, in Feb. 1809, glad of a pretext for retiring, granted the garrison an honourable capitulation, the remaining provisions in the castle being purchased by the Pasha for his troops. Berber retired to Acre under the protection of Solieman, who, the following year, was invested with the pashalic of Tripoli, and appointed Berber his aga. In 1812, Seid Solieman Pasha of Damascus held the government of Tripoli; and Berber was, at the time of Burckhardt's journey, making war upon some rebel Enzairies in the neighbourhood of Latakia.*

The city of Tripoli, now called Tarabolos, is built on the declivity of the lowest hills of the Libanus, about half an hour from the sea-shore. It struck Captains Irby and Mangles as the neatest town they

* Travels in Syria, pp. 169—171.

had seen in Syria, the houses being all well built of stone, and neatly constructed within. It is surrounded with luxuriant gardens, producing abundance of oranges and lemons, which extend over the whole triangular plain lying between the town and the sea.* The town is divided into two parts by the river Kadesha, or nahr Abou Ali, which enters the plain through a beautiful narrow valley, and, after traversing the town, discharges itself into the sea about the northern side of the triangle: it is a shallow rapid stream at its mouth, and not navigable even by boats. On the north side of the river, upon the summit of the hill, stands the tomb of Abou Naszer. Opposite to it, on the south side, just where the

* The situation of the town is thus described by Lieut.-Colonel Squire: "Tripoli is situated along the base of a triangular plain, having for its vertex a flat promontory towards the sea: the base runs nearly in a N. and S. direction, is about two miles long, and is bounded by a rocky height; immediately under which the town of Tripoli extends itself three fourths of a mile in length, and three hundred yards in breadth. The north side of the triangle is about one mile in extent; the southern about three fourths of a mile; each is bounded by the sea. On the flat promontory, on the north side of which is the place of anchorage, is the Marina, of the size of a small town, where the vessels discharge and receive their cargoes." Maundrell's account seems rather discordant, as he places a hill between the city and the sea. "The major part of the city," he says, "lies between two hills; one on the east, on which is a castle commanding the place, another on the west, between the city and the sea. This latter is said to have been at first raised, and to be still increased, by the daily accession of sand blown to it from the shore; upon which occasion there goes a prophecy, that the whole city shall in time be buried with this sandy hill. But the Turks seem not very apprehensive of this prediction; for, instead of preventing the growth of this hill, they suffer it to take its course, and make it a place of pleasure, which they would have little inclination to do, did they apprehend it were sometime to be their grave."

Kadesha enters the town, stands the citadel, which commands both the town and the whole plain below, but is itself commanded by the height on the north side of the river, only 150 yards distant. The castle is apparently an old Saracen building, and is supposed to date as far back as the Crusades. Lieut.-Colonel Squire found it in a ruined and wretched state in 1802; but Burckhardt (in 1812) says, "it has lately been put into complete repair by Berber Aga." Many parts of Tripoli bear marks of the age of the Crusaders; among these are several high arcades of Gothic architecture, under which the streets run. At a short distance east of the citadel, on the same side of the river, is a convent of dervises, in one of the most agreeable situations that can be imagined: it is close to the Kadesha, in a deep valley, surrounded with orange and mulberry groves, besides poplars and many other trees and shrubs, which render the air fragrant, and the *coup-d'œil* exceedingly picturesque. Tripoli, indeed, is pronounced by Burckhardt to be one of the most favoured spots in all Syria, as the maritime plain and neighbouring mountains place every variety of climate within a short distance of the inhabitants. The wady Kadesha, he thought one of the most picturesque valleys he had ever seen. Yet the situation, beautiful as it is, is not deemed healthy. "From July to September," says Volney, "epidemic fevers prevail here, as at Scanderoon and at Cyprus. They are owing to the practice of inundating the gardens, in order to water the mulberry-trees, that they may be invigorated sufficiently to put forth a second foliage. Moreover," continues Volney, "the town being open only towards the west, the air has no circulation, and a constant feeling of lassitude is experienced, which renders health there

nothing beyond convalescence. The air, though moister at the Marina, is more salubrious there; no doubt because it is less confined, being renewed by the currents. It is still more so in the islands; and were the place in the hands of a vigilant government, it is there that the whole population should be transplanted. All that would be necessary in that case, would be, to extend to the village the conduits of water which appear to have existed formerly. It may be worth while to remark, that the southern shore of the little plain is covered with vestiges of habitations and broken columns, buried in the earth, or covered with sand by the sea. The Franks employed many of these in the construction of their walls, where they still may be seen, placed edgeways."

Of late years, however, the situation has been rendered much more healthy by draining the marshes. There used to be generally a quantity of stagnant water in different parts of the plain, from which, during the hot months, there arose the most noxious vapours; but Burckhardt states, that the greater part of the plain has, within the past twenty years, been drained and converted into gardens.

From the Marina, (or *Mina*, that is, the port,) to the mouth of the Kadesha, there runs a chain of six square isolated towers, at about ten minutes' walk from each other, seemingly intended for the defence of the harbour: they stand immediately on the sea, and appear to be of Saracen workmanship. The lower part of their walls is strengthened with fragments of granite columns, placed horizontally. Around these towers, on the shore and in the sea, lie a great number of similar columns of grey granite. Burckhardt says, there are at least eighty of them, of about a foot and a quarter in diameter, lying in the sea.

To each of the towers the natives have given a name. The most northern is called *Bourje Ras-el-Nahr*, from its being near the Kadesha; the others are *Bourje-el-Dekye*, *Bourje-el-Sebaa*, *Bourje-el-Kanatter*, *Bourje-el-Derjoun*, and *Bourje-el-Mogharabe*. Bourje-el-Sebaa, or the lion's tower, is said to derive its name from a shield carved over the gateway, on which two lions were formerly visible, the arms of Count Raymond de Thoulouse. Burckhardt saw at Tripoli a leaden seal that had belonged to the Count, on which was the representation of a similar tower. When Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, took Tripoli from the Saracens, after a seven years' siege, by the aid of the Genoese fleet, he made Bertrand, the son of Count Raymond, count of Tripoli. His territory extended from the nahr-el-Kelb to the river Valania (Balanea), the ancient Eleutherus, according to Pococke. In the year 1170, the city was almost destroyed by an earthquake. The Saracens took it by sap, in 1289, and entirely destroyed it, but it was afterwards rebuilt by them.

The name of Tripoli (three cities) is supposed to be derived from three several colonies, one from Tyre, one from Sidon, and one from Aradus, which established themselves on this promontory. "It is probable," remarks Maundrell, "that the name was given at first to three distinct but adjacent places, and not to one city." According to the ancient authorities, the three cities were a furlong distant from each other, but they are supposed to have been at length joined by their suburbs. The fact is, that there are still *two* distinct towns; El Mina, or the port, which occupies the extreme angle of the promontory, being a small town by itself, and it has clearly been an ancient site. Pococke remarks that, by building a wall across the promontory on the east

side of the city, it might easily have been fortified; and the remains of such a wall may actually be traced: "it appears to have been fifteen feet thick, and seems to have been thrown down by force." Wherever the ground is dug in this direction, the foundations of houses and walls are discovered. "Indeed," remarks Burckhardt, "it is with stones thus procured that the houses in the Mina are built." Whether the third town was on the southern side of the plain,* where Volney noticed extensive ruins, or higher up, in the mountains, can only be conjectured. It is not likely that the more elevated site, now occupied by the convent of dervises, would be altogether neglected.

Burckhardt estimates the inhabitants of Tripoli, in 1812, at about 15,000. "Of these, one-third are Greek (Catholic) Christians, over whom a bishop presides. I was told that the Greeks are authorized by the firmauns of the Porte, to prevent any schismatic Greek from entering the town. This may not be the fact; it is, however, certain, that whenever a schismatic is discovered here, he is immediately thrown into prison, put in irons, and otherwise very ill-treated. Such a statement can be credited by those only who are acquainted with the fanaticism of the Eastern Christians. There is no public building in the town deserving of notice. The serai was destroyed during

* "On the southern side of the triangular plain is a sandy beach, where the sand in some places has formed itself by concretion into rocks, in several of which are large cisterns. In the bottom of the bay formed by the plain and by the continuation of the shore to the south, is a spring of sweet water; and near it are large hillocks of sand, driven up from the shore by westerly winds."—BURCKHARDT, p. 166. This must be the hill west of the city, alluded to by Maundrell.

the rebellion of Berber. The khan of the soap-manufacturers is a large well-built edifice, with a water-basin in the midst of it." * The commerce of Tripoli has been lately on the decline. The principal article of export is the silk produced on the mountains, of which it formerly exported about 800 quintals or cwt. every year, at about 80*l.* sterling per quintal. The French merchants used to take silk, both raw and made up into handkerchiefs for turbans, in return for their goods, which was bought up at Marseilles by the merchants of Barbary at a lower rate than they could purchase it at Tripoli; but since the ruin of the French trade, the Moggrebins visit Tripoli themselves, carrying with them colonial produce, indigo, and tin, which they buy at Malta. The sale of West India coffee has very much increased in Syria, on account of its cheapness. The next chief article of exportation is sponges, which are procured on the sea-shore; the best are found at some depth in the sea. Fifty bales of 12,000 sponges each, Burckhardt says, might be furnished yearly, at from twenty-five to forty piastres per thousand. Soap is exported to Tarsus, for Anatolia and the Greek islands, as well as alkali for manufacturing it, which is procured in the eastern desert. "It is a curious fact, that soap should also

* In Pococke's time, there were five or six mosques in the city, having square towers attached to them; they were stated to have been formerly churches. The finest mosque, which has an octagon tower, was the church of St. John. The Greeks had "a handsome cathedral," and the Maronites a church; the monks of the Holy Sepulchre, the Jesuits, and the Carmelites of Mount Lebanon, had also their respective convents. Many of the bazars, he adds, "seem to have been made out of old convents and nunneries."

be imported into Tripoli from Candia; the reason is, that the Cretan soap contains very little alkali; here, one-fourth of its weight of alkali is added to it, and in this state it is sold again to advantage." The other exports are, galls from the Anzeyry (Enzairie) mountains, about 100 or 120 quintals annually; yellow wax from Libanus, about 120 quintals, at 150 piastres per quintal; *rubia tinctorum* (dyers' madder) from the plains of Homs and Hamah, about 1400 quintals, at from twenty to twenty-four piastres each; a little scammony; and a few quintals of tobacco to Egypt. The English Consul here, Signor Catziflis, who is a Greek, rendered considerable services to the English army during the war in Egypt, and is extremely attentive and hospitable to English travellers. Captain Mangles describes him as a fine old man, nearly eighty years of age; he well remembered Bruce, who staid some days at his house. "We were quite delighted," says this traveller, "with the affable and sensible conversation of this good man." He was still living when Mr. Connor visited Tripoli in 1820, and readily undertook to do his best, in conjunction with Signor Laurella and M. Bertrand, to aid the circulation of the Scriptures in the pashalic.

The inhabitants of the port are chiefly Greek sailors or shipwrights: here is a good khan. The sea abounds with fish and shell-fish. The harbour is formed by a line of low rocks, stretching from the point of the *Mina* into the sea, towards the north: they are called by the natives *Feiloun*. The road does not afford very safe anchorage, the bottom being composed of rocks and large stones, which, when the wind is fresh, rub and wear the cables. On the north, the point of Tartous in some measure breaks the impetuosity of the sea; but when the northerly

winds blow with violence, vessels are often driven on shore. From the south and south-west winds, which are very prevalent along the coast during the winter, and are sometimes most tempestuous, the shipping is in some degree sheltered by a line of small islands which project about two leagues west of the point of the promontory: they are known by the name of the Pigeon Islands.* Ships coming from the southward, are obliged to pass to the westward of these islands, unless acquainted with a narrow passage between them. The Chameleon English sloop of war, in 1802, used to anchor at the mouth of the river, at no great distance from the shore, "because the holding-ground was preferable to that near the Marina." Northward of the road of Tripoli, the coast runs in a N.W. direction as far as the projecting island of Ruad, the ancient Aradus, distant about five or six leagues. Tripoli is in long. 35° 44′ 20″ E. and lat. 34° 26′ 26″ N.†

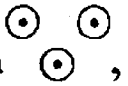
* Captain Mangles calls them by this name. Maundrell mentions only two islands, "one of which," he says, "is called the Bird, the other the Coney Island, from the creatures which they severally produce." Burckhardt makes the furthest island about ten miles distant from the main land, in a N.N.W. direction; in other respects, he confirms Maundrell's accuracy. It seems that there are two principal islands; *El Bakar*, which is nearest the harbour, and *El Billan*, which is about half a mile in circumference, and contains remains of ancient habitations, and several deep wells: the others are smaller rocks, comprised under the general name of *El Mekattya*. One of these, called *Nakhle* or *El Ezaneb*, on which there are several palm-trees, is stated to have been formerly inhabited by a great number of rabbits; the others bear the names of *Sennenye*, *el Ramkein*, and *Shashet-el-Kadhi*.

† Lieut.-Colonel Squire gives the following bearings, taken from one of the towers near the mouth of the Kadesha: Convent of Dervises, N.E. by E. distant one mile. Island of Aradus, N.N.E., distant fourteen miles. Point of Marina, N.N.W.

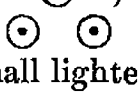
At half an hour's distance from the town, the wady Kadesha is crossed by an aqueduct, built upon arches, called by the natives *Kontaret-el-Brins* — a corruption probably of Prince. The water runs from the foot of Lebanon, about eight miles distant: it is carried along the side of the hills by a channel to the north of the river, till it comes within a mile and a half of the city, when it crosses the valley and river on this aqueduct, which is of four arches; it is 130 paces long, and seven feet eight inches broad, and serves for a bridge. The two middle arches, which are Gothic, Pococke supposes to have been rebuilt; but the others, which are finely constructed, seemed to be of more ancient date. He observed a cross cut on the stones. The bridge is ascribed to Godfrey of Bouillon, but the learned traveller supposes it to have been the work of Baldwin King of Jerusalem. It is, in all probability, that of some Frankish prince. About two hours southward of Tripoli is a Greek convent called Belmont, founded by one of the counts of Tripoli. It stands on a very high rocky mountain overlooking the sea, and is of very difficult ascent, "though made as accessible as it was capable by the labour of the poor monks." Maundrell visited this convent, and had the good fortune, he says, to arrive there just as they were going to their evening service, which he thus describes: —

"Their chapel is large, but obscure; and the altar is inclosed with cancelli, so as not to be approached by any one but the priest, according to the fashion of the Greek churches. They call their congregation together, by beating a kind of a tune with two mallets on a long pendulous piece of plank at the church-door; bells being an abomination to the Turks. Their service consisted in precipitate and very irreverent

chattering of certain prayers and hymns to our blessed Saviour and to the blessed Virgin, and in some dark ceremonies. The priest that officiated spent at least one-third part of his time in compassing the altar, and perfuming it with a pot of incense, and then going all round the congregation, flinging his incense-pot backward and forward, and tendering its smoke, with three repeated vibrations, to every person present. Towards the end of the service, there was brought into the body of the church, a small table, covered with a fair linen cloth, on which were placed five small cakes of bread cross-way, of this



form , and in the centre of each cake was fixed



a small lighted wax taper, a hole in the cake serving for a socket. At this ceremony, the priest read the gospel concerning our Lord's feeding the multitude with five loaves. After which, the bread was carried into the cancelli, and being there suddenly broken to bits, was again brought out in a basket, and presented to every one in the assembly, that he might take a little. After this collation, the priest pronounced the blessing, and so the service ended. On both sides of the body of the church, were seats for the monks, in the nature of the stalls for the fellows of colleges in Oxford; and on each hand of every seat were placed crutches. These you find in like manner in most churches of this country. Their use is for the priest to lean upon; the service being sometimes so long, that they cannot well stay it out without the assistance of such easements; for they are not permitted by their rubric to sit down. The younger monks, who perhaps may have no great occasion for these supporters, do yet delight to use

them, (as the Spaniards do spectacles,) not for any necessity, but in affectation of gravity.

"The monks of this convent were, as I remember, forty in all. We found them seemingly a very good-natured and industrious, but certainly a very ignorant people. For I found, upon inquiry, they could not give any manner of rationale of their own divine service. And to shew their extreme simplicity, I cannot omit one compliment made to the consul by the chief of them, viz. that he was as glad to see him as if he had beheld the Messiah himself coming in person to make a visit to him. Nor is this ignorance to be much wondered at; for what intervals of time they have between their hours of devotion, they are forced to spend, not in study, but in managing of their flocks, cultivating their land, pruning their vineyards, and other labours of husbandry, which they accomplish with their own hands. This toil they are obliged to undergo, not only to provide for their own sustenance, but also that they may be able to satisfy the unreasonable exactions which the greedy Turks, upon every pretence they can invent, are ready to impose upon them. But that it may be the better guessed what sort of men these Greek monks are, I will add this further indication, viz. that the same person whom we saw officiating at the altar in his embroidered sacerdotal robe, brought us the next day, on his own back, a kid and a goat's skin of wine, as a present from the convent."

Just under Belmont is the small village of Callemone or Calamon, where there is a small stream, pronounced by Pococke to be, without doubt, the ancient Calamos. It is an hour and a half from Tripoli. About two hours and a half further south, the road is crossed by a high promontory, with an

abrupt and almost perpendicular termination towards the sea, supposed by Maundrell to be that which Strabo calls το του Θεου προσωπον — *Theoprosopon*, "the face of God," assigned by him for the end of Mount Libanus. The pass over it, which is very steep and rugged, lies about a mile up from the sea. Between this cape and Tripoli, Strabo mentions a city called *Trieris*; "but of this," adds Maundrell, "we saw no footsteps, unless you will allow for such, some sepulchres which we saw cut in the rocks, about one hour and a half before we arrived at the promontory." Pococke, however, mentions "a small town on the sea, called Enty, where, they say, there are remains of a large well-built church:" it is between the cape and Belmont. "I came," he adds, "to some ruins that seemed to be the remains of an ancient temple; and there are several heaps of stones about it for a considerable way. This might be Trieris, mentioned by Strabo, and may be the same as Tridis, placed in the Jerusalem Itinerary twelve miles from Tripoli." After traversing the high ground of the promontory, the road descends into a narrow valley open to the sea, near the entrance of which stands a small fort, erected upon a rock perpendicular on all sides; the walls of the building are just adequate to the sides of the rock, and seem almost of one continued piece with them. The castle, Maundrell says, is called *Temseida*; Pococke writes it *Empsiles*, and describes this "extraordinary rock" as about a hundred feet high, a hundred yards long, and twenty broad. South of this, he crossed by a bridge the *nahr-el-Zehar*;* and between this and Batroun, he mentions

* This is, apparently, the same that Burckhardt calls the *nahr Meszabeha*, which flows from the *wady Djaous*. The castle

a village called *Masid*, near which he noticed a church on a small hill. Batroun lies about a furlong to the west of the road, and is rather more than half an hour's distance from Temseida.

Batroun, by the Franks called Patronè, is supposed to be the ancient Botrus, placed by Ptolemy ten miles north of Byblus, and by Josephus stated to have been founded by Ithobalus, King of Tyre, about the time of the prophet Elias.* It is an episcopal see, and gives title to one of the Maronite prelates, as well as Esbele or Djebail. It contained, in 1812, three or four hundred houses. The inhabitants are chiefly Maronites, with a few Greeks and Turks. The town and its territory belong to the Emir Beshir, and were then under the immediate government of two emirs of his family; but the principal man was the Christian sheikh, of the family of Khodher. The produce consists chiefly of tobacco. From the latter end of the seventeenth century, when Maundrell visited it, up to the time of Pococke's journey (1738), it was entirely desolate. There were remains of a large church and a monastery, both perfectly ruinous; but no trace was left of the ancient walls, nor was there even a village on the spot. The rocky cliffs appeared to have been "much worked with the tool;" and Pococke observed "a sort of canal cut between them from the sea, running N. and S., which probably might serve for a harbour for boats and small vessels

above described, he says, is named *Kalaat Meszabeha*; it is of modern construction, and its walls are very slight, but the rock is so steep that no beast of burden can ascend it. The castle was once in possession of the Motoualies, who frequently attacked the passengers in the valley.

* Joseph. Antiq. book viii. chap. 13. In Strabo, it is called Bostria.

in bad weather, as it is an open port without any shelter." This agrees with Burckhardt. "There is," he says, "no harbour; merely an inlet capable of admitting a couple of coasting boats. The whole coast from Tripoli to Beirout, appears to be formed of sand accumulated by the prevailing westerly winds, and hardened into rocks. An artificial shelter seems to have been anciently formed by excavating the rocks, and forming a part of them into a wall of moderate thickness for the length of 100 paces, and to the height of twelve feet. It was probably behind this wall that the boats of Bostrys (Botrus) anciently found shelter from the westerly gales. I saw but one boat between the rocks of Batroun."

The territory of Batroun extends to Djeser Medfoun, about three quarters of an hour south of the town: its northern limit is the village Hammad upon the Djebel Nourye, where the district of Koura terminates. Beyond the bridge of Medfoun, the mountain approaches close upon the shore. About an hour further, on a hill to the left of the road, stands a ruined arched building, called *Bourje Reihani;* and in the road below are three columns of sand-stone. Up in the mountain are the Greek villages of Manszef, Berbar, Gharsous, and Korne. At three hours and a quarter from Batroun, the road crosses a dry wady called *Halloue*, and in another quarter of an hour, the traveller reaches Djebail.* At every three or four miles on this road, small khans are met with, where refreshments of bread, cheese, and brandy are sold; and close to the shore are many deep wells of fresh water.

* Maundrell makes Batroun only three hours, and Pococke about three leagues from Djebail.

At Djebail, the Emir Beshir keeps a garrison of about forty men. The Christian Sheikh Abou Nar, commands here, whose brother is Sheikh of Beshirai. "A few years ago," Burckhardt states, "Djebail was the residence of the Christian Abd-el-Ahad; he and his brother Djordjos Bas were the head men of the Emir Beshir, and, in fact, were more potent than their master. Djordjos Bas resided at Deir-el-Kamer. The district of Djebail was under the command of Abd el Ahad, who built a very good house here. But the two brothers shared the fate of all Christians who attempt to rise above their sphere; they were both put to death in the same hour by the Emir's orders. Indeed, there is scarcely an instance in the modern history of Syria, of a Christian or a Jew having long enjoyed the power or riches which he may have acquired; these persons are always taken off in the moment of their apparent glory. Abd-el-Hak, at Antioch, Hanna Kubbe, at Ladakie, Karaly, at Aleppo, are all examples of this remark. But, as in the most trifling, so, in the most serious concerns, the Levantine enjoys the present moment, without ever reflecting on future consequences. The house of Hayne, the Jew *seraf*, or banker, at Damascus and Acre, whose family may be said to be the real governors of Syria, and whose property, at the most moderate calculation, amounts to 300,000*l.* sterling, are daily exposed to the same fate."

Burckhardt, in travelling from Tripoli to Batroun, took a different route. Ascending the castle hill to the S. of the former town, he arrived in an hour and a half at Deir Keftein. The road lay through a wood of olive-trees, on the left bank of the Kadesha, over the lowest declivities of the Libanus. It is a part of the district El Koura, the principal produce of which

is oil. The Zawye on the other side of the Kadesha, also produces oil, and at the same time more grain. Every olive-tree is worth from fifteen to twenty piastres. The soil in which the trees grow, is regularly ploughed, but nothing is sown between the trees, as it is found that any other vegetation diminishes the quantity of olives. The ground round the stem is covered with earth to the height of two or three feet, to prevent the sun from hurting the roots, and to give them the full benefit of the rains. Keftein is a small Greek convent near a village of the same name: it then contained only a prior and two monks. In the burying-ground attached to it is a fine marble sarcophagus, erected over the remains of John Carew, Esq., of Pembrokeshire, for fifty years English consul at Tripoli: he died in 1747, aged seventy-seven. At one hour from Keftein is the village Beserma. The road continues to lie through the olive plantations called *El Bekeya*, between the Upper Libanus and Djebel Kella, to Kefer Akka, three quarters of an hour further. Here Burckhardt turned up into the Libanus, and, in twenty minutes from where he left the road, reached the remains of an ancient town, which it was his object to visit. The ruins are called by the natives *Naous*, or *Namous*; probably from the Greek Ναος. They consist of two temples. The smaller one is very much like that at Hossn-el-Forsul, near Zahle: it is an oblong building, constructed of large square stones, and had a portico of four columns, with a flight of steps leading up to it. The other temple is of much larger dimensions; it stands at about 150 yards' distance, in an area fifty paces in breadth by sixty in length, and was surrounded with a wall, of which traces still remain, built with large blocks of well-cut stone, some of them upwards of

twelve feet in length. To support the northern wall of the area, a terrace has been raised, ten feet high in the N.W. corner. Parts of the wall are evidently modern, as if it had undergone repairs. The entrance to the area is through a beautiful gate, still entire, fourteen feet high and ten wide: the two posts, which are elegantly sculptured, and the soffit, are each formed of a single stone. The temple was elevated four or five feet above the level of the area; it is now a mere heap of ruins, and the ground is covered with columns, capitals, and friezes. The stone is calcareous, not so hard as the rock of Baalbec; the columns are Corinthian, but not of the best workmanship. Near the S.W. angle are the foundations of a small insulated building. The site commands a most beautiful view over the Koura and the sea. Tripoli bears N.

On the declivity below, is the convent of St. Demetrius, *Deir Demitry*, then containing a solitary monk. Half an hour to the S.W. is the village Beshiza,* ten minutes to the S.E. of which stands another ruined temple, called *Kenyset-el-Awamyd*, "the church of the columns." It measures ten paces long inside the walls, by eight in breadth. The eastern wall has fallen down, and the southern has been thrown out of the perpendicular by an earthquake; that on the W. is still standing; the northern wall, instead of completing the quadrangle, consists of two curves about twelve feet in depth, vaulted like niches, as high

* The village stands near the bed of the *nahr Beshiza*, a wild mountain torrent, dry in summer, but in the rainy season it swells rapidly. A few years before, it had suddenly risen during the night, and carried away eight or ten families who had encamped in the wady: about fifteen persons perished. It is also called *nahr Aszfour*.

as the roof, which has fallen in. The door and its soffit, formed of a single stone, are ornamented with sculptures not inferior to those at Baalbec. Neither here nor at Naous could Burckhardt discover any inscriptions. The portico consisted of four Ionic columns, about eighteen feet high, each of a single stone: three are still standing. Opposite to each column is a corresponding pilaster in the wall of the temple. The entablature of the portico is perfect. In the midst of the building stands a large and venerable oak, whose branches overshadow the temple, and supply the place of the roof, rendering the ruin a highly picturesque object.

Half an hour to the N.E. is the village Amyoun, the chief place in the district of El Koura, and the residence of the Sheikh (Assaf Ibn Asar), a Greek Christian. The inhabitants of the Koura are chiefly Greeks: in Zawye they are all Maronites. Two hours and a half from Amyoun, on the descent, is a fine spring, arched over, called *Ain-el-Khowadja.* Half an hour further is the wady *Djaous*, or *Meszabeha*, a narrow valley between Djebel Nourye, which advances towards the sea, and another mountain. On the point of Djebel Nourye, overlooking the sea, stands the convent of Mar Elias. At its foot is the village Kobba, with an ancient tower near it; and in half an hour further the traveller reaches Batroun.*

ROUTE FROM TRIPOLI TO LATAKIA.

We must now explore the country north of Tripoli, included within this pashalic. Soon after leaving Tripoli, the traveller enters upon a spacious plain

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 172, 173.

between the sea and the mountains, seven hours across.* Maundrell says, it is called *Junia*, i. e. the Plain, by way of eminence, and is exceeding fruitful by reason of its many rivers. The first of these, going from Tripoli, is the *nahr el Bered*, or Cold River, where there is a bridge of three arches, and a khan for travellers. It is "two good hours" (Burckhardt makes it three and a quarter) from Tripoli. Two hours beyond nahr el Bered, is the *nahr Akkar*, having a handsome stone bridge of one very large arch, with a mill near it. To the east of the wady is a hill called Tel Arka, which appears, from its regularly flattened conical form and smooth sides, to be artificial. On its E. and S. sides, are large and extensive heaps of rubbish, traces of ancient dwellings, blocks of hewn stone, remains of walls, and fragments of granite columns, grey and red. Here, probably, stood the ancient town of Arca, the birthplace of Alexander Severus. Three quarters of an hour further, the traveller crosses a third river, *nahr Abrosh*, the Leper's River; and about half an hour beyond this, is the *nahr el Kebir*, the Great River; supposed to be the ancient Eleutherus. This is a large torrent, and, in the rainy season, cannot be forded without danger from its rapidity. The stone bridge of three arches described by Maundrell, is now a ruin; and the Hamah caravans, Burckhardt says, have been known

* About two miles north of Tripoli, near the tomb of a sheikh (Sheikh El Bedawy), there is a copious spring enclosed with a wall; it is a fine square basin, containing a great quantity of fish, which are esteemed sacred by the Turks of Tripoli, and are fed daily by the guardians of the tomb. No one dares kill any of them; they are, as the Turks express it, a *wakf* to the tomb. Pococke says, that, on bread being thrown in, the fish come in shoals, and even leap up and take it out of the hand. The same kind of fish is found in the Kadesha.

to remain encamped on its banks for weeks together, without being able to cross it. Yet no one repairs the bridge! Maundrell reckons this river about six hours from Tripoli: Burckhardt makes it nine. About ten hours from Tripoli is *Ain-el-Hye*, the Serpent Fountain, — a good spring, "though of a bad name," says Maundrell: it is a quarter of a mile only from the sea. A little further, about a league from the shore, is the island of Ruad, supposed to be the Arvad, Arpad, or Arphad of the Scriptures,* the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans. All around the Serpent Fountain, and for some distance southward of it, are considerable traces of foundations and ruins, and ancient sepulchres; "from which it may assuredly be concluded," remarks that traveller, "that here must needs have been some famous habitation in ancient times: but whether this might be the Ximyra laid down by Strabo hereabouts, (the same, possibly, with the country of the Zemarites, mentioned in conjunction with the Arvadites,†) I leave to others to discuss." Pococke supposes that this is the Enydra of Strabo, which was north of Marathus; and the similarity of the name may be thought to favour his conjecture. "Probably," he adds, "it was the watering-place on the continent for the isle of Aradus." To the south of this is what the learned traveller characterises as "one of the greatest and most extraordinary pieces of antiquity that are to be seen." A court, fifty yards square, has been cut in the natural rock; the sides of the rock, about three yards high, supplying the place of walls, except on the north, where it is open. Here there are signs of two

* Gen. x. 18. 2 Kings xix. 13. Ezek. xxvii. 11. Isa. x. 9; xxxvii. 13. Jer. xlix. 23.

† Gen. x. 18.

entrances, which, Pococke thinks, were joined by a wall on each side. In the centre of this area, a square part of the rock has been left standing, three yards high, and five yards and a half square, to serve as a pedestal for a throne. The throne itself is composed of four large stones; two at the sides, one at the back, and another overhanging them, in the manner of a canopy: this is five yards and three quarters square, and has a handsome cornice sculptured round it, of a kind common in Upper Egypt. The whole structure is about twenty feet high, and fronts the open side of the court. At the two inner angles of the area, there seem to have been two small apartments: pillars of the natural rock have been left here, apparently for doorways. There can be little doubt that this court was, as Maundrell supposes, an idol temple, and the pile in the centre the idol's throne. "It seems the more probable," he remarks, "in regard that Hercules, *i. e.* the Sun, the great abomination of the Phenicians, was wont to be adored in an open temple." Here we have a remarkable trace of the same superstition that travelled from India to Egypt, from Egypt to Phenicia, and from Phenicia to Britain. The Egyptian Memnon, the Indian Jain Eswara, the gigantic image reared by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, the huge wicker image in which the Druids burned human victims in sacrifice to Beli, and the Syrian Baal, were all, probably, the same deity, who, under the names of On, Osiris, Adonis, Baal, Hercules, has been the object of almost universal idolatry.

On the north side of the fountain is what Maundrell calls a large dike, thirty yards over at top, also cut into the firm rock, and stretching in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong. The sides slope

down, with seven steps on each side, the whole length of the excavation; but the steps do not go down to the bottom: they have probably been meant for seats, rather than for stairs. The east end seems to have terminated in a semi-circle. At the west end, the rock has been cut away in such a manner as to lead one to suppose there were formerly apartments there. One part is cut into a square area, from which there is a way into the valley directly opposite to the temple. "This place might serve," remarks Pococke, "for some sports to divert the people of Aradus and Antaradus; and, probably, it was a circus." Directly south of the temple, the rocks, which rise higher in that part, have been worked like quarries, and sunk down in many places, possibly as reservoirs for water. There are also, in different parts, many walls cut out of the rock, and particularly in one place, almost an entire house: the rock is cut away from it all round; there are many niches, windows, and doors in it, and a wall of division along the middle, with a doorway.

About half a mile to the south of these are two sepulchral towers, about ten yards distant from each other: they are minutely described by Maundrell. "The first tower," he says, "was thirty-three feet high. Its longest stone or pedestal was ten feet high, and fifteen square: the superstructure upon which was, first a tall stone in form of a cylinder, and then another stone cut in shape of a pyramid. The other tower was thirty feet and two inches high. Its pedestal was in height six feet, and sixteen feet six inches square. It was supported by four lions, carved one at each corner of the pedestal. The carving had been very rude at best; but was now rendered by time much worse. The upper part reared upon the

pedestal was all one single stone. Each of these barbarous monuments had under it several sepulchres, the entrances into which were on the south side. It cost us some time and pains to get into them; the avenues being obstructed, first with briars and weeds, and then with dirt. But, however, we removed both these obstacles; encouraging ourselves with the hopes, or rather making ourselves merry with the fancy, of hidden treasure. But as soon as we entered into the vaults, we found that our golden imaginations ended (as all worldly hopes and projects do at last) in dust and putrefaction. But, however, that we might not go away without some reward for our pains, we took as exact a survey as we could of these chambers of darkness.

Going down seven or eight steps, you come to the mouth of the sepulchre; where, crawling in, you arrive in a chamber, which is nine feet two inches broad, and eleven feet long. Turning to the right hand, and going through a narrow passage, you come to a room, which is eight feet broad and ten long. In this chamber are seven cells for corpses, viz. two over against the entrance, four on the left hand, and one unfinished on the right. These cells are hewn directly into the firm rock. We measured several of them, and found them eight feet and a half in length, and three feet three inches square. I would not infer from hence, that the corpses deposited here were of such a gigantic size as to fill up such large coffins: though, at the same time, why should any men be so prodigal of their labour, as to cut these caverns into so hard a rock as this was, much further than necessity required? On the other side of the chamber was a narrow passage, seven feet long,

leading into a room whose dimensions were nine feet in breadth and twelve in length. It had eleven cells, of somewhat a less size than the former, lying at equal distances all round about it. Passing out of the room foreright, you have two narrow entrances, each seven feet long, into another room. This apartment was nine feet square: it had no cells in it like the others, nor any thing else remarkable, but only a bench, cut all along its side on the left hand.

From the description of this sepulchre, it is easy to conceive the disposition of the other. The height of the rooms in both, was about six feet; and the towers were built each over the innermost room of the sepulchre to which it belonged.

At about the distance of a furlong from this place, we discerned another tower, resembling this last described. It was erected likewise over a sepulchre. There was this singularity observable in this last sepulchre, that its cells were cut into the rock eighteen feet in length, possibly to the intent that two or three corpses might be deposited in each of them, at the feet of one another. But having a long stage this day to Tripoli, we thought it not seasonable to spend any more time in this place, which might perhaps have afforded us several other antiquities. And yet for all our haste, we had not gone a mile, before our curiosity was again arrested by the observation of another tower, which appeared in a thicket not far from the way side. It was thirty-three feet and a half high, and thirty-one feet square, composed of huge square stones, and adorned with a handsome cornice all round at top. It contained only two rooms, one above the other, into both which there were entrances on the north side, through

two square holes in the wall. The separation between both rooms, as also the covering at the top, was made, not of arched work, but of vast flat stones, in thickness four feet, and so great in extent, that two of them in each place sufficed to spread over the whole fabric. This was a very ancient structure, and probably a place of sepulture."

A little to the east of the first-mentioned towers, the rock has been cut into the form of a pedestal, about twenty-eight feet square and nine feet high: on the E. side, about five feet from the ground, is a hole by which there is an ascent of three or four steps to the top. "This seems," says Pococke, "to have been designed as a basement for some building over a sepulchral grotto. All these sepulchral monuments were erected over the grots in which they deposited the bodies; and this might be the burial-place of Aradus, though it is a little to the S. of that island. The people probably brought all their dead over to the continent, as those of the Isle of Delos carried theirs to another island near, which was allotted for that purpose."

The island of Ruad, which Maundrell saw only from the shore, is described by him as wholly filled up with tall buildings like castles. Pococke went over to it, and his account is as follows: "There is a very safe road for the shipping to the east of the island, where they can fix their anchors on the shore. The ships, without doubt, formerly came up close to the east side of it, for there are two piers, built out to defend them against the weather; and a small cape of the island is a natural shelter from the south wind. There seems to have been a double wall to the north and west sides of the island, but, on the south, I saw

only the signs of one wall: these walls were fifty paces apart. There are still great remains of the outer wall, which, on the north side is very high, and about fifteen feet thick, being built of large stones, some of them fifteen feet long. It is possible, that some of the smaller shipping and the boats might be laid up between these walls.* The rock to the west is worked out like a wall; and there are reliefs on it of a cross and a crosier. In every part of this island there were cisterns hewn out of the rock, like cellars, under their houses, with holes in the top of them, in order to draw up the water. Strabo makes mention of these, and of some basins near the wall. On the north there are remains of two sides of a rusticated building, the walls of which are three feet thick: it seems to have been built about the same time as Tortosa. There are very few houses on the island, except in the two castles, which are defended by cannon against the corsairs. The shipping that come here, take in tobacco, of which a great quantity is grown on the continent: they carry it to Egypt. When there is not a supply, they load with wood for that country." Pococke mentions a wood on the continent, nearly opposite the island. He was informed, that the Maltese had possession of Ruad in the preceding (seventeenth) century, and that it was taken from them by surprise at night. He visited it in 1738. Volney, about fifty years after, speaks of the island as a mere rock, entirely naked and deserted. "There does not remain," he says, "a single wall of that crowd of houses which, according to Strabo, were built with more stories than those at Rome itself." It was reckoned twenty stadia from the continent, and seven

* A similar mode of artificial shelter was adopted at Batroun. See p. 235.

stadia in circumference. The territory of this once powerful maritime republic, extended on the main land from Tortosa to Jebilee.

In three quarters of an hour from Ain-el-Hye, the traveller crosses the bed of a torrent, nearly dry in summer; but, from the largeness of the channel and the fragments of a stone bridge, Maundrell concludes that it must anciently have been no inconsiderable stream. It would seem in some respects to answer more accurately to the situation of the ancient Eleutherus, than the *nahr el Kebir*: Pliny represents that river as emptying itself into the sea over against Aradus.* In about a quarter of an hour after crossing this river, the traveller reaches Tortosa.

Tortosa, by the natives called Tartous, is the ancient Orthosia, which was a bishop's see in the province of Tyre. It is frequently mentioned in the history of the Crusades, as a place of great strength. Its appearance at the close of the seventeenth century, is thus described by Maundrell. "Its situation is on the sea-shore, having a spacious plain extending round about it on its other sides. What remains of it is the castle, which is very large, and still inhabited. On one side it is washed by the sea; on the others, it is fortified by a double wall of coarse marble, built after the rustic manner. Between the two walls is a ditch; as likewise is another encompassing the outermost

* Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 20. See Maundrell. Ptolemy, as cited by Terranius, places it yet more northerly, between Orthosia and Balanea. Strabo places it between Orthosia and Tripoli, as a boundary dividing Syria from Phenicia; but Ptolemy places Orthosia itself in Phenicia; while the Jerusalem Itinerary makes Phenicia begin south of Arcas, and seems to make the Eleutherus the nahr el Bered. Pococke has devoted a learned note to this subject, Travels in the East, book ii. chap. 27.

wall. You enter this fortress on the north side, over an old draw-bridge, which lands you in a spacious room, now for the most part uncovered, but anciently well arched over, being the church belonging to the castle. On one side it resembles a church, and in witness of its being such, shews, at this day, several holy emblems carved upon its walls; as that of a dove descending, over the place where stood the altar, and in another place, that of the holy lamb. But, on the side which fronts outward, it has the face of a castle, being built with port-holes for artillery, instead of windows. Round the castle, on the south and east sides, stood anciently the city. It had a good wall and ditch encompassing it, of which there are still to be seen considerable remains. But for other buildings, there is nothing now left in it, except a church, which stands about a furlong eastward from the castle. It is 130 feet in length, in breadth ninety-three, and in height sixty-one. Its walls, and arches, and pillars, are of a bastard marble, and all still so entire, that a small expense would suffice to recover it into the state of a beautiful church again. But, to the grief of any Christian beholder, it is now made a stall for cattle, and we were, when we went to see it, almost up to our knees in dirt and mire."

Pococke supposes the church to have been a building of the sixth century, and says, that it does not seem to have been finished: it is of the Corinthian order, and the arches, which are executed with the plain olive-leaf, are built on square pillars, covered on the four sides with semicircular pilasters. The pulpit was fixed to one of the pillars, and over it is an inscription in Syriac. He describes the modern town as within the walls of the castle, which are strong, of a surprising height, being at least fifty feet, and beauti-

fully built of a large hewn stone rusticated: the whole is nearly half a mile in circuit. The church was still entire, and the small one, within the castle, almost so. About half a mile to the north of Tortosa, is a place to which boats come from the island of Ruad, where there are some signs of a pier and walls in the sea. This he supposes to be Caranus, the port of Aradus on the continent.

An hour and a half further is "a fair, deep river, called *nahr Hussein.*" Three hours beyond this, is another "small clear stream;" and an hour and a half further, an ancient site called Baneas, supposed to be the Balanea of Strabo, and the Valania of the middle ages. "This place is four good hours from Jebilee; it stands upon a small declivity, about a furlong from the sea, and has a fine clear stream running swiftly by it on the south side. It is at present (1697) uninhabited, but its situation proves it to have been anciently pleasant; its ruins are well built, and its bay before it an advantageous situation." It seems, however, Pococke thinks, to have been but an inconsiderable town. Towards the E. side are ruins of a small church, and a little higher up the hill are ruins of a strong castle. At the bottom of the hill is another castle, commanding the bay, "where they receive the customs of goods imported." Pococke found the site still entirely deserted. To the S.E. of Baneas, on the top of a very high hill, is an old castle, called by the Turks Merkab, the *Margath* of Adrichomius. "It is about half a mile in circumference, occupying the whole summit of the mountain; it is of a triangular figure, and exceedingly strong; the inner walls are fifteen feet thick, and there is an outer wall encompassing it all round, except in one part, where its natural situation is so strong as to render it un-

necessary. At the east and west ends are two very large round towers, each encompassing a small court. They have a tradition, that this castle was a work of the Franks, and it was certainly held by the knights of Jerusalem. The governor said to us, 'This fabric was raised by your fathers, and we took it by the sword.' To which answer was made, 'It is true, and you suffer so fine a building to run to ruin.' The truth is, the whole or part of it was built under the Greek emperors, and the bishops of Balanea were obliged to translate their see to this place, to secure themselves against the Saracens. The church, which is towards the east end of the castle, is well built, mostly of a black stone; it is adorned with semi-circular pillars of the Corinthian order, tolerably well executed. Adjoining it, on the east, are some large rooms and a private chapel; and to the west, a large saloon arched over, and supported by pillars in a very magnificent manner. Under the buildings are great vaults or cisterns cut out of the rock; and out of these that black stone was hewn, of which the greatest part of the castle is built." The road up to the castle, is a very steep ascent of an hour and a half from Baneas; but the traveller leaves it on his right within a quarter of an hour of reaching that place, which Maundrell makes "four good hours" from Jebilee. About an hour and a half further, Maundrell mentions a river called *nahr Jobar*, shewing the remains of a well-built stone bridge over it, and near it a great square tower, with the rubbish of many buildings round it. Half an hour beyond this is "a fair, deep river," the *nahr el Melek*, or "King's river," with a bridge over it.* On both sides of the stream are

* Pococke's account of this route differs materially with regard to the rivers. The *nahr el Melek*, he calls the river *Sin*,

heaps of ruins, apparently Roman, with several granite columns. The whole of this tract, from Tortosa to Jebilee, exhibits ruins of castles and ancient sites, "which testify that this country, however it be neglected at present, was once in the hands of a people that knew how to value it, and thought it worth the defending." *

Jebilee is thus described by Maundrell. "Jebilee is seated close by the sea, having a vast and very fruitful plain stretching round about it, on its other sides. It makes a very mean figure at present; though it still retains the distinction of a city, and discovers evident footsteps of a better condition in former times. Its ancient name, from which also it derives its present, was Gabala; under which name it occurs in Strabo and other old geographers. In the time of the Greek emperors, it was dignified with a bishop's see, in which sometime sat Severian, the

but says that a mill near it is called *Tahaun el Melek*. He supposes it to be the site of the ancient Paltos. Maundrell distinctly makes *nahr Jobar* two hours and a half from Jebilee; Pococke three hours and a half; and between this and the nahr el Melek, he places the river *Henshoun*, of which Maundrell takes no notice. Nahr Jobar, according to Pococke, is only an hour to the N. of Baneas. The stream to the S., which he calls the river of Baneas, must, he says, be the same as the river called Valania in the middle ages. This stream too has been taken for the ancient Eleutherus. See page 225.

* "The whole country from Tripoli, with one exception in the neighbourhood of Markab, a village enclosed in ancient fortifications, and seated on the top of a square mountain, near which the coast is rocky,—is along a vast rich plain at the foot of the Enzairy mountains, which are of no considerable height. The plain is watered by many rivers, and there are also several torrents now dry. These rivers are generally pretty; their banks are covered with myrtle, oleander, wild vine, fig-tree, &c. Though the soil is rich, it is very partially cultivated and thinly peopled."—IRBY and MANGLES, p. 222.

grand adversary and arch-conspirator against St. Chrysostom. The most remarkable things that appear here at this day, are a mosque, and an almshouse just by it, both built by Sultan Ibrahim. In the former his body is deposited, and we were admitted to see his tomb, though held by the Turks in great veneration. We found it only a great wooden chest, erected over his grave, and covered with a carpet of painted calico, extending on all sides down to the ground. It was also tricked up with a great many long ropes of wooden beads hanging upon it, and somewhat resembling the furniture of a button-maker's shop. This is the Turks' usual way of adorning the tombs of their holy men, as I have seen in several other instances; the long strings of beads passing in this country for marks of great devotion and gravity. In this mosque we saw several large incense-pots, candlesticks for altars, and other church furniture, being the spoils of Christian churches at the taking of Cyprus. Close by the mosque is a very beautiful bagnio, and a small grove of orange-trees, under the shade of which travellers are wont to pitch their tents in the summer time. The Turks that were our conductors into the mosque, entertained us with a long story of this Sultan Ibrahim, who lies there interred; especially touching his mortification and renouncing the world. They reported, that having divested himself of his royalty, he retired hither, and lived twenty years in a grotto by the sea side, dedicating himself wholly to poverty and devotion: and in order to confirm the truth of their relation, they pretended to carry us to the very cell where he abode. Being come to the place, we found there a multitude of sepulchres hewn into the rocks by the sea side, according to the ancient manner of burying in this country: and

among these they shewed one, which they averred to be the very place in which the devout Sultan exercised his twenty years' discipline; and to add a little probability to the story, they shewed, at a small distance, another grotto, twice as large as any of its fellows, and uncovered at the top, which had three niches or praying-places hewn in its south side. This they would have to be Sultan Ibrahim's oratory, it being the manner of the Turks always to make such niches in their mosques and other places of devotion, to denote the southern quarter of the world; for that way the Mussulmans are obliged to set their faces when they pray, in reverence to the tomb of their prophet. These niches are always formed exactly resembling those usually made for statues, both in their size, fabric, and every circumstance. I have sometimes reflected for what reason the Turks should appoint such marks to direct their faces toward in prayer; and if I may be allowed to conjecture, I believe they did it at first in testimony of their iconoclastic principle, and to express to them both the reality of the Divine presence there, and at the same time also its invisibility. The relaters of this story of Sultan Ibrahim were doubtless fully persuaded of the truth of it themselves. But we could not tell what conjectures to make of it, having never met with any account of such a sultan, but only from this rude tradition. From these Mahommedan sanctuaries, our guide pretended to carry us to a Christian church, about two furlongs out of town on the south side. When we came to it, we found it nothing but a small grotto in a rock by the sea shore, open on the side towards the sea, and having a rude pile of stones erected in it for an altar. In our return from this poor chapel, we met with the person who was the

curate of it. He told us that himself and some few other Christians of the Greek communion, were wont to assemble in this humble cell for divine service, not being permitted to have any place of worship within the town.

" Jebilee seems to have had anciently some convenience for shipping. There is still to be seen a ridge composed of huge square stones, running a little way into the sea; which appears to have been formerly continued further on, and to have made a mole. Near this place we saw a great many pillars of granite, some by the water side, others tumbled into the water. There were others in a garden close by, together with capitals of white marble finely carved, which testify in some measure the ancient splendour of this city. But the most considerable antiquity in Jebilee, and the greatest monument of its former eminency, is the remains of a noble theatre just at the north gate of the city. It passes amongst the Turks for an old castle, which, according to the Asiatic way of enlarging, they report to have been of so prodigious a height, when in its perfect state, that a horseman might have rode about sun-rising a full hour in the shade of it. As for what remains of this mighty Babel, it is no more than twenty feet high. The flat side of it has been blown up with gunpowder by the Turks. And from hence, as they related, was taken a great quantity of marble, which we saw used in adorning their bagnio and mosque before mentioned. All of it that is now standing is the semicircle. It extends from corner to corner just a hundred yards. In this semicircular part is a range of seventeen round windows just above the ground, and between the windows all round were raised, on high pedestals, large massy pillars, standing as buttresses against the wall,

both for the strength and ornament of the fabric; but these supporters are at present most of them broken down. Within is a very large arena, but the just measure of it could not be taken, by reason of the houses with which the Turks have almost filled it up. On the west side, the seats of the spectators remain still entire, as do likewise the caves or vaults which run under the subsellia all round the theatre. The outward wall is three yards three quarters thick, and built of very large and firm stones; which great strength has preserved it thus long from the jaws of time, and from that general ruin which the Turks bring with them into most places where they come."

The principal produce of the soil near Jebilee, is cotton. The road now lies nearly N. along the coast, having a ridge of mountains at about two hours' distance on the right, to Latakia, the ancient Laodicea *ad mare*, a day's journey from nahr el Melek.*

Laodicea was so named by Seleucus Nicator, its founder, in honour of his mother. He founded also Seleucia, Antioch, and Apameia. The modern town is situated on the N.W. side of Cape Ziaret, an elevated tongue of land, which projects into the sea about half a league. The port, which is half an hour's distance from the town, is very small, but better sheltered, Captain Mangles says, than any town on the coast.

* Maundrell, in coming from Aleppo, left Latakia at about two hours' distance to the westward. Between Jebilee and Latakia, Pococke mentions three streams: the first, half a league from Jebilee, which he crossed by an old bridge; a second, half an hour further, over which is a bridge of three arches; an hour further, a considerable stream called *nahr Shobar*, "the river of pine-trees;" and within two miles of Latakia, "a deep stream, but not wide," called *nahr Gebir*, the great river,—the bridge about two miles from the sea. This *nahr Gebir* must not be confounded with the one of that name S. of Tortosa.

Pococke states, that the place was very inconsiderable till within fifty years of his journey to those parts, when the tobacco trade to Damietta was established here. "On this increase of trade, the town was enlarged, and several good houses were built of the hewn stone which they are continually digging out of the ruins; for the ground of the city is risen very much, having been often destroyed by earthquakes, which of late years have been much greater here than at Antioch.* There is a monastery in the city," he continues, "belonging to the Latin convent of the Holy Land. There are many Greeks here, and about thirty families of Cypriots, who live in a particular quarter of the town. They have a Greek bishop resident in this city, and three or four churches. There is a cemetery belonging to one of them, where both the English and those of the Church of Rome bury. In the heart of the town there is a small church, which has the appearance of some antiquity, and is dedicated to St. George. To the north of the supposed ancient suburb, are ruins of a large church on an advanced ground: it is called *Pharous*, and seems to have been a very magnificent Gothic building, probably of the sixth century. The body of the church fell down many years ago; it had a portico, to which was an ascent by many steps. There was a lofty arch across the west end of the church, which was supported by two pillars, built of hewn stone, ten feet in diameter, in which were stairs up to the top. From these pillars the building seems to have extended thirty-five paces to the E., and it was about twenty-eight paces broad. Within the northern walls of the city is a large grotto, to which there is a descent by many steps:

* In 1796, an earthquake laid a great part of it in ruins, and destroyed numbers of the inhabitants.

they say it was an old church. It has a well in the middle; but, by the manner in which it is cut with niches, as if designed to receive bodies, one may see it was intended for a sepulchre. The Greeks perform Divine service here. There are descents by stairs to many grots by the sea side. About the N.W. corner of the city, the sea has washed away the very rock, and laid open some of them, and it appears that others have been entirely destroyed. There is a well on the shore at the N.E. corner of the bay, to which, I suppose, the wall of the suburbs came: the water of it is fresh, and there are several marble coffins round it, that serve as cisterns.

"Towards the S.E. corner of the town, there is a remarkable triumphal arch, almost entire: it is built with four entrances, like the *Forum Jani* at Rome. The pediment in the entablature is very extraordinary, and has not a good effect: over this there is a sort of attic story, the frieze of which is enriched with military ornaments. It is conjectured, that this arch was built in honour of Lucius Verus or of Septimius Severus. In the way from it towards the port, there are several grey granite pillars standing in the gardens, which seem to have been in two rows leading from the arch to the port; probably, they are the remains of a portico on each side of a grand street that might lead from the arch to the harbour."

Besides these remains, he mentions part of two sides of a portico of the Corinthian order, the entablature very fine: it was probably attached to a temple. The town is supplied with water from a well on the E. side, by an aqueduct very slightly built. To the S. are some low hills, over the top of which the walls of the city are supposed to have been carried, as, all over the gardens and fields as far as those hills, are found

fragments of marble and brick. Captain Mangles states, that the Marina is built upon foundations of ancient columns: he notices also a fine old castle projecting into the sea at the point of a bed of rocks. He lodged at the house of the English agent, Signor Moses Elias, "a very excellent man."

At Latakia, according to both Volney and Burckhardt, the pashalic of Tripoli terminates; but Maundrell makes it extend about two days' journey further on the road to Aleppo, to "a woody, mountainous country," divided by the valley *Bedame* from the mountains which overlook the Orontes, to the E. of Shogger. In this route occur the names of the following places: *Sholfatia*, a poor village on a mountain torrent, dry in summer, but often impassable in the rainy season; four hours further, *Bellulca*, the residence of an aga, inhabited partly by Maronites; near this, to the left of the road, *Citte Galle*, inhabited solely by Maronites; three hours further, the road lying over a steep mountain called *Occaby*, to *Caphar Crusia;* an hour further, to *Hadjar-el-Sultane*, the Sultan's stone; from this spot, a day's journey (seven hours and a half) in a N.E. direction to Shogger. A few miles beyond *Hadjar-el-Sultane*, at the bottom of a deep valley, is an extraordinary fissure in the earth, of a great depth, "but withal so narrow, that it is not discernible to the eye till you arrive just upon it, though, to the ear, a notice of it is given at a great distance, by reason of the noise of a stream running down into it from the hills. We could not guess it," says Maundrell, "to be less than thirty yards deep, but it is so narrow, that a small arch, not four yards over, lands you on its other side. They call it *the Sheikh's Wife*,—a name given it from a woman of that quality who fell into it, and, I need not add,

perished. The depth of the channel and the noise of the water are so extraordinary, that one cannot pass over it without something of horror. The sides of this fissure are firm and solid rock, perpendicular and smooth, only seeming to lie in a wavy form all down, as it were to comply with the motion of the water. From which observation we were led to conjecture, that the stream, by a long and perpetual current, had as it were sawn its own channel down into this unusual deepness; to which effect the water's being penned up in so narrow a passage, and its hurling down stones along with it by its rapidity, may have not a little contributed."

From Shoggle, or Shogger, "a pretty large, but exceeding filthy town," on the Orontes, it is a day's journey of ten hours to the village of Kefteen; and thence between six and seven hours in an easterly direction, to Aleppo, where we take leave of this intelligent and amusing traveller.*

There is another route from Tripoli, by way of Homs and Hamah, through the valley of the Orontes, which was taken by Burckhardt in 1812, in journeying from Aleppo to Damascus: this route turns off eastward beyond the *nahr el Kebir*, along the foot of the hills forming the *Djebel Shara*, which is the lower northern continuation of Mount Libanus, where a vast plain, open to the sea on the west, extends N. as far as the mountains of Tortosa, and is bounded on the E. by the Anzairy mountains. The latter chain, according to Volney, extends from the nahr el Kebir to Antioch. It is but little known. Volney states, that the pashas of Tripoli had always been desirous of

* In returning by the same route, Maundrell was eight days in journeying from Tripoli to Aleppo.

bringing the Anzairies, as well as the Maronites, under their dominion, but that, in both cases, the natives had been able to oppose with success the entrance of the Turks into their territory, so that the government had been obliged to content itself with a tribute, the levying of which is entrusted to some native chief, who farms it by the year. The lease of the Anzairy territory was at that time (1785) divided between three chiefs, or *mokaddamin*, who held it of the Pasha of Tripoli. Of the natives themselves, still less is known than of the Maronites and the Druses; but, from Volney, Niebuhr, and Burckhardt, we glean the following particulars.

THE ANZAIRIES.

THE Anzairies,* or Nassairians, according to a writer quoted by Volney,† derive their name from the village of *Nasar;* and their origin, as a distinct sect, is referred to the following circumstances.

"There was, A.D. 891, in the environs of Koufa, in the village of Nasar, an old man who, by his fastings, prayers, and poverty, obtained the reputation of a saint. Several of the inhabitants having declared themselves his partisans, he chose from among them twelve individuals to propagate his doctrine. But the governor of the place, alarmed at this proceeding, threw the old man into prison. In this reverse of fortune, his condition touched the heart of a female slave of the jailor, and she formed the project of

* Maundrell alludes to them under the name of *Neceres;* so called, he says, by the Turks. Pococke writes it *Nocires* and *Noceres.* Niebuhr calls them *Nassariens;* D'Anville, *Nassaris;* Delisle, *Ensyriens;* Volney, *Ansarié* and *Ansariens;* Burckhardt, *Anzeyrys.*

† Assemani. *Bibliothèque Orientale.*

setting him at liberty. An opportunity soon occurred, of which she did not fail to avail herself. One day, when the jailor had gone to bed intoxicated, and was in a profound sleep, she contrived to steal the keys from under his head, and, after opening the door for the old man, to replace them unperceived. The next day, when the jailor came to visit his prisoner, he was astonished to find the place empty, the more so as he could perceive no mark of violence. He concluded that the old man had been delivered by an angel, and he spread a report to that effect, with a view to avert the blame which he deserved. The old man told the same tale to his disciples, and he gave himself up more than ever to the dissemination of his notions. He wrote a book, in which, among other things, is a declaration to the following effect: 'I, such a one, of the village of Nasar, have seen Christ, who is the Word of God, who is Achmed, the son of Mohammed, the son of Hanafa, of the race of Ali, who is also Gabriel; and he said to me, Thou art he who readeth with understanding; thou art the man that speaketh truth; thou art the camel that preserveth the Faithful from wrath; thou art the beast of burden that carrieth their load; thou art the (holy) spirit and John the son of Zachariah: go and preach, that men should make four genuflections in praying; to wit, two before the sun-rising, and two before sunset, with the face turned towards Jerusalem, saying three times, God almighty, God most high, God most great; that they observe only the second and third festivals; that they fast only two days in the year; that they drink no beer, but as much wine as they choose; and that they abstain from the flesh of carnivorous animals.' The old man, having travelled into Syria, disseminated these opinions among the natives, who in a

mass believed on him; and, some years after, he withdrew himself, and was never heard of more."

"Such," adds M. Volney, "was the origin of these Ansarians, who were found for the most part to be inhabitants of these mountains." It is impossible, however, not to admire the easy faith which this apostle of incredulity, in relation to matters of religion, reposes in this incoherent, unauthenticated, and ridiculous tale. M. Niebuhr gives a different account altogether. Through a Maronite, named Antun Beitar, interpreter to M. de Masseyk, he procured the sight of a manuscript said to have been copied by a Jesuit, from a book found in the house of a Druse, where the Jesuit passed a night. This, it must be admitted, is not the most unsuspicious channel of information; but it seems as respectable a source as that from which the above tale has been drawn. The account of the Druses contained in the said manuscript, substantially agrees with that which we have given on other authorities. With regard to the Nassarians, the author of the manuscript states, that they were formerly *Druses*, but that a certain Nassari had seduced them into a denial of the divinity of Hakem, substituting in his room Ali Ibn Abi Taleb, son-in-law of Mahommed, whom they adored as God; that this deceiver, moreover, taught them, that the Divinity had resided in twelve imaums of the house of Ali, but that having disappeared with Mahommed el Mochdi, the last of these imaums, it had now taken up its residence in the sun. The same Druse author further states, that the Nassarians believe in metempsychosis; that they even hold, that the soul of a believer of their sect passes, after death, into another Nassarian, and then, after a certain time, enters into a star; but that if any one has been

unruly and disobedient to the precepts of Ali, his soul passes into the body of a Jew, a Sunnite, or a Christian, and undergoes repeated changes, till it becomes sufficiently purified to attain at last transformation into a star; while the souls of unbelievers, who worship not Ali Ibn Abi Taleb, pass into camels, mules, asses, dogs, sheep, and other animals.

"These statements," adds Niebuhr, "sufficiently agree with those which I found in another little work 'on the Religion of the Nassarians,' and which was in like manner procured me by Antun Beitar. This little treatise was stated to have been discovered by some Turkish officers of justice in the chamber of a Nassarian, whom they had surprised by night and dragged to prison. It was the original manuscript, but incomplete, badly written, and so full of obscure expressions, that the author himself says in one place, that the Nassarians had drawn a wall from the country of Gog and Magog, or that they had made use of obscure expressions in their books, to conceal their mysteries from unbelievers. Thus, no person who is not a Nassarian, will ever understand what this writer means, when he, for example, calls Gabriel the raven, the arch, the ring, the *belkis*, the rod of Moses, the dromedary of Salech, the calf of the Israelites, of the hidden apostles, &c. Similar expressions are found in every page, without any explanation being given of them. I have obtained from them, however, the following information.

"The Nassarians call themselves *Mumen*. They speak of the unity of God, that is to say, of Ali, who is to proceed from the eye of the sun, and to judge the world, and of five persons who are united to him; namely, 1. *Maana*, or Intelligence; 2. *Ism*, the Name, the possessor of the true wisdom, who

is always under the guidance of *Maana*; 3. *Bab*, the Gate; 4. *Itam*, the Orphans; and 5. *Hossein*. I confess, that not being initiated into the mysteries of this religion, I understand nothing about this *Quintity*."

Then follows some unintelligible jargon about the different incarnations of these five several personages or entities, agreeably to the notion of transmigration. In every case, the *Maana* appears the subordinate of the *Ism*, which is stated to have been successively, Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus, Mahommed. In another place, the author says, that a Nassarian must believe that Mahommed, Fatima, Hassan, Hossein, and Mochsen, compose one unity, and denote Ali. The same work speaks of the expected return of Sochra or Fatima, and mentions the prohibition of the camel, the hare, the eel, pork, blood, and the flesh of all animals not properly killed, as articles of food. Further, it is laid down, that Nassarians must disclose nothing concerning their religion to strangers, must love their brethren, be charitable, refrain from theft, swearing, and all oaths whatsoever, and patiently endure poverty and ill-treatment from their wives.

From these vague and differing statements we gather, that the Nassarians are undoubtedly, like the Druses and the Motoualies, a Mahommedan sect. If they were originally Druses, as one of these authorities states, the date assigned by Volney's authority for their origin, (A. D. 891,) must clearly be fictitious; and at all events, the story of the old man is quite at variance with some of the particulars given by Niebuhr respecting the opinions of the sect. It appears, moreover, that, like the Motoualies, they are of the Shi-ite persuasion, but, as Niebuhr con-

jectures, of a different sect from them, being the followers of a certain Seid Abu Shaïb (Shehab?), who had for an opponent one Ishak, who attempted his life, and whose memory the Nassarians consequently hold in the greatest detestation. Possibly, he adds, the Motoualies may be Ishakians. The origin of their name seems still doubtful. One story, we have seen, derives it from the village Nasar, another from a certain Nassairi; but no such name as this occurs in the list of prophetical incarnations given from the MS. by Niebuhr. William of Tyre confounds them with the *assassins** whom the Crusaders met with in marching from the Orontes towards Libanus. Pococke conjectured that he had discovered their name in a passage which he cites from Pliny, who speaks of a people called *Nazerini*, whose country was divided from the territory of Apameia by the river Marsyas.† He could not, he says, learn any thing particular respecting their religion; "only that, once a year, they hold a sort of feast by night, which very much resembles the ancient bacchanals." He supposed them to be a sort of pagans. Maundrell describes them, on hearsay information, in the following terms: "It is their principle to adhere to no certain religion; but, cameleon-like, they put on the colour of religion, whatever it be, which is reflected upon them from the persons with whom they happen to converse. With Christians, they profess themselves Christians; with Turks, they are good Mussulmans; with Jews,

* These assassins (the word comes from the Arabic *hassasin*) Volney considers as the same as the Batanians, whose principal seat was to the west of Kourdistan, in the mountains of ancient Media.

† *Cœle habet Apamiam, Marsya amne divisam à Nazerinorum tetrarchiâ.*—PLIN. Hist. v. 23.

they pass for Jews; being such Proteuses in religion, that nobody was ever able to discover what shape or standard their consciences are really of. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and good wine, and are great drinkers."

Volney, without citing his authority, affirms that the Ansarians are divided into the several sects of *Shamsia*, or worshippers of the sun; *Kelbia*, or worshippers of the dog; and *Kadmousia*, whose rites are stated to be of an infamous description. The latter would seem to be the same sect that is spoken of by Niebuhr and Burckhardt under the name of Ismaëlites or Ismaylys.* They are stated by the former traveller to be not numerous, being found chiefly at Killis, a town between Shogher and Hamah, and in Djebel Kulbie, a mountain not far from Latakia, between Aleppo and Antioch. The Mahommedans and the Oriental Christians, he says, tell incredible things of these Ismaelites; that they have nocturnal assemblies of the abominable description charged on the ancient Gnostics; that incest is allowed among them; and that their idolatry is of the most infamous and degrading description. In the environs of Mosul, and among the Kourds and Turcomans, sects are said to exist, to whom religious rites equally dreadful are attributed;† "but," adds this author, "I have

* Burckhardt mentions this supposed subdivision of the Anzeyrys into three sects, but calls them *Kelbye*, *Shamsye*, and *Mokladjye*; he adds: "nothing is known of them except the names." His account of the *Mokladjye* confirms the suspicion that they are the same as the *Kadmousia* of Volney, and the Ismaelites of Niebuhr, though he speaks of them as distinct from the Ismaylys. It deserves remark, that there is an Ismayly castle, mentioned by Burckhardt, called *El Kadmous*.

† "*Des Eteigneurs de Chandelle.*"—NIEBUHR, tom. ii. p. 361.

never met with a person who had been present at their assemblies, or had read a copy of any of their books; and one may therefore hope that their morals are not so depraved as has been represented." Burckhardt was told a similar tale. On certain days of the year, he says, the Ismaylys are generally reported to mix in promiscuous debauchery. But his information was also hearsay. "Not only European travellers and Europeans resident in Syria," he adds, "but many natives of influence have endeavoured to penetrate the mysteries of these idolaters without success; and several causes combine to make it probable that their doctrines will long remain unknown. The principal reason is, that few individuals among them become acquainted with the most important and secret tenets of their faith, the generality contenting themselves with the observance of some exterior practices, while the arcana are possessed by the select few. It is true, that all the different sects possess books which they regard as sacred, but they are intelligible only to the initiated. Another difficulty arises from the extreme caution of the Ismaylys upon this subject. Whenever they are obliged to visit any part of the country under the Turkish government, they assume the character of Mussulmans, being well aware that, if they should be detected in the practice of any rite contrary to the Turkish religion, their hypocrisy in affecting to follow the latter would no longer be tolerated; and their being once clearly known to be pagans, which they are only suspected to be at present, would expose them to the heaviest exactions, and might even be followed by their total expulsion or extirpation. When they go to Hamah, they pray in the mosque, which they never do at Kalaat Maszyad. This castle has been

from ancient times their chief seat. One of them asserted that his religion descended from Ismayl the son of Abraham, and that the Ismaylys had been in possession of the castle since the time of El Melek-el-Dhaher, as acknowledged by the firmauns of the Porte. A few years since, they were driven out of it by the Anzeyrys, in consequence of a most daring act of treachery. The Anzeyrys and Ismaylys have always been at enmity; the consequence, perhaps, of some religious differences. In 1807, a tribe of the former, having quarrelled with their chief, quitted their abode in their mountains, and applied to the Emir of Maszyad for an asylum. The latter, glad of an opportunity to divide the strength of his enemies, readily granted the request; and about three hundred, with their Sheikh Mahmoud, settled at Maszyad, the Emir carrying his hospitality so far as to order several families to quit the place, for the purpose of affording room for the new settlers. For several months all was tranquil, till one day, when the greater part of the people were at work in the fields, the Anzeyrys, at a given signal, killed the Emir and his son in the castle, and then fell upon the Ismaylys who had remained in their houses, sparing no one they could find, and plundering at the same time the whole town. On the following day, the Anzeyrys were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, which proved that their pretended emigration had been a deep-laid plot; and the circumstance of its being kept secret for three months by so great a number, serves to shew the character of the people. About three hundred Ismaylys perished on this occasion: the families who had escaped in the sack of the town, fled to Hamah, Homs, and Tripoli, and their treacherous enemies successfully

attacked three other Ismayly castles in the mountain. The Ismaylys then implored the protection of Yousef Pasha, at that time governor of Damascus, who marched with four or five thousand men against the Anzeyrys, retook the castles which had belonged to the Ismaylys, but kept the whole of the plunder of the Anzeyrys to himself. This castle of Maszyad, with a garrison of forty men, resisted his whole army for three months.

"In 1810, after Yousef Pasha had been exiled by the Porte, the Ismaylys who had fled to Hamah, Homs, and Tripoli, returned; and Maszyad is now inhabited by about two hundred and fifty Ismayly families, and by thirty of Christians. The chief, who resides in the castle, is styled emir; his name is Zogherby, of the family of Solieman. He informed me that his family had been possessors of the emirship from remote times, and that they are recognised as such by express firmauns from the Porte. Zogherby is a nephew of Mustafa, the emir who was slain by the Anzeyrys. Some of his relations command in the Ismayly castles of El Kadmous, El Kohf, El Aleyka, and El Merkab, in the mountains towards Ladakie. After what has lately taken place, it may be presumed that the hatred between the two nations is extreme: they are, apparently, at peace, but many secret murders are committed. 'Do you suppose,' said a handsome young man to me, while his eyes flashed with anger, 'that these whiskers shall turn grey before I shall have taken my revenge for a slaughtered wife, and two infant children?' But the Ismaylys are weak; I do not think that they can muster eight hundred firelocks, while the Anzeyrys are triple that number."

Burckhardt passed a night at an Anzeyry village

named Shennyn, between Maszyad and Tripoli; and as his hosts appeared to be good-natured people, he entered after supper into conversation with them, with a view to obtain some information respecting their religious tenets, but upon this point they maintained an extreme reserve. "I had heard," he says, "that the Anzeyrys maintained from time to time some communication with the East Indies, and that there was a temple belonging to their sect, to which they occasionally sent messengers. In the course of our conversation, I said that I knew there were some Anzeyrys in the East Indies. They were greatly amazed at this, and inquired how I had obtained my information; and their countenances seemed to indicate that there was some truth in my assertion. It is a fact, that they entertain the curious belief, that the soul ought to quit the dying person's body by the mouth; and they are extremely cautious against any accident which they imagine may prevent it from taking that road. For this reason, whenever the government of Ladakie or Tripoli condemns an Anzeyry to death, his relations offer considerable sums that he may be impaled, instead of hanged. I can vouch for the truth of this belief, which proves at least that they have some idea of a future state. It appears that there are Anzeyrys in Anatolia and at Constantinople. Some years ago, a great man of this sect died in the mountain of Antioch; and the water with which his corpse had been washed, was carefully put into bottles, and sent to Constantinople and Asia Minor."

The popular opinions of a sect often furnish far better data for determining its character and origin, than its sacred books. These, being inaccessible to the vulgar, can have little influence on their actual

belief; and not infrequently they may be suspected to be of a date posterior to the rise of the sect itself, being but the after-inventions of the literati or priesthood.* In this point of view, Burckhardt's information is not unimportant; and the connexion between the Anzeyrys and the natives of Hindostan, could it be verified, would be an extremely interesting fact, in connexion with the similarity of some of their reported rites to the abominations of the Hindoo idolatry.

On the whole, it may be concluded that, long prior to the Ottoman conquest, these tribes had established themselves in the mountains of Syria. The main question of historical interest is, whether they represent the ancient inhabitants, or whether they are an intrusive race. If, like the Druses, the Anzeyrys should be found not to practise circumcision, the circumstance would afford a strong presumption in favour of their claim to be regarded as an indigenous race. The mongrel Mahommedism which prevails among them as well as the Druses, was in all probability imported from Egypt during the reign of the Mamlouks.* But there seems good reason to believe that the ancient paganism was never completely extirpated, and that at least some foundation exists for the vague reports above referred to, relative

* Burckhardt noticed several *Arabic* inscriptions in different parts of the town of Maszyad; all, he says, of the time of Melek el Dhaher. Upon a vault in the castle he read the following inscription: "The deed (or fabric) of the Mamlouk Kosta." It is a curious coincidence, that the founder of the Druse religion is stated to have been named Mohammed Ben Ismaël. One is tempted to imagine that the Ismaylys may have derived their name from him, rather than from the son of the patriarch Abraham.

to their idolatrous rites. In the tenet that the Deity had, since the time of Mahommed-el-Mochdi, taken up his residence in the sun, there seems an awkward attempt to graft the exotic doctrine of metempsychosis on the ancient Syrian worship of Adonis, Hercules, or Baal. The worship of the dog is not so easily accounted for; but the reader will connect with this statement what has been mentioned respecting an idol in the form of a dog, which is said to have given its name to the *nahr el Kelb*, or Dog River.* As to the third sect, the Baal-Phegor of ancient Syria and the Juggernaut of India may very possibly have their votaries among some tribes, or in certain localities, of the Anzairie mountains. The temple of Aphaca was not the only place in which the Syrian Venus had her altars of abomination.† But idolatrous rites of any description are so incompatible with either the Sunnite or the Shi-ite faith, that we can scarcely imagine them to be practised by the Anzairies generally, or by any who have embraced the mystical creed avowed in their sacred books. They are, in all probability, confined to particular districts, where paganism still survives, though shunning the day, and shrouding itself in dark and guilty mystery, through fear of the sword of Mahommed.

* See p. 71.

† Mr. Browne suggests, that the infamous worship attributed to the Anzairies, "seems a relic of the ancient dissolute manners of Antioch and Daphne." "With Christians," he says, "they affect to be of their faith. Their women are fair, have black eyes, and tolerable features." This is all the information on the subject which his work contains, and he is the only writer who affords a hint of a physiological nature respecting this equivocal people.

PASHALIC OF ALEPPO.

THE pashalic of Aleppo, on which we now enter, comprises, according to Volney, the country extending from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, between two imaginary lines: one drawn from Scanderoon to El Bir (or Beer) by the mountains; the other from Billis to the sea, by Marrah and the bridge of Shogher. This tract is for the most part composed of two large plains; that of Antioch on the west, and that of Aleppo on the east. To the north and on the coast, are the high mountains which the ancients designated by the names of Amanus and Rhosus. In general, the soil of this territory is rich and clayey. The tall and strong herbage which is found springing up every where after the winter rains, attests its fertility, but it is almost entirely destitute of fruit. The greater part of the land is untilled: scarcely is there any cultivation even in the environs of the towns and villages. The principal productions are wheat, barley, and cotton, which are more especially grown in the flat country. In the mountains, preference is given to the cultivation of the vine, the mulberry, the olive, and the fig, while the maritime border is devoted to tobacco, and the neighbourhood of Aleppo to the pistachio-tree. We take no account of the pastures which are abandoned to nomade hordes of Turkmans and Kourds.

The government of this pashalic differs in some material respects from that of the other Syrian vice-royalties. Instead of entrusting the Pasha with the collection of the revenue, the Porte appoints its own *mohassel*, or collector, and allots to the Pasha a fixed salary of *30,000* dollars, or above *8,300l.*; a sum no-

toriously insufficient for even the public disbursements of the government, but the Porte reckons on the contributions he will be able to draw from the Kourds and Turkmans, and the *avanias* which he will impose both on villages and individuals; and the pashas are not behind-hand in acting up to this expectation.* Abdi Pasha, who held the government some time about the year 1770, managed to carry off, in about fifteen months, more than 160,000*l.* sterling, by laying every trade under contribution, down to the pipe-cleaners. After him, another pasha of the same name, was expelled for practising similar extortions. The consequence of this miserable policy is, that the country is entirely ruined. In the ancient *deftar*, or tax-registers, there were reckoned within the pashalic of Aleppo more than 3,200 villages. In 1785, when Volney visited Syria, the collector of the revenue could hardly make out 400.† "Those of our merchants," he says, "who have lived here twenty years, have seen the greater part of the environs of Aleppo depopulated. The traveller meets there with nothing on every side but houses in ruins, cisterns broken up, fields abandoned. The husbandmen have taken refuge in the towns, where they are lost in the population, or where at least the individual eludes the rapacious hand of despotism, which is baffled by the crowd."

Since Volney's time, although the political division

* D'Arvieux states, that they contrive to raise their actual revenue to about 25,000*l.*

† "It is asserted," says Dr. Russell, "that, of 300 villages formerly comprehended in the bashawlick, less than one third are now (1772) inhabited. Agriculture declines in proportion." Dr. R. seems to speak of the immediate territory of Aleppo, rather than of the pashalic in its present extent.

of Syria has undergone no material changes, the internal state of this pashalic in particular has experienced repeated and considerable fluctuations. The power of the Porte has been so much on the decline, especially since the time of Djezzar Pasha, that a number of petty independent chieftains have sprung up, who have set their sovereign at defiance. In 1812, Alexandretta (Scanderoon), Badjazze,* and Antakia (Antioch), had each an independent aga; Aintab, Edlip, and Shogher had also their own chiefs; and Berber had but recently been dislodged from Tripoli.† The municipal government of Aleppo was at that time only nominally in the hands of the officers appointed by the Porte, the real power having been usurped by the janissaries. The account given by Burckhardt of this revolution, is as follows:—

The inhabitants of Aleppo had been for many years divided into two parties, the shereefs and the janissaries. The former, consisting of the real or pretended descendants of the Prophet, distinguish themselves by twisting a green turban round a small red cap; the latter wear high Barbary caps, with a turban or shawl of white muslin, and carry in their girdles a *khanjar*, or long crooked knife. There are few Turks in the city who have been able to keep aloof from both parties. The shereefs first shewed their strength about fifty years ago, during a tumult excited by their chiefs, in consequence of a supposed insult received by Mr. Clarke, the then British consul. Aleppo

* Kutshuk Ali, the lord of Badjazze, or Payass, openly declares his contempt of all orders from the Porte, and with a force of less than 200 men, has contrived to carry on the trade of a bandit for upwards of thirty years, in defiance of all attempts of the neighbouring pashas to subdue him.

† See page 220.

was governed by them in a disorderly manner for several years without a pasha, until the Bey of Alexandretta, being appointed to the pashalic, surprised the town, and ordered all the chief shereefs to be strangled. The new pasha, however, found his authority considerably limited by the influence which Tshelebi Effendi, an independent Aleppine grandee, had gained over his countrymen. The immense property of Tshelebi's family, added to his personal qualities, gave him such an ascendancy, that he compelled several pashas, who would not fall in with his counsels, to quit the town; but, though repeated offers of the pashalic were made him by the Porte, he would never accept of the office. His interests were in some measure supported by the janissaries, the regular militia of the Porte. Through his influence at Constantinople, Ibrahim Bey, one of his household officers, had been appointed mutsellim of the town, and mohassel, or chief custom-house officer of the pashalic. On the death of Tshelebi, in 1786, his power devolved upon Ibrahim. About that time, Kussa Pasha was nominated to the pashalic, and being jealous of Ibrahim's influence, he endeavoured to obtain possession of his person, by ordering him to be detained, during a visit made by Ibrahim to compliment the Pasha on his arrival, for a debt claimed by a foreign merchant, who had preferred his complaint to the Pasha. Ibrahim paid the debt, and was no sooner out of the Pasha's immediate reach, than he entered into a league with the chief of the janissaries against Kussa. The result was, a conflict between the janissaries and the Pasha's troops, which ended, after several days' skirmishing, in his being driven out of the town. Ibrahim was shortly afterwards named Pasha of Aleppo, with the dignity of a pasha of three tails,

From this period (1788, 9), may be dated the power of the janissaries. Ibrahim, finding that they were growing too strong, deemed it necessary to countenance the shereefs; and he had the address to oppose the two parties to each other, so as to secure his own ends. But when, in 1789, he was nominated to the pashalic of Damascus, and Shereef Pasha, a man of no capacity, was sent to Aleppo, the janissaries soon usurped the powers of government.

The intrigues of Djezzar Pasha drove Ibrahim from his post at Damascus, about the time of the French invasion; and he contrived to recover his former seat of government. He had at one time all the chiefs of the janissaries in his power; but, at the intercession of his son and of the Emir Yousef, they were at length liberated. In 1804, the pashalic of Damascus, vacant by Djezzar's death, was again conferred on Ibrahim, and he obtained that of Aleppo for his son Mahommed Pasha. It was under his government that the janissaries broke out into open rebellion. They began by massacring between two and three hundred of the Pasha's troops, and at length, after several months' daily fighting in the streets, they compelled Mahommed to evacuate the city, under pretence of marching against the rebel Berber. Instead, however, of proceeding to Tripoli, he established his head-quarters at Sheikh Abou Beker, a monastery of dervises within a mile of Aleppo, where he prepared to besiege the town. A compromise at length took place, and the Pasha re-entered the city; but, in three months, the civil war broke out afresh, and Mahommed was again compelled to retreat to his former encampment, while the shereefs and the janissaries contended for the possession of the town. This civil war lasted for nearly two years, during which

the janissaries never ventured to meet the Pasha's troops on the outside of the walls, and the shereefs, who had got possession of the castle, shewed as little disposition to make a sally. They contented themselves with firing into the janissaries' quarter, and a considerable part of the town was laid in ruins. At length, Mahommed was recalled by a firmaun from the Porte, on which the janissaries came to a compromise with the shereefs, and have since then been absolute masters of the city. The Porte has continued to nominate its pashas, but they have possessed nothing but the empty title, being unable to carry the most trifling orders into effect, without purchasing the concurrence of the chiefs of the janissaries. They formed, in 1812, a disorderly body of from three to four thousand,* wholly without discipline, headed by six principal families. The legal forms of the government, however, had not been changed; and the Sultan continued duly to receive the annual proceeds of the *miri*, which the janissaries themselves pay, the *kharatsh*, or tribute of the Christians and Jews, and the customs, rented at 80,000 piastres. "The outward decorum," says Burckhardt, "which the janissaries have never ceased to observe towards the Porte, is owing to their fear of offending public opinion so as to endanger their own security. The Porte, on the other hand, has not the means of subduing these rebels, established as their power now is, without calling forth all her resources, and ordering an army to march against them from Constantinople. The expense of such an enterprise could hardly be counterbalanced by the profits of its success; for the

* Lieut.-colonel Squire, in 1802, states that there were between 9 and 10,000.

janissaries, pushed to extremities, would leave the town, and find a secure retreat for themselves and their treasures in the mountains of the Druses. Both parties, therefore, endeavour to avoid an open rupture. It is well known, that the chief janissaries send considerable presents to Constantinople, to appease their master's anger; and provided the latter draws supplies for his pressing wants, no matter how or whence, the insults offered to his supreme authority are easily overlooked.

"The janissaries chiefly exercise their power with a view to the filling of their purses. Every inhabitant of Aleppo, whether Turk or Christian, provided he be not himself a janissary, is obliged to have a protector among them, to whom he applies in case of need, to arrange his litigations, to enforce payment from his creditors, and to protect him from the vexations and exactions of other janissaries. Each protector receives from his client a sum proportionate to the circumstances of the client's affairs. It varies from 20 to 2,000 piastres a-year; besides which, whenever the protector terminates an important business to the client's wishes, he expects some extraordinary reward. Those janissaries who have the greatest number of clients, are of course the richest and have the greatest influence. These are not the only means which they employ to extort money. They monopolise the trade of most of the articles of consumption, which have risen in consequence to nearly double the price they bore six years ago, as well as of several of the manufactures: upon others they levy heavy taxes. In short, their power is despotic and oppressive; yet they have hitherto abstained from making, like the pashas, *avanias* upon individuals by open force, and it is for this reason

that the greater part of the Aleppines do not wish for the return of a pasha. Though the janissaries extort from the public, by direct and indirect means, more than the pashas ever did by their *avanias*, yet, each individual discharges the burthen imposed upon him more readily, because he is confident that it insures the remainder of his fortune. In the pashas' time, living was cheaper, and regular taxes not oppressive; but the pasha would, upon the most frivolous pretexts, order a man of property to be thrown into prison, and demand the sacrifice of one fourth of his fortune to grant him his deliverance. Notwithstanding the immense incomes of the chief janissaries, they live poorly, without indulging themselves in the usual luxuries of Turks — women and horses. Their gains are hoarded in gold coin." Burckhardt adds, what seems hardly credible, that the yearly income of several of them could not amount to less than 30 or 40,000*l.* sterling.

"It is necessary," he continues, "to have lived for some time among the Turks, and to have experienced the mildness and peacefulness of their character, and the sobriety and regularity of their habits, to conceive it possible that the inhabitants of a town like Aleppo, should continue to live for years without any legal master, or administration of justice, protected only by a miserable guard of police, and yet that the town should be a safe and quiet residence. No disorders or nightly tumults occur; and instances of murder and robbery are extremely rare." During the whole of the civil war, it is stated, that the persons and property of the Franks were rigidly respected. "It sometimes happened that parties of shereefs and janissaries skirmishing in the bazars, left off firing, by common consent, when a Frank was

seen passing." This precarious security is enjoyed, however, only within the walls. The whole neighbourhood is infested by bands of Arab and Kourdish robbers, who have been known to attack and plunder caravans of forty or fifty camels, within five hundred yards of the city gate. "Not a week passes without somebody being ill-treated and stripped in the gardens near the town; and the robbers have even sometimes taken their night's rest in one of the suburbs of the city, and there sold their cheaply acquired booty. In the time of Ibrahim Pasha, the neighbourhood of Aleppo, to the distance of four or five hours, was kept in perfect security from all hostile inroads of the Arabs, by the Pasha's cavalry guard of *Deli Bashi*. But the janissaries are very averse from exposing themselves to danger; there is, moreover, no head among them to command, no common purse to pay the necessary expenses, nor any individual to whose hands the public money might be trusted."

A very full and interesting account of the city of Aleppo, its natural history, topography, population, manners and customs, has been furnished by Dr. Russell, for many years physician to the British factory at Aleppo, who died in 1768.* Although many changes have taken place since then, in the state of the town, as to population and politics, his description continues to be by far the most authentic, minute, and faithful picture of the interior of Turkish society. It will be impossible, however, to give any thing like an abstract of the contents of this work.

Haleb-al-Shahba,† as Aleppo is styled by the natives,

* The Natural History of Aleppo, by Alex. Russell, M.D. The second edition, revised and enlarged, by Pat. Russell, M.D. and F.A.S. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1794.

† *Haleb* signifies in Arabic, *has milked*; *Shahba* denotes a

the ancient Berrœa,* claimed to be considered as the metropolis of Syria, being deemed in importance the third city in the Ottoman dominions. In situation, magnitude, population, and opulence, it was always inferior to Constantinople and Cairo; nor could it presume to emulate the courtly splendour of either of those cities. But in salubrity of air, in the solidity and elegance of its private buildings, as well as the convenience and neatness of its streets, Aleppo *was* reckoned superior to both; and though no longer possessed of the commercial advantages which it once enjoyed, it still retained no inconsiderable share of

variegated white and grey colour: and the epithet is supposed, by the learned Reiske, to be derived from the colour of the soil and the buildings. The popular tradition, however, which it would be an insult to question, is, that *al Shahba*, or the pied, was the name of a singular cow in the herd of the patriarch Abraham, who, on his migration to the land of Canaan, resided for some time on the hill on which the castle is built: the patriarch, it seems, used daily to distribute milk to the poor of a neighbouring village, who used, at certain hours, to assemble at the foot of the hill in expectation of his bounty; and hence the remark became customary, *Ibraheem haleb al Shahba*, Abraham has milked the pied cow, which gave occasion to the name's being conferred on the town subsequently built on the spot!! "In whatever way," says Dr. Russell, "the city originally obtained the appellation *Shahba*, it is still retained in formal writings, as well as in the address of letters; and the glistening, variegated, white and grey appearance of the town from a distance, seems to give a sanction to the propriety of its application."

* Benjamin of Tudela speaks of it as the Aram Tsobah of the Scriptures (2 Sam. viii. 12.), but there is reason to think that this is a mistake. The name *Birruia* or *Beiru*, is found in two Arabic inscriptions over the Damascus gate. Procopius speaks of Βέροια, as half-way between Antioch and Hieropolis (*Mabog*), and two days' journey from each. Some of the ancient geographers have corrupted its Arabic name *Haleb* into *Chalybon*.

trade. It has been styled, in this respect, the modern Palmyra. The large caravans of Bagdadt and Bassora brought hither the productions of Persia and of India. It was the mart of all Armenia and Diarbekir. It has constant communication with Mecca and Egypt, by way of Damascus, and, by Latakia and Scanderoon, with Europe. It is situated in lat. 36° 11′ 25″ N., long. 37° 9′ E.,* and is 90 or 100 miles from Scanderoon, by way of Antioch.

The population is stated by M. Tavernier, in 1670, to amount to about 258,000 souls in the city and suburbs. D'Arvieux, in 1683, makes the number between 285,000 and 290,000. Volney says that, in his time, they were reckoned at 200,000, but adds: "If it is considered that this city is not larger than Nantes or Marseilles, and that the houses are of only one story, perhaps 100,000 will be thought enough." Dr. Russell, however, inclines to consider them as amounting, in the middle of the last century, to about 235,000; of which 200,000 were Turks, 30,000 Christians, and 5,000 Jews. By Seetzen, they are more recently estimated at 150,000, which supposes the number to be greatly reduced; while the Rev. Mr. Connor, in 1820, reckons the Christian population alone at 31,600. Of these, he calculates, there were Greek Catholics, 14,000; Maronites, 2,000;† Syrian

* This is given on the authority of Russell. Malte-Brun, on the authority of Simon, makes the latitude, 36° 11′ 30″, and the longitude, 37° 12′ 24″. Its distance from Scanderoon, in a straight line, is between sixty and seventy miles. From Constantinople, it is upwards of 700 miles, and the couriers are in general twelve days on the road; but they have been known to reach the capital several times on the eighth day from their leaving Aleppo.

† In 1740, the Maronites were 3,033.

Catholics, 5,000; Nestorians, 100; Armenian Catholics, 8,000; Armenian schismatics, 2,000; Greeks under the Patriarch of Antioch, 500.

Aleppo is encompassed, at the distance of a few miles, by a circle of hills, which, though not high, are in most places higher than the rising grounds nearer the town. They are in general rocky, scantily provided with springs, and entirely destitute of trees; but they afford good pasturage for sheep and goats, and many spots among them are cultivated. The space within this circle is composed of a few sloping hills and numerous hillocks, intersected by plains and little valleys. The soil in some of the plains is of a reddish or black colour, rich and fertile, but, in general, it is whitish, shallow, and mixed with small stones. The high grounds are, for the most part, thinly covered with this poor whitish mould, and in many places towards the summit, they exhibit the bare chalky rock. The river Kowik glides with a slow and silent current westward of the city. This river, which rises near Aintab, at the foot of Mount Taurus, enters the boundary of Aleppo by a narrow valley a little below the village Heylan, and, after several windings through the gardens, arrives at the King's Meidan, within three miles of the city to the N.W. It then flows in a south-easterly direction till within a quarter of a mile of one of the western gates, when it makes a sudden turn eastward, and passing under a bridge near that gate, after a course of about a third of a mile, turns off towards the hills, and runs S. through a cultivated valley. By the time it reaches Aleppo, it is reduced to a small stream, by being drained of large quantities of water in its way, for the use of the gardens; so that in the summer, its channel below the gardens is usually almost

dry. But in the winter, when much snow has fallen to the northward, or when the rains are heavy, it swells to a formidable river, overflowing occasionally the lower grounds and the bridges. At such seasons, vast flocks of storks take possession of the gardens; they are otherwise seldom seen, except in straggling parties. In the time of the Crusades, A.D. 1123, the sudden rise of the waters proved fatal to the Christians who were besieging Aleppo. After the siege had continued eight days, and the place was on the point of surrendering, the river rose unexpectedly, and overflowing its banks, carried away the tents, destroying a great number of men, together with baggage and effects to an immense value. This disaster happened about three o'clock in the afternoon. This river, like the Jordan, has no outlet, but loses itself in a morass, about six leagues below Aleppo.

The city, including its extensive suburbs, occupies eight small hills of unequal height, with the intermediate valleys and a considerable extent of flat ground, comprehending a circuit of about seven miles; but the city itself is not above three miles and a half in circumference. The walls bear no marks of high antiquity, but are supposed to have been built by the Mamlouk princes: they are in that massive style of architecture which has long been obsolete in Syria. There was a broad deep fosse besides, which at present is in most places filled up with rubbish, or converted into garden grounds. The city has nine gates; two to the S., two to the E., two to the N., and three to the W. The first two are named *Bab Kinasreen*, (Chalcis gate), by the Europeans called Prison gate; and *Bab al Makám*, the gate of the Station (*of* Abraham), or Damascus gate.

The next two are *Bab Neereb* and *Bab al Ahmer*, or the Red gate, which is only a postern. On the N. are *Bab al Hadeed*, the Iron gate, and *Bab al Naser*, or gate of Victory, called also St. George's gate. Under this gate, a lamp is constantly burning near an iron grate, and the Turks may often be observed to stop there for a few minutes and mutter a prayer,—it is said, in honour of the prophet Elisha, who used to reside there! The remaining three gates are, *Bab al Furrage*, called also the Garden gate, its ancient name (*Bab Pharadeese*); *Bab al Ginein*, which also means gardens, by the Franks called the Dark gate; and *Bab Antakee*, or Antioch gate.

The language universally spoken at Aleppo by the natives, is the vulgar Arabic, the pronunciation of which is marked by some local peculiarities in almost every district of Syria, and the Bedouin Arabs, in their pronunciation, differ from all others.* The people of condition are also taught the Turkish, which prevails almost exclusively north of Aleppo. The language commonly used by the Europeans or Franks, is the Italian, which is spoken by the warehousemen, writers, and other natives in the service of the Franks.

The costume of Aleppo towards the close of the last century, was distinguished by the fondness of the inhabitants for furs. They are worn, Dr. Russell says, during six months out of the twelve; and a person in full dress would wear no fewer than three furred garments. The first, made of fine *kermazoot*, (a stuff made of silk and cotton,) and lined with ermine or short fur, comes half way down the thigh, and

* The people of Cairo pride themselves on their correct pronunciation of Arabic, and it is supposed that they have the superiority in this respect.

is without sleeves. The second has short sleeves, and reaches half way down the leg; it is also lined with fur, and is trimmed with a border of fur, five inches broad. Both these garments hang loose, and are named *giubbe*. The third, by way of eminence called *the fur*, or *kurk*, is a large loose gown of cloth, with long, wide sleeves, sometimes narrowed at the wrist with great cuffs; it is lined or trimmed with sable, or the most costly long-haired furs. Under the furs are worn, the *kamees*, or shirt, of silk or linen; the *libas*, or drawers; the *shahkshoor*, wide trowsers of red cloth, to which are sewed the *mest*, socks of yellow leather, serving at once for breeches, stockings, and, within doors, for shoes; (in walking, they use *babooge*, slippers without heels;) the *kunbaz*, a vest or waistcoat coming lower than the knee, and a *dulaman* or long vest, which covers all, reaching to the heels. These latter two sit easily, and fold over, being fastened with tapes on the side. The sleeves are open, but have a number of small buttons and loops, and, in full dress, are always close buttoned. The *dulaman* is tucked up so as to shew part of the waistcoat. They are made of plain or flowered stuff, chiefly of home manufacture: in the summer they wear India *kermazoots*, calico, or muslin. No ligatures of any kind are used, except round the middle, which is girt with a belt under the waistcoat, and with a long Persian shawl above the *dulaman*, in which is worn the small dagger (*hanjar*), or knife (*sikkeen*), fastened by a silver chain. Among people of business, the cincture serves to support a silver ink-horn.

Persons who walk on foot, wear one fur only, or, at most, two, and, instead of the *kurk*, an outer garment of cloth, called a *kurtak* or *benish*. This is also worn by people of fashion in undress, with a long fur

under it, distinguished from the *giubbe* by reaching to the heels, and by sleeves that come over the fingers. The common people wear a single fur, usually made of coarse fox-skins.

The turban, or *dilband*, consists of the *kaook* and the *shash*. The former is a stiff, quilted, round cap covered with red or green cloth; the latter, a piece of muslin a yard and a half broad and about twenty-four yards in length.* The common people wear a small cloth cap for a *kaook*, rolling a coarse shash loosely round it. In summer, they lay aside their *shahkshoor*, wearing drawers only, with a dulaman of linen. The higher ranks then substitute for the *kurk*, a silk or camelot gown (*abai*), together with a shalloon *kurtak* and *giubbe*, and *shahkshoors* of camelot. The dress of the ladies resembles that of the men, except that the cut is closer to the shape, and the neck is left uncovered; their garments also are made chiefly of European silks, brocade, India stuff, or flowered stuffs of Aleppo; their shift (*kumsan*) is of fine silk gauze, and, instead of the *mest*, they wear a thin foot-sock of coloured leather. Both sexes wear rings on the fingers, and some of the women wear them also on the great toes. Women of every class, when they walk abroad, wear thin yellow boots, and over these, yellow *babooge*, or slippers, in fine weather, and *kabkab*, wooden clogs six or eight inches high, in wet weather. They also use still higher clogs within doors, in going from one apartment to another, from a foot to eighteen inches high, curiously inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The men seldom wear *kabkabs*,

* "On all public occasions, the white shash is newly washed, so that a Turkish crowd makes a splendid and singular appearance, viewed from an elevated place."—RUSSELL.

except in the bagnios, but the common people wear red boots shod with iron. The ordinary Aleppo veil is a linen sheet, large enough to cover the whole habit, brought over the face so as to conceal all but one eye. The veils of the Christian and Jewish women are of plain white calico; those worn by the Turkish women are checkered blue or red. The Jewish women wear their veils in a peculiar fashion, leaving one arm free, something in the manner of the plaids worn by the Scotch ladies. Many of the Turkish women wear another sort of veil, called the *furragi*, with long straight sleeves and a square hood, muffling up their head and face in two white handkerchiefs, which conceal all but the eyes and nose: others use, instead of the transverse handkerchief, a long piece of black crape stiffened, entirely over the face.

The priests of the several nations dress nearly in the same fashion. Their outer vest is black, the other garments of a dark or purple colour. Their turban is a dark blue, and their *mest* and *babooge* black. Their revenue is so small, that such as have families are under the necessity of exercising some trade, or of engaging in commerce. The turban usually worn by the Christians is of a form somewhat different from that of the Turks, and the shash is blue and white striped; their slippers are red. The Jews are easily distinguished by their violet-coloured *babooge*, and their low turban. Before the year 1600, they wore red turbans; but about that time, a Grand Vizier, taking offence at the red colour, obliged them to wear blue. Some of them still wear red shashes. They speak a more corrupt Arabic than the native Christians: in writing it, they often make use of Hebrew characters, but none of them speak that

language familiarly. The Armenians, the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Maronites have each a church in Aleppo; and the former two, a bishop. The Jewish synagogue seems, Pococke says, to have been an old church: some part of the walls exhibit remains of very good Corinthian pilasters. On the S.E. of the town, he mentions magnificent sepulchres of the Mamlouk times. But Aleppo contains scarcely an object peculiarly interesting to either the antiquary or the lover of the fine arts. Pococke was informed, indeed, "that they frequently find marble pillars a considerable depth in the earth to the N.E. of the castle," where he imagines that the old town may have stood; but there were few or no marks of antiquity about the town above ground. It owed all its importance to its trade. The English factory was settled here about the time of Queen Elizabeth: the other Franks were French, Dutch, Russian, Venetian, and Tuscan subjects.

The castle of Aleppo is seated on a high mount of a nearly circular figure, apparently in the centre of the city, but, in fact, at its N.E. corner: it is encompassed by a broad, deep fosse, about half a mile in circumference, now chiefly filled up with gardens and plantations. It owes its shape partially to art, the declivity being in some places faced from top to bottom with hewn stones; but for its height it is indebted to nature alone. On approaching the city from the west, little can be seen of it except the castle, which may be distinguished at a considerable distance, till the traveller gains the brow of one of the adjacent hills within two or three miles of the gates, when it becomes a striking object: though part only can be observed from that point of view, it appears of vast extent. The mosques, the minarets, and the

numerous cupolas, form a splendid spectacle; and the flat roofs of the houses on the hills, rising one behind another, present a succession of hanging terraces, interspersed with cypress and poplar trees, the foliage of which, contrasted with the dazzling whiteness of the numerous minarets, has a very picturesque effect. Towering above all is seen the castle, which, from a distance, seems to have some claim to respect. But the ideas of splendour, excited by the prospect of the city, soon subside after entering the gates. The streets, though better disposed, and some of them broader than is usual in the East, appear, on account of the high stone walls on each hand, gloomy and more narrow than they really are. A few high windows guarded with lattices alone are visible, and silence and solitude reign over all. The shops make a mean appearance; the baths and fountains are unadorned buildings; and the mosques, as well as the gardens, striking the eye transiently, contribute little, on a cursory view, to the embellishment of the city It is, however, in general, well-built, and the houses within are spacious and handsome;* the streets are

* Captain Mangles says: "We visited some Turkish houses, and were much struck with the beauty of the ceilings of the apartments, which are decorated by Persian artists: they are very curiously gilded and painted; but to describe them in writing would be difficult and uninteresting." "One room in particular," says Lieut.-Colonel Squire, describing some of these apartments, "in the house of a man named Abdany, was very curiously wrought, and in a very superior style of workmanship: it had been finished fifty years, and the ornaments were as fresh as if they had been the labour of yesterday. The rooms are high, and have a large painted window, at the top of which is a wide shelf, where it was formerly the custom to arrange large bowls, with small cups in the intervals, the best workmanship of India: we saw three or four apartments fitted up in this sort of taste, now nearly out of fashion at Aleppo. Many

well-paved,* and remarkably clean,† with a commodious footway, raised on each side half a foot above the horse-way. The city is supplied with good water from two springs which rise near Heylan, a village about eight miles to the northward, whence it is conveyed by an aqueduct partly on a level with the ground, (in some places covered, but mostly open,) and partly subterraneous, refreshed by air-shafts: it is then distributed to the public fountains, baths, seraglios, and as many of the private houses as choose to be at the expense, by means of earthen and leaden pipes. The aqueduct is supposed to have been coeval with the city, but is said to have been repaired by the mother of Constantine, who has also the credit of having built the church, now converted into the principal mosque. In the year 1218, Melek-al-Daher,‡ the son of Saladin, found the aqueduct in a ruinous

parts of the square court, which, in a summer evening, is always much frequented, are paved with a variety of marbles, in mosaic work: among other stones, we observed pieces of porphyry, serpentine, and the *breccia verde* of Egypt."

* We follow Dr. Russell. Captain Mangles says, "ill-paved, except the bazars, which are all roofed over with arches of the same construction as the houses, and are lighted from above. Thus you can walk all over the town on the terraces of the houses, the arches I have mentioned connecting the streets. The Franks avail themselves of this mode of communication to visit each other during the time of the plague. We made visits half a mile distant in this manner."

† "We were struck with admiration at the neat and cleanly appearance of the butchers' shops, which are equal to those of London."—*Ibid.* The slaughter-houses are in an open, airy field in the skirts of the suburbs.

‡ Aleppo was held in high estimation by Saladin himself. "Upon sending his son Al Melek al Daher to that city, with the title of sultan, he gave him to understand that he considered it as the base and foundation of his kingdom."—RUSSELL, vol. i. p. 355.

condition, and, at a great expense, repaired and enlarged it. It is cleansed annually in the month of May, under the direction of the cadi. During this process, which occupies eight or nine days, the supply being cut off, the baths are shut up, and the inhabitants are obliged to depend on their *sahreege* or subterranean reservoirs, their wells, the water of which is hard and brackish, or the river, which contributes little to the supply of the city.*

The air of Aleppo is "pure," but "penetrating:" "the westerly winds, predominating in the summer, serve to moderate the excessive heats, which, were it not for this kind dispensation of Providence, would render the country in a great measure uninhabitable, considering the cloudless sky, the intense power of the sun, and the white chalky soil." From the end of May to the middle of September, the inhabitants sleep exposed on their terraces, without danger from damps or other noxious qualities of the atmosphere. The spring commences early in February: about the middle of the month, the almond-tree puts forth its blossom, and is soon followed by the apricot, the peach, and the plum; the weather is cool and rainy, with intervals of sunshine, and the sharp wintry winds from the E., N. and S.E. are predominant. The spring rains fall chiefly in March. In April, the spring advances rapidly, the winds shift to other quarters, or are changed from cold to tepid, and the sky becomes more serene. Early in May, the corn is yellow, and the gay livery of the fields begins to fade. A few weeks bring on the harvest; and the

† "Most of the houses," says Dr. Russell, "are provided with a draw-well;" and he bears testimony to the superior cleanliness of the Turks. In one important domestic accommodation, Aleppo was far before *old* Edinburgh.

grain being plucked up by the roots, according to the ancient custom, which prevails extensively in the East,* the whole country assumes a bare and parched aspect. It is seldom that any rain falls later than the first week in June, from which time the heat increasing gradually, continues nearly at the same degree throughout July and part of August. Till the middle of September, it is an extraordinary circumstance if any rain falls. When the westerly breezes fail, the weather becomes extremely hot, but by no means so oppressive as when the wind blows from the N., N.W., E., N.E., or S.E. When these winds predominate, the sky appears of a paler blue, the horizon is hazy, the air becomes dry and parching, as if it issued from an oven, and a lassitude is felt even by the natives, with a certain ineffable oppression at the breast. Within doors, the locks and metal utensils become hot to the touch, and evaporation takes place very rapidly. These winds providentially are rare in the summer, and of no long continuance, seldom lasting more than four or five days in the season, during which it is usual to shut the doors and windows to exclude them: "they occur, however, more frequently than the *true hot wind*, which blows in brisk gales from the E., and continues sometimes for many hours." "The true *simooly* wind never reaches Aleppo; nor is it common in the desert between that city and Bassora." Towards the end of August, the Nile clouds, as they are called, are usually observed to pass over the city, and soon after, there is a sensible alteration in the air: they are often attended with dew, and the nights become cooler. The autumn begins with September, and ends with

* Psal. cxxix. 7. Ruth ii. 16.

November. About the autumnal equinox generally fall what are called *the first rains;* they are usually preceded by irregular gusts of wind, which raise the dust remarkably in *vortices.** From that time, for at least twenty or thirty days, or till the fall of the *second rains*, the weather is serene, temperate, and really delightful. These commonly fall in October, sometimes as late as the second fortnight in November. The autumnal rains are less considerable than the vernal ones; but, like them, are often accompanied with thunder. The trees frequently retain their leaves till the beginning of December. The rigour of the winter commences about the 20th of that month, and lasts about forty days, which season is termed the *murbania;* and the natives hold it advisable not to take medicines of any kind during that time. Rain falls during the three winter months; but the frosts and snow are for the most part confined to this interval. Few of the natives use fires, except when the season is uncommonly severe. In the thirteen years that Dr. Russell resided at Aleppo, it did not happen more than three times that the ice was sufficient to bear the weight of a man, and then only in shady situations. When the weather is clear and calm, the sun has so much power as to warm the air. The narcissus is in flower most part of the winter; and hyacinths and violets are plentiful in January. Yet the climate does not admit of the cultivation of oranges or lemons; and some winters are too severe even for the pomegranates.

"There are few years," says Dr. Russell, "that earthquakes are not felt at Aleppo; but being in general slight, and so long a time having elapsed

* Prov. xxv. 14.

(1760-70) since the city has suffered much from them, the dread they occasion is only momentary;—unless where the public happen to be alarmed by exaggerated accounts of what may have at the same time befallen other towns of Syria; and then, indeed, the return of such slight shocks as would otherwise have passed unregarded, spread universal terror. When the shocks happen in the day time, though smart, they often are not felt by people walking in the streets or in the crowded bazars; but, in the silence of the night, they are very dreadful, and make an awful impression on persons roused from sleep."*

We have been describing Aleppo as it was in the last century. It is now no more. In August 1822, occurred one of those dreadful convulsions of nature to which Syria has at all times been exposed, and every part of this pashalic now presents a scene of ruin and desolation. The British consul at Aleppo, Mr. Barker, transmitted from near the ruins of Antioch an official account of this awful calamity, dated September 13, from which we insert the following extract:—

EARTHQUAKE OF 1822.

"On the 13th of August, at half-past nine in the evening, Aleppo, Antioch, Idlib, Riha, Gisser Shogr, Darcoush, Armenas—every village and every detached cottage in this pashalic, and some towns in the adjoining ones—were, in ten or twelve seconds, entirely ruined by an earthquake, and are become heaps of stones and rubbish, in which, at the lowest computation, twenty thousand human beings, about a tenth

* See an Account of Earthquakes in various Parts of Syria, in the year 1759, in Philos. Transactions, vol. v. p. 2.

of the population, were destroyed, and an equal number maimed or wounded. The extreme points where this terrible phenomenon was violent enough to destroy the edifices, seem to be Diabekir and Merkab (twelve leagues south of Latachia), Aleppo and Scanderoon, Killis and Khan Shekoon. All within those points have suffered so nearly equally, that it is impossible to fix on a central point. The shock was sensibly felt at Damascus, Adeno, and Cyprus. To the east of Diabekir, and north of Killis, I am not well informed how far the effect extended in those radii of the circle. The shock was felt at sea so violently within two leagues of Cyprus, that it was thought the ship had grounded. Flashes of volcanic fire were perceived at various times throughout the night, resembling the light of the full moon; but at no place, to my knowledge, has it left a chasm of any extent; although in the low grounds slight crevices are every where to be seen, and out of many of them water issued, but soon after subsided. There was nothing remarkable in the weather, or state of the atmosphere.* Edifices on the summits of the highest mountains were not safer than buildings situated on the banks of the rivers, or on the beach of the sea.

"Although slight shocks of earthquakes had been from time to time felt in this country, it is certain that for several centuries none had done any material damage, except one twenty-seven years ago, when a single town, Latachia, was partially thrown down.

* M. Volney says: "It is observed, that the earthquakes of Syria are almost wholly confined to the winter season after the autumnal rains." In the present instance, at least, this remark does not hold good, as it occurred in the midst of summer.

In 1755, an earthquake was felt at Aleppo and Antioch, which so alarmed the inhabitants, that they all abandoned their houses for forty days, but very little injury was sustained, and no lives lost.* The appearance of some very ancient edifices renders it probable, that this country has not suffered from earthquakes since the memorable one recorded by Gibbon, about twelve centuries ago, in which one-third of the inhabitants of Antioch perished, when that celebrated city was supposed to contain a population of from seven hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand souls.

" It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the scenes of horror which were simultaneously passing in the dreadful night of the 13th of August. Here, hundreds of decrepid parents, half-buried in the ruins, were imploring the succour of their sons, not always willing to risk their own lives by giving their assistance. There, distracted mothers were frantically lifting heavy stones from heaps that covered the bodies of their lifeless infants. The awful darkness of the night, the continuance of the most violent shocks, at short intervals, the crash of falling walls, the shrieks, the groans, the accents of agony and despair of that long night, cannot be described. When at length the morning dawned, and the return of light permitted the people to quit the spot on which they had been providentially saved, a most affecting scene ensued. You might have seen many, unaccustomed to pray, some prostrate, some on their

* In 1759, an earthquake occurred, which was productive of extensive devastation in the valley of Baalbec and at Szaffad. More than 20,000 lives are said to have been lost in the former territory; and Volney attributes the ruin of Szaffad to this visitation.

knees, adoring their Maker. Others there were running into one another's arms, rejoicing in their existence! An air of cheerfulness and brotherly love animated every countenance.

"In a public calamity, in which the Turk, the Jew, the Christian, the idolater, were indiscriminate victims, or objects of the care of an impartial Providence, every one forgot, for a time, his religious animosities; and, what was a still more universal feeling, in that joyful moment, every one looked upon the heaviest losses with the greatest indifference. But as the sun's rays increased in intensity, they were gradually reminded of the natural wants of shelter and of food, and became at length alive to the full extent of the dreary prospect before them; for a greater mass of human misery has not been often produced by any of the awful convulsions of nature. A month has now elapsed, and the shocks continue to be felt,* and to strike terror into every breast, night and day. The fear that they may not cease before the rainy season commences, has induced those whose business cannot allow of their quitting the ruins of their towns, instead of rebuilding their houses, to construct temporary hovels of wood without the walls: and many families, who thought themselves, before this calamity, straitly lodged in a dozen apartments, now exult at the prospect of passing the winter in a single room, twenty feet square. The houses of the public agents and private European individuals at Aleppo, have been entirely ruined. At Aleppo, the Jews suffered the most, on account of their quarter being badly built, with narrow lanes. Out of a population

* They continued to be felt till the 9th of October; (nearly a month after;) they then ceased till the 19th, when, at half-past five P.M., another violent shock took place.

of three thousand souls, six hundred lives were lost. Of the Europeans, only one person of note, Signor Esdra de Picciotto, Austrian consul-general, and ten or twelve women and children, perished; but the greater part are now suffering from ophthalmia and dysenteries, occasioned by their being exposed to the excessive heats of the day, and the cold dews of the night. When it is considered, that two-thirds of the families in Aleppo have neither the means of making a long journey, to remove to a town out of the effect of the earthquake, nor of building a shed to keep off the rain, it is impossible to conceive all the misery to which they are doomed the ensuing winter, or ever to find more deserving objects of the compassion and charity of the opulent whom it has pleased God to place in happier regions of the globe. Here, (at Antioch,) planks and fuel are cheap, and the people have the resource of tiles, which they were taught to make by the Crusaders, in their long residence at Antioch; but in Aleppo, where wood is very dear, they have no contrivance to keep out the rain, but freestone walls, and flat roofs, made of a very expensive cement."

Another account, transmitted by the Consul's brother, Mr. Benjamin Barker, agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, contains some further details.

"With a heavy heart I take up my pen, to trace anew in my dejected mind the most dreadful of all events. The wounds of affliction must bleed afresh, when I recal to my memory the lamentations of fathers for their children, of children for their fathers, of husbands for their wives, and of wives for their husbands — running naked from place to place — imploring the protection of the Almighty; or, with their

feeble hands, trying, amidst the falling ruins, to extricate themselves and their relations.

"I was at that time asleep on the terrace of my particular friend Mr. Maseyk; who, by the help of the Almighty, was mercifully saved, with all his family. About half an hour previous to the great shock, a light one was felt, when I took the precaution to draw my bed from under a very high wall, where it was placed. I was soon awakened by the fall of that wall, on the very spot where my bed had stood. I sprang from my couch, and, without waiting to dress myself, fled into the house, which I found falling on all sides. To remain in the house, or to take to flight through the streets, amidst falling houses, appeared to be equally dangerous. I recommended my soul to God, and embraced the latter resolution. In consequence, I descended the back-stairs of Mr. Maseyk's house, by the Almighty's guidance, for the great stair-case fell at the same time. The darkness of the night, and the clouds of dust that covered the atmosphere, prevented me from perceiving the stones and rubbish on the stairs, which had fallen from a part of the house, and, consequently, I was precipitated into the court-yard on a dead body. How can I express my feelings at that moment, ignorant on what body I had fallen! I was half dead with fright and horror. I afterwards learnt that it was a faithful servant, who a second before had descended those stairs, when some stones of an adjoining Turkish house fell on him and killed him. I quitted that melancholy spot, and, like a man deprived of his senses, ran, amidst the falling walls, to the gate of the town, which is situated at some distance from my friend's house. It was on my road, among narrow streets, that I was destined to witness

the most horrible of all scenes. The lights of the houses whose sides had fallen, exposed to my view men and women clinging to the ruined walls of their houses, holding their children in their trembling arms — mangled bodies lying under my feet — while piercing cries of half-buried people assailed my ears. Christians, Jews, and Turks, were imploring the Almighty's mercy in their respective tongues, who a minute before did not perhaps acknowledge him.

" After a great deal of trouble and fatigue, running among the ruins, I arrived, exhausted, at the gate of the city called Bab al Furrage, the earthquake still continuing. Cold and dreadfully bruised, and cut in my body and feet, I fell on my knees among a concourse of people, to thank the Almighty for my happy deliverance from the jaws of death. But the gate of the city was shut; and no one dared to risk his life under its arch to open it. After recommending my soul again to my Creator, I threw myself on the gate. I felt in the dark, and perceived that it was not locked; but the great iron bars that went across the folding-doors, were bent by the earthquake, and the little strength which I retained, was not sufficient to force them. I went in quest of the guards, but they were no more! I fell again on my knees before the Almighty, who alone could save me from the immediate peril of being crushed to death. I did not forget in my prayers the miserable creatures around me. While I was in that attitude, four or five Turks came near me, and joined hands to pray in their accustomed way, calling out 'Allah! Allah!' Having in sight my own safety, and that of thousands of individuals who crowded to the gate to escape, I made no more reflections, but began to entreat them in the name of God, to help me to open the gate,

in order to save our lives, and those of so many individuals who were continually perishing before us.

"The Lord inspired them with courage; and, providing themselves with large stones, according to my instructions, in a little time they forced the bars, and opened the gate. No sooner had I quitted it, than a strong shock of an earthquake crumbled it to pieces, and several Jews were killed by its fall. A new and affecting scene was now exhibited. A great concourse of people rushed out, and with one accord fell on their knees, to render thanks to the Almighty for their preservation: but, when the first transports of joy were over, the thought of having left buried, or in danger of being buried, in the city, their friends and relations, made them pour forth such piercing lamentations, that the most hard-hearted person would have been penetrated with grief.

"I crept, as well as I could, about twenty yards, to a place where I saw a groupe of people, who had saved themselves from the suburbs, where no gates prevented their issuing out of the town: there I fell, half dead with cold and with the pain from my sores. Two or three of those people who recognised me in that miserable condition, immediately gave me a cloak, and brought me a little water. When I recovered a little my senses, I began to feel new sufferings, of a nature too poignant to be described. The thoughts of what might have befallen my brother and his family, who were at Antioch, and the cruel fate of my friends in the city, besides the melancholy objects around me — people wounded, others lamenting the death of their relations, others having before them their dying children, taken from under the ruins — preyed so strongly on my mind, that not the pen of the ablest writer can give an adequate idea

of my feelings. I spent the whole night in prayer and anxiety. Early the next morning, I was conveyed by some charitable people, on an ass, to the nearest garden, to profit by the shade of the trees. I did not remain long, before M. Derehé, the French dragoman, joined me, and gave me the agreeable news, that all the European Christians, excepting a little boy, had been saved; but many, like myself, were greatly bruised. Of the European Jews, the Austrian consul, M. Esdra de Picciotto, and a few others, were crushed to death; and many thousands of native Christians, Jews, and Turks perished with them. I have now the satisfaction to know that my brother and his family had escaped from a similar danger at Antioch. When I joined the rest of the Europeans in the garden of Ibrahim Aga, I was most kindly received by the French consul, M. Lesseps, who afforded me every possible assistance. I cannot too greatly admire the conduct of this worthy gentleman, in the critical and afflicting position that he is in. A father could not shew more affection to his children, than M. Lesseps manifests to his countrymen, as well as to all those who are in want of his advice or assistance. The next day, my friend M. Maseyk came to live among us; in the bosom of whose family I begin again to enjoy life, although deprived of all its comforts. My heart bleeds for the poor Europeans, who, without the least prospect of having, for a time, a roof to preserve them from the scorching rays of the sun, must soon, from the heavy rains of the autumn and winter, be deprived of every resource; for the few effects which they have been able to save, must be sold for their sustenance."

On the receipt of this melancholy information, a committee was immediately formed in London, for

raising a subscription on behalf of the sufferers; and the appeal to the generosity of the British public was not made in vain.

It was expected that, in consequence of the destruction of Aleppo, the commerce formerly enjoyed by that city would be transferred to Smyrna, which had for some time been rising in importance.* In our topographical description of the environs and the other cities of this pashalic, it will be necessary for the reader to bear in mind, that we speak of things as they were prior to the calamitous era of August 1822.

The gardens of Aleppo extended nearly twelve miles in length, and as Dr. Russell's description of them will convey a correct idea of all the Syrian gardens, we shall give it in this place.

SYRIAN GARDENS.

"THE gardens are separated from each other by low stone walls. As they are planted with a view more to profit than pleasure, very little labour is bestowed in removing unsightly deformities, in levelling or sloping the ground, or in any other improvements not strictly connected with lucrative cultivation. They are a compound of the kitchen and flower-garden blended, without the intervention of parterres or grass-plats. The whole extent is subdivided into square or oblong fields, irregularly bordered with dwarf trees, flowering shrubs, and trees of larger growth, among which the plane, the weeping-willow, the ash, and the white poplar, make a conspicuous

* Pococke speaks of the trade of Aleppo as much decayed: "Since the Persian war, the silk commonly brought from Asia Minor, had been carried to Smyrna." Within the past twenty years, the political disorders of the country had occasioned a rapid declension of its former prosperity. See Scanderoon.

figure. Within some of these enclosures are cultivated mad-apples, melons, and cucumbers, together with a variety of esculent roots, greens, and legumes for the kitchens; in others, cotton, tobacco,* sesamum, palma Christi, and lucern; and some are sown with barley, to be cut green for the use of the horses in the spring. Interspersed among the kitchen enclosures, are large plantations of pomegranates, of plum, or of cherry-trees, and sometimes groves of the various fruit-trees that the country produces. All these trees are standards; and, though sometimes planted in rows, they are, for the most part, crowded close together, with little regard to symmetry, forming wild and almost impervious thickets. But a more complete shade is met with in other parts of the grounds, formed by tufts of lofty trees, which, uniting their branches at top, give shelter to roses of different sorts, and to a profusion of wild aromatic herbs, which, thus protected from the sun, long retain their fragrance. The flowers cultivated for sale contribute little to the ornament of the gardens, being either displayed regularly in parterres, or artfully scattered among the plantations. The gardens are supplied from the river by the aid of Persian wheels; and the water, by means of pumps and wooden pipes, or troughs, is conveyed to reservoirs in the higher ground, whence it is occasionally let off into the watering channels. Where the grounds happen to be well shaded, and require less watering, several of the diverging rills being made to unite, escape in a swifter current through the shade, and the swollen brook discovers itself at inter-

* Tobacco was unknown at Aleppo so late as the year 1603; and Sandys, in 1610, speaks of smoking tobacco as a custom recently introduced by the English at Constantinople. See Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. p. 373.

vals amid the foliage, or, when concealed, is traced by its pleasing murmurs.

" The natives always talk with rapture of the Aleppo gardens. Inelegant as they may appear to the cultivated taste of an European, they afford a voluptuous noontide retreat to the languid traveller, when,

> ' vertical, the sun
> Darts on the head direct his forceful rays.
> O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
> Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns; and all,
> From pole to pole, is undistinguished blaze.'

Even he whose imagination can recal the enchanting scenery of Richmond or of Stowe, may perhaps experience new pleasure in viewing the glistening pomegranate-thickets in full blossom.* Revived by the freshening breeze, the purling of the brooks, and the verdure of the groves, his ear will catch the melody of the nightingale,† delightful beyond what is heard in England. With conscious gratitude to Heaven, he will recline on the simple mat, bless the hospitable shelter, and, perhaps, while indulging the pensive mood, he will hardly regret the absence of British refinement in gardening.

" The sloping hills to the W. and S.W. of the town, on both sides of the river, which are too distant or too steep to be thence supplied with water, are laid out into vineyards, olive-plantations, and fig-gardens,

* Sol. Song, iv. 13; vii. 12.

† " The nightingale," says Dr. Russell, " affords much entertainment during most part of the garden season, singing delightfully amid the pomegranate groves in the day-time, and from loftier trees in the night. They are also, by some in the city, kept in cages, and let out at a small rate to nocturnal assemblies; so that most entertainments of ceremony in the spring, have a concert of nightingales."

or into orchards where all those trees are planted promiscuously, pistachio-trees* being interspersed. But very extensive pistachio orchards cover the rough rising grounds to the E. and S.E. of the town, which are remarkably stony and arid, their sole supply of water, in the summer, being from draw-wells, or from cisterns filled in the spring. In all the orchards, a small square watch-house is built for the accommodation of the watchmen in the fruit season; or, instead, temporary bowers are constructed of wood, and thatched with green reeds and branches."†

Close to the city are many extensive quarries, which afford a white, gritty stone, easily cut at first, but indurating after being exposed for some time to the air: of this the houses are all built, except the slight partition walls, which are of a coarse chalk-stone found to the N. of the town. The more ancient quarries are vast excavations, some of which communicate by subterranean passages of great length; these caverns afford a winter habitation to the Bedouin Arabs; and they have sometimes been converted by the janissaries into dens of debauchery.

VALLEY OF SALT.

About eighteen miles‡ to the S.E. of the city is the "Valley of Salt," or Salt Lake, from which the

* The *fistuk*, or pistachio, delights in a dry soil. Pliny says, that pistachios were first brought from Syria to Italy, by Lucius Vitellius, in the reign of Tiberius; and Galen mentions Berrhœa (Aleppo) as being famous for that fruit in his time.

† Isa. i. 8. Job xxvii. 18. Matt. xxi. 33.

‡ Pococke makes it about twelve miles E.S.E. of Aleppo; but he was five hours in returning from Jibool to that city. He was told of another road, which is probably shorter.

country for many miles round is supplied with salt: it is thus described by Dr. Russell.

"The plain is partly skirted by a chain of low rocky hills, but stretches out on the other sides towards the Desert, as far as the eye can reach. In what appears to be the middle of the plain, in approaching it on the side of the village Jibool, a small hill rises, which is worth visiting on account of the prospect from the top; but the traveller will be vexatiously disappointed, who expects to meet with any of those remains of ancient buildings or monuments, which the peasants never fail to assure him are still to be seen there. The rains which fall during the wet months, together with the little temporary torrents which descend from the bordering hills, and the celebrated stream named the Golden River (*nahr al dahab*), which comes from a fountain some miles distant, towards the village of Bab,—join with the springs rising in the valley itself, and form a shallow but very extensive lake, the water of which being exhaled by slow evaporation in the summer, the salt, separated from the soil beneath, is left crystallized on the surface, forming a crust of varied thickness, in different parts of the valley. When viewed about sun-rise in the month of August, the lake has much the appearance of a vast expanse of water frozen over and slightly covered with snow. Numbers of men, women, and children are employed at that season in breaking up the crust of salt, which is found from half an inch to one or two inches thick; and the upper surface being separated from the parts beneath, which are always mixed with earth, the two sorts are laid up in small distinct heaps. They are then put into sacks, and transported on asses to Jibool, where the salt, being thoroughly dried, is winnowed in the

same manner as corn, and then more carefully separated into heaps of different fineness. The best sort is perfectly white, and of excellent quality.

"The soil of the plain is a stiff clay, strongly impregnated with salt; but the springs in the neighbourhood seem all to be fresh. At the bottom of the hill, in the middle of the lake, there is a spring, which the peasants said, was salt; but I did not see it. The salt on that side was concreted into much larger masses than in other parts: some of the cakes were above three inches thick, and of a beautiful pale reddish colour. The kali and leaves of other plants, at some distance from the border of the lake, were found covered with salt, in the same manner as plants growing on the sea-shore. That the lake is chiefly supplied with rain water, is probable, from the quantity of salt produced being always in proportion to the wetness of the winter. On the side towards Jibool, the salt is found in greatest abundance, the water settling there to a greater depth: in many other parts of the plain, it is mixed with so large a proportion of earth as not to be worth gathering."*

Maundrell describes the valley as of two or three

* "This valley of salt is a lake in the winter, which I conjectured to be about five miles long, and a mile and a half broad in the narrowest part, and it may be near a league in the widest. It is said to be filled by rain as well as by springs, one of which is salt, and is called *the mother of the salt*. In the summer time, the water evaporates, which being strongly impregnated with salt from the nitrous soil, the salt remains on the ground in cakes about half an inch thick. They beat it in order to separate it from the ground, and when they have collected the finest salt on the top, they take up the cake, and when it is thoroughly dry and crumbled to dust, they throw it up in the air as they do corn, and the wind carries away the dust, leaving the pure salt."—POCOCKE, book ii. chap. 18.—See Mod. Trav. Palestine. p. 233.

hours' extent: he was three quarters of an hour in crossing one corner of it. The clay itself, he says, is salt to some depth. On the side of the valley towards Jibool, there is a small precipice, occasioned by the continual taking away of the salt; "and in this," he says, "you may see how the veins of it lie. I broke a piece of it, of which that part that had been exposed to the rain, sun, and air, though it had the sparks and particles of salt, yet, it had perfectly lost its savour.* The inner part, which was connected to the rock, retained its savour. In several places, we found that the thin crust of salt upon the surface, bulged up, as if some insect working under it had raised it; and taking off the part, we found under it efflorescences of pure salt shot out according to its proper figure. At the neighbouring village, Jibool, is kept the magazine of salt, where you may find great mountains, as I may say, of that mineral, ready for sale. The valley is farmed at 1,200 dollars per annum."

ALEPPO TO SCANDEROON.

THE direct road from Aleppo to Scanderoon lies to the north of the road to Antioch. It is carried along a causeway and a bridge of twenty-four arches, called *Morat Pasha*, which were built by a grand-vizier of that name in the reign of Sultan Achmet, for the convenience of marching the army to Bagdadt. About six hours N.W. of Aleppo, and to the N. of this road, is the ruined convent of St. Simon Stylites, which, in the sixth and seventh centuries, was very famous, "as well on account of the devotion paid to this saint, as for the spaciousness and magnifi-

* Matt. v. 13.

cence of its buildings." Some say, the saint lived here on the top of a pillar; others, that he lived on the top of the mountain, for sixty-eight years. The whole convent is *above a quarter of a mile in length.* "The church especially," says Pococke, "is very magnificent; it is built in the form of a Greek cross. Under the middle of an octagon dome are the remains of the famous pillar on which, they say, St. Simon lived for so many years. What remains of it was hewn out of the rock; that is, the pedestal, which is eight feet square, and a very small part of the column. The part of the cross to the east of this was the choir, at the east end of which are three semicircles, where, without doubt, there were three altars, and the entrances to them are adorned with reliefs. This convent was destroyed by a prince of Aleppo, at the latter end of the tenth century." A number of ruined villages lie in this direction. On the high hill of Sheikh Barakat are the remains of an ancient edifice, with Greek inscriptions; and to the E. and S.E. of this hill, Pococke saw some "magnificent buildings almost entire."

To the S.E. of Sheikh Barakat, between eleven and twelve miles from Aleppo, and three or four to the S. of the village Hanjar, there is a remarkable cavity in the earth, known to the inhabitants by the name of the *Sunk Village*. It is situated in a little plain, less stony and better cultivated than the country round. Pococke mentions it, but he did not visit it. It is thus described by Dr. Russell: —

"This vast cavity is nearly circular, somewhat of the form of a punch-bowl, being narrower towards the bottom than at the brim, which is 1,589 feet in circumference. The sides all round consist of rock almost perpendicular, to the depth of 170 feet; after

which, the cavity contracting, is no longer visible, on account of the earth and small, loose stones which seem to have fallen from above. The descent is continued a considerable way over the rubbish to the bottom. The rock lining this stupendous cavity is composed of several horizontal strata, each about fourteen feet thick, in the interstices of which are many holes or fissures, that afford shelter to birds, bats, and winged insects. The substance of the rock itself is composed of coral and various sea-shells, incrusted and consolidated by means of a calcareous matter, almost as white as snow, unless where it has been discoloured by the snow washed down by the rain.*

"It is rather an arduous enterprise to get safe to the bottom, and scarcely to be attempted but on the eastern side, where the descent is sometimes by winding footpaths and irregular steps in the side; at other times, through holes or arches in the solid rock. Halfway down, on the right hand, is the entrance into a low-roofed grotto, at the further end of which are two apertures like windows, from whence the prospect of the whole is striking and romantic: a variety of trees, shrubs, and plants shooting out from the sides of the precipice, or growing luxuriantly at the bottom. There are no springs to be seen, nor any stagnant water; but, besides many large pieces of rock that have tumbled down from the sides, there are at the bottom, several oblong-square hewn stones, exactly like the stones found among the ruins of a deserted village which stands at a little distance from the brink of the cavity. Between these ruins and the cavity, there is a very deep well, or pit, for corn; as likewise a grotto, intended for sheep and cattle.

* The specimens brought to England were fossil scallops, cone shells, and corals of the madrepore kind.

"It does not appear whence a notion entertained by the Franks should have arisen, that this chasm was produced by an earthquake. The natives have no traditionary tale of such a kind, but regard it as a natural production, as old as the Creation. Its form has somewhat the resemblance of a crater; but there are no vestiges of lava, nor other appearances of a volcano, either near it or in the neighbouring country. Some travellers have made mention of a volcano about nine hours distant from Scanderoon. Some hot springs are found at the distance of about twelve hours on the Scanderoon road, between Armenass* and Antioch, the nearest village to them being Kafer-dibbin."

The Antioch road lies W.S.W. to Khan Touman, distant about three hours from Aleppo; it then takes a westerly direction over uneven ground, for two hours further, to a ruined site called Kafer Joum. From this place to the small village Zedany, four hours further, the road continues westward and southward of west. For the last hour, it lies over an extensive and cultivated plain. Thence, westward to Ramadan, one hour, and Maat-mishereen, an hour further. It then turns towards N.W. over rocky ground, and, in less than an hour, crosses a cultivated valley running E. and W., where are seen several artificial heights. At Ashat, the road enters the mountains which divide the great plain of Aleppo from that of the Orontes. This village is built on the summit of a circular insulated rock, so rugged and abrupt that one would think it inaccessible. Some

* A village thirty-five miles to the west of Aleppo, where there is a glass-house which supplies most of the glass that is used in that city. "The glass is thin, of a whitish colour, but the vessels are well enough formed."

way further is *Ain-el-Razee*, a spring of fresh water, shaded by a single fig-tree, in one of the wildest and most romantic spots imaginable. It is about a day's distance from Kafer Joum.

The route from *Ain-el-Razee*, for two hours, lies over very rough mountains, in a N.W. direction, to Elmanas, a large village, in a beautiful situation, surrounded with rich gardens: it is "on the south side, and near the head, of a long valley extending E. and W." In this plain are several more of the artificial mounds observed in this part of the country. Passing the high mountains bounding the plain to the northward, the road continues N.W., and soon brings the traveller in sight of a most magnificent prospect, embracing an immense plain, across which the Orontes winds its serpentine course, entering the valley from the S.W. The road descends to Salkeen, a village on the S. side of the valley, but separated from the river by a ridge of heights; distant three hours from Elmanas. The Orontes is crossed by a stone bridge called *Djeser Hadeed*, "the iron bridge," so named from its gates, which are coated with iron. On the west side of the bridge is a village of Kourds, tributary to the Mutsellim of Antioch. The route from this place lies first N.N.W. and then W.S.W. over uncultivated plains, to *Bab Paulos*, one of the ancient gates of the old city. Antioch itself is half a mile further; the distance from *Djeser Hadeed* something less than four hours. About a mile before the traveller reaches *Bab Paulos*, he observes the remains of an ancient pavement; and for nearly 600 yards, there is a paved road between most pleasant gardens. Immediately within the gate is a clear spring, shaded with trees.

This route is given by Lieut.-Col. Squire. Pococke

mentions a village called *Daina*, near where he entered the high road from Aleppo to Antioch. "The antiquities that remain here," he says, "shew that it has been a place of some consideration; especially the great number of sepulchral grots cut down into the rock, which is hollowed out into courts, with several apartments round them: on some, indeed, I saw Christian Greek inscriptions. Among these sepulchres is a very beautiful fabric; a square canopy of stone with its entablature, supported by four Ionic pillars on a solid basement. In the skirts of the village there are remains of two houses: one of them is large, with a great enclosure and a tower; the other, which is smaller, has an Ionic colonnade in front, both above and below. The cross over the doors, and two Greek inscriptions, shew it to be a Christian building." This plain the learned traveller considers to be where Aurelian first conquered Zenobia, which was near Imma. Not far from Daina, he passed by two or three "magnificent ruined villages," and further, in the road to a village which he calls *Tesin*, other ruins, and, in one place, a handsome church almost entire. Tesin, he says, is famous for the best oil of olives in the country: here he saw the remains of the front of a church adorned with sculpture, with a defaced Greek inscription. As he passed over the plain in the night, he observed the lightning "shooting horizontally in the form it is represented in Jupiter's hand, and on the reverses of the medals of the Greek kings of Syria. "I took the more notice of it," he says, "as I never saw it in that manner in any other country; and, without doubt, from this they took the figure of it as it is seen on the medals." Captains Irby and Mangles, who took the same route in 1817, mention a considerable site called *Bourkee*, where the ancient sepul-

chral caves serve the present natives for their habitations. "We passed," they say, "many sites of ancient towns, castles, tanks, temples, &c., all of the Lower Empire, and very uninteresting: on one occasion, we counted *eleven* sites in a rich plain, with a very fine loamy soil, now left desolate and uninhabited. So much for the Turkish government, and their mode of encouraging agriculture, the arts, &c.!"

ANTIOCH.

ANTIOCH, the "queen of the East," is brought down, and "sits in the dust:" silent, and in darkness, she "shall no more be called the lady of kingdoms." Prior to its last overthrow by the earthquake of 1822, it was a place of some little trade; but few traces remained of its ancient wealth and splendour. A faint shadow of its ecclesiastical importance was preserved in its being the residence of a patriarch of the Greek church. The modern town of Antakia occupied about one-fifth part* of the ancient city, being situated towards the western extremity of the walls. "The houses," says Lieut.-Col. Squire, "have sloping roofs, covered with tiles, and are built in a very slight manner.† There are fifteen minarets at Antakia; and

* Captain Mangles says, "The present town, which is a miserable one, does not occupy *one-eighth* part of the space included by the old walls."

† Pococke assigns the reason of this slight style of building. "The present city of Antioch," he says, "is ill-built: the houses low, with only one story above ground; the roofs are almost flat, made of light rafters laid from one wall to another, and covered with thin tiles, which seem to be contrivances to make their houses above as light as possible, that, as they are on a bad foundation, they may not sink by the weight above; or, *if they chance to be thrown down by earthquakes, that the people in them may not be crushed by the weight of the roof.*"

though the place is not extensive, it is considered as a populous town, containing, perhaps, 4000 inhabitants: it is governed by a mutsellim, tributary to the Pasha of Aleppo.* Much cotton is manufactured here, which is grown in the neighbouring villages; grapes are also dried and preserved, and much wine is made by the Christians; there are also many tan-yards on the banks of the river." It is in long. 35° 17′ E. and lat. 36° 6′ N.; and is computed to be 67 miles W. of Aleppo.

Antioch was the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire, and is said to have been four miles in circumference. It was composed of four distinct towns, or quarters, built at different periods, from which it had the name of Tetrapolis. It was founded by Seleucus Nicator, and greatly enlarged by Seleucus Callinicus, and by Antiochus Epiphanes. For several hundred years it was the residence of the Macedonian kings of Syria, and afterwards of the Roman governors of that province. The city is often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: it was here that the disciples of Christ were first called by the name of their Master and Lord.† It was styled, in later times, the Eye of the Eastern Church. In this place the unfortunate Germanicus fell a victim to the jealousy of the execrable Tiberius. In the time of Justinian, it was called Theopolis, the City of God, on account, it is said, of its inhabitants being mostly Christians. It was the first object to which the Crusaders directed their efforts. They held

* In 1813, it was supposed by Mr. Macdonald Kinneir to contain 10,000 souls. Its trade had greatly revived under the mild government of an independent aga. Much silk was produced here. Since then it has been exposed to the attacks of Mahommed Pasha and the earthquakes.

† Acts xi. 26; xv. 22.

it from 1098, till it was taken and destroyed, in 1268, by the Sultan of Egypt, who demolished the churches, said to have been at that time the finest in the world, and put most of the inhabitants to death. The Crusaders had done the same when the city fell into their hands. Aleppo then began to flourish, and to become the great Eastern mart, as Antioch had been. From that time to the close of the seventeenth century, no Christians resided in the city. In 1738, there were about 300 Greeks and 50 Armenians among the inhabitants. This city has been peculiarly subject to the destructive visitation of earthquakes;* and now it is again in ruins!

* "It was almost demolished by earthquakes in the years of J.C. 340, 394, 396, 458, 526, and 528. The Emperor Justinian repaired it, A.D. 529, and called it *Theopolis*, the city of God. Cosroes, King of Persia, took it A.D. 548, massacred the inhabitants, and burnt it. Justinian ordered it to be rebuilt, A.D. 562. Cosroes took it a second time, A.D. 574, in the reign of Justin, and destroyed its walls. A.D. 588, it suffered a dreadful earthquake, whereby above 60,000 persons perished. It was again rebuilt, and again exposed to new calamities. The Saracens took it, A.D. 637 or 638, in the reign of Heraclius. Nicephorus Phocas retook it, A.D. 966. Cedrenus relates, that, A.D. 970, an army of 100,000 Saracens besieged it without success, but that afterwards they subdued it, added new fortifications to it, and made it almost impregnable. Godfrey of Bouillon besieged it, A.D. 1097, and carried it, June 3, 1098. This city, being frequently attacked by the Saracens, was taken, May 29, 1268, by the Sultan of Egypt, who demolished it."—(CALMET'S *Dict.*, by Taylor, 1823.) Josephus characterises Antioch as the third city of the Roman provinces. (lib. iii. cap. 1.) "It was famous among the Jews for the *jus civitatum*, or right of citizenship, which Seleucus had given them in common with the Greeks."—(Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 13.) "This, no doubt, contributed to render this city so desirable to Christians, who were every where considered as a sect of the Jews, since here they could perform their worship without molestation."—*Ibid.* The author of the "*Gesta Dei per Francos*," describes

There were, even in Pococke's time, very few remains, within the city, of any ancient buildings: he mentions three or four ruined churches, but they had no claim to particular notice. The aqueducts were the principal works of antiquity, and these are pronounced inferior to many similar works of the kind.* On one of the three summits of the hill commanding the town, there were great remains of a castle, with semicircular turrets; and near the foot of this hill, in the modern town, were remains of the front of a large brick building, the architecture of which seemed to be of the fourth or fifth century. The exact situation of the ancient city, however, is still to be seen: "the old walls are standing, and some of them, which are built with the greatest strength, are still entire."

"Antioch was situated on the summit and the north side of the two hills, and on the plain between the hills and the river. Pliny says, that it was divided by the river Orontes, from which one would conclude that there was a suburb to the north of the river, of which there are now no signs. The hill to the S.W. is high and very steep; that to the E. is lower, and there is a small plain on the top of it. The walls are built along the height of the hills; and to the S., where there is no descent, the approach is rendered

it as containing 360 convents, besides several churches; and in the circuit of the walls were 450 towers. The patriarch had under him 150 bishops.—(See Van Egmont's Travels, vol. ii. p. 393.) When Van Egmont travelled, the Greeks, not being allowed a church within the city, performed divine service in a large grotto about half a mile from the town; and the Patriarch of Antioch resided at Damascus or Aleppo.

* One of the aqueducts is described as being "in the manner of the ancient *Pont du Garde*, near Nismes, but much inferior to it."

difficult by a deep fosse. These hills are divided by a very deep, narrow bed of a mountain torrent, across which a wall is built, at least 60 feet high. It had an arch below, to let the water pass, which is in part built up; so that a great body of water often lies against the wall: it is called the iron gate. This wall is a most extraordinary building, by which the two hills are joined; and the city walls are carried up the hills in a most surprising manner. But, though built on a rock, and with the utmost art, yet they could not withstand the shocks of so many great earthquakes that have happened. However, on the west side of the western hill, the wall has resisted both time and earthquakes: it is exceedingly strong, and well-built of stone, with beautiful square towers at equal distances, which consist of several stones. I am persuaded that this is the very wall built by Seleucus, and yet, there is not the least breach in it, nor a sign of any; and from this one may judge how beautiful all the walls must have been. There were no battlements to the wall, but there was a walk on the top of it; and where there was any ascent, the top of the wall was made in steps, so that they could go all round the city on the walls with the greatest ease; and it is probable, there were such steps also on the walls which were built up the very steep precipices from the iron gate, where all is now in ruins; and by this wall of communication, they without doubt went from one hill to the other. The steps on the walls were very convenient, for that hill is so steep, that I rode four miles round to the S.E. in order to ascend the hill without difficulty. The south side of the western hill might be assaulted with the greatest ease, though defended by fosses; and I found that the walls there had been

much repaired. Those on the plain to the west are defended by the deep bed of a winter torrent. These walls must have been destroyed and entirely rebuilt, for they are of stone and brick, and probably were a Roman work. The towers are very high, but the greater part of the walls are fallen down, and lie in large pieces on the ground, which demonstrate that the shock must have been great that overturned them. The towers are about seventy paces apart, and being near the river, and consequently not on so good a foundation as the others, one may see that they have often been repaired. A part of them and some houses fell by an earthquake that happened while I was at Aleppo, which an English gentleman, who had resided there fifty years, affirmed to be the greatest he had ever felt."

This was about the year 1738. A more modern traveller thus describes the spot in 1802. "The walls which now exist, though much ruined, mark the ancient boundary of Antioch. The form of them is nearly of a rectangular figure. Of the longest sides, running N.W. and S.E., one confined the town on the plain; the other passed along the ridge of precipices above: the short sides were partly in the plain, partly along the slope of the mountains. Though there may have been sally-ports in different parts of the fortification, it does not appear that there are more than five principal gates to the city: that towards the north, *Bab Geniun* (probably *al Ginein*, or *Genan*, that is, the gate of gardens); the present *Bab Paulos* to the east; *Bab Hadeed*, (the iron gate,) leading to a deep ravine on the south; *Bab Latakie*, (Laodicea gate,) on the west side; and the fifth, in the N.W. angle of the inclosure of the city, called *Bab el Geseer*. The walls are about twenty feet high, and are flanked

with square towers at intervals: they are built of an excellent hard stone, of which the surrounding mountains are composed, much resembling the stone of the temple of Baalbec. The workmanship of the whole is exceedingly good; and in many parts, courses of brick-work are introduced between the masonry. In the towers, there are, in general, three floors, and the upper two are supported by arches of solid brick-work. Towards the east angle of the south side, there is a deep ravine formed by two precipices almost perpendicular; and so anxious were the people of Antioch to place themselves in a complete state of security, that, along the ridges of these heights, though in most parts absolutely inaccessible, they have continued their fortifications, and closed the ravine (about twenty-five feet wide) with a solid wall, the greater part of which is still in existence, and was upwards of seventy feet in height.

"On the north side of the mountain are many excavations and niches in the rock; some for catacombs; others have been formed after the Christian era, and, by the addition of masonry, have served as places of devotion: they are on the east side of the deep ravine. Without *Bab Hadeed*, on the west side, is a bridge of five arches across a valley. The piers are of the natural rock, with arches of masonry turned over them. In many parts, not sufficiently inaccessible from their steepness, are the remains of a ditch, on the west side, fifty feet in width, and fifteen feet in depth.

"On the highest part of the rocks within the fortifications, and rather nearer the west than the east side, is a most magnificent and extensive view. To the east is the great plain of Antioch with its lake, bounded by distant mountains; the Orontes, winding through the plain in front of the city; the high moun-

tains of Beilan; the sea on the S.W.; Mount Casius; the irregular valley, covered with vineyards, behind the heights of the city: these are the chief objects which strike the beholder from the highest point of the ancient capital of Syria. Mount Casius is of a conical form. The Orontes, after passing Antioch, takes its course between some low mountains north of M. Casius, and discharges itself into the sea, about six leagues from Antioch." *

Where are the voluptuous groves of Daphne, which were planted by Seleucus, the Syrian monarch, and which proved so fatal to the Roman veterans? The palace of Daphne is placed, in the Jerusalem Itinerary, five miles from Antioch in the way to Latakia; and Pococke supposed that he had identified the site, both of the grove and the temple of Apollo, at a place which he calls Battelma, about five miles S. of Antioch, near which there are several fountains. "It is said, Gallus built a church there, probably of the materials of the temple of Apollo; and there are remains of a church, with several Greek inscriptions cut on the walls. It is in every respect a most delightful situation." The spot commonly thought to be Daphne, however, is nearer Antioch, at the fountain of Zoiba, near which are remains of the two aqueducts which supplied the city; and there are other fountains above it. The cypress grove and the consecrated bay-trees have disappeared; there are none of the latter trees any where near Antioch; but Pococke says, "they are in great abundance at some little distance." He unfortunately omits to specify in what direction.

Captains Irby and Mangles, in coming from Latakia

* Lieut.-Col. Squire's Travels, in Walpole's "Continuation," &c. pp. 347, 8.

to Antakia, took the direct road to Kepse, which passes over the eastern side of Mount Casius, considerably to the west of that which Pococke took, through Battelma. They unfortunately had not leisure to explore the supposed site of the ancient Daphne; but, on the authority of Mr. Barker, the British consul at Aleppo, they state, that there are still to be seen the grand sources of water which composed the celebrated fountain: "in some instances, the water boils up in a volume as thick as a man's body, and *jets d'eau* might be made of that thickness, of upwards of fifty feet high." Still, they do not tell us where this fountain is, or what name it bears. But, in compensation, they furnish a description of the scenery on the banks of the Orontes, which may enable our readers to imagine what Daphne was. They reached the banks at the place where commences the picturesque part of the river, and immediately below the spot where the chart was marked "the site of the city and groves of Daphne."

"We now began to follow the banks of the river, and were astonished at the beauty of the scenery, far surpassing any thing we expected to see in Syria, and indeed, any thing we had witnessed even in Switzerland, though we walked nine hundred miles in that country, and saw most of its beauty. The river, from the time we began to trace its banks, ran continually between two high hills, winding and turning incessantly: at times the road led along precipices in the rocks, looking down perpendicularly on the river. The luxuriant variety of foliage was prodigious; and the rich green myrtle, which was very plentiful, contrasted with the colour of the road, the soil of which was a dark red gravel, made us imagine we were riding through pleasure-grounds. The laurel, laurestinus, bay-tree, fig-

tree, wild vine, plane-tree, English sycamore, arbutus, both common and andrachne, dwarf oak, &c., were scattered in all directions. At times the road was overhung with rocks covered with ivy; the mouths of caverns also presented themselves, and gave a wildness to the scene; and the perpendicular cliffs jutted into the river upwards of three hundred feet high, forming corners round which the waters ran in a most romantic manner. We descended at times into plains cultivated with mulberry plantations and vines, and prettily studded with picturesque cottages. The occasional shallows of the river keeping up a perpetual roaring, completed the beauty of this scene, which lasted about two hours, when we entered the plain of Suadeah (Seleucia), where the river becomes of a greater breadth, and runs in as straight a line as a canal."

Captain Macdonald Kinneir describes another delightful spot, which he was disposed to consider as the ancient Daphne, on the declivity of the mountains, about seven miles from the city. "It is called Babylæ, and exhibits the vestiges of many buildings, bathed by a number of fountains which boil up from amongst the rocks, and flowing in different channels through a meadow shaded with luxuriant bay-trees, walnut-trees, and groves of myrtle, soon afterwards unite and form a small river called the Kerrasu, which enters the Orontes about half way between Antioch and Suadia. The singular beauty of this place, combined with the name of Babylæ, would have led me to suppose it the spot on which the famous Temple of Daphne, and afterwards the Church of St. Babylas, formerly stood, had not D'Anville and others fixed upon Beit ul Mei, (the House of Water,) another agreeable situation, five or six miles south of the city, as that seat of debauchery and voluptuousness."

"Beit ul Mei (el Moie),* is five miles from Antioch, on the road to Latakia. In my visit to this place, I travelled along the foot of the mountains through groves of myrtle and mulberry-trees; and at the sixth mile, reached this spot, so famous in the history of Syria. It is a small natural amphitheatre on the declivity of the mountains, where the springs burst with a loud noise from the earth, and, running in a variety of directions for the distance of about two hundred yards, terminate in two beautiful cascades, about thirty feet in height, falling into the valley of the Orontes. Instead of a magnificent temple, surrounded with stately groves of laurels and cypresses, I saw three or four wretched water-mills built of mud, and a few dwarf myrtle bushes intermingled with brambles. The largest of the fountains rises from under a vertical rock, forming a small abyss, or concavity, on the top and sides of which the massy remnants of an ancient edifice, perhaps those of the Temple of Apollo, attracted my attention. A considerable portion of the water of this spring is conveyed for nearly two miles through an artificial subterraneous aqueduct, which I was told had been traced to the vicinity of Antioch. I perceived the ruins of another building at the foot of an adjoining mountain, but it did not strike me as meriting an attentive examination; and being upon the whole as much disappointed with Beit ul Mei as I had been gratified with Babylæ, I descended through some ploughed fields and mulberry plantations into the sequestered vale of the Orontes."

Suadeah is a straggling village, consisting of unconnected cottages, situated in a plain chiefly enclosed with mulberry and lemon plantations. At half an

* This is what Pococke has turned into Battelma.

hour's distance from it are the ruins of the ancient Seleucia Pieriæ, "a place of a most extraordinary situation, of great natural strength, and well fortified by art;" now called, according to Dr. Pococke, *Kepse*. It is situated about a mile from the sea, on the south-west side of a rocky mountain. The walls on the S. side were built on high cliffs overlooking the plain; to the west, on the brow of a steep descent, over the bed of a mountain torrent that runs southward into the plain; to the north, on high cliffs over the bed of the same torrent. There is a descent within the walls from the N.E. N.W. and E.; and a steep descent on the E. side without the walls, at the bottom of which a "natural fosse" is formed by the deep bed of a winter torrent. Here there was a double wall: the outer one, consisting of very large stones, was ten feet thick; the inner wall, built of hewn stone, was defended by square turrets fifty paces apart. In the plain near the S.W. corner of the city, there was a fine basin walled round, designed to receive the shipping: it communicates by a narrow channel with the sea. To the north of this channel, on a gentle rising ground, is a tower which protected the port. On the south side of the entrance there was another tower, built on the rock; and near this, a pier runs into the sea, about 67 paces long, and 18 paces wide: it is constructed of very large stones, some of them 20 feet long by six feet in width, and five in depth; they have been fastened together by iron cramps, the marks of which are still to be seen. A little way to the north of this, is another pier, 120 paces long, and fifteen paces broad. On the S.E. side of the city was a strong gate, adorned with pilasters, and defended with round towers. This was almost entire at the time of Pococke's visit, and is called the Antioch gate. The

city communicated with the sea by an artificial channel cut out of the rock. "It is a passage from fourteen to eighteen feet wide; the first part from the E., for 260 paces in length, and about 40 in height, is cut under the foot of the mountain; the rest, which is about 820 paces in length, is sunk down from fifteen to about twenty feet in the solid rock, and is open at top; it ends at the sea. The last part is cut down lower, and great pieces of rock are left across the passage, to make the entrance difficult, there being a path left only on one side, which might be closed on any occasion. It is not cut with steps, as Polybius describes it. Along the sides are small channels to convey water from the higher parts to the ground which is to the south of it. This extraordinary channel ends a little way to the north of the northern pier. The water formerly ran through it, but now it does not go that way, unless after great floods. It is said, that the Arabs turned the water to the S.W., where I saw it run by a sort of subterraneous passage. Part of it now runs into the basin, which is choked up and become a morass; and the water at present goes in two small streams into the sea, one through the channel of the basin, and the other to the S.W. of it.

"The top of the hill, on each side of the artificial passage through the rock, is cut into sepulchral grots. Some of these are very grand, and have courts before them, with several apartments one within another, supported by pillars of the solid rock: some of them near the passage have epitaphs cut on them; there are likewise many imperfect inscriptions and several reliefs, which seem works of fancy rather than for any particular design. But the chief burial-places were grots near the S.E. corner of the town, by the side of the road that leads to Antioch. To the north

of the town there are some aqueducts cut through the mountains, by which the water is brought a considerable way, though they have springs on the very height of the town. Under the walls opposite to this aqueduct, is an oblong open place cut in the cliff, about twenty-four feet from the ground, eight paces long, and three wide: there are two niches also cut into the rock, which seem to have been designed for altars, and over one of them is a large cross in relief. They call it the convent of Codryllus; and it was, probably, the hermitage of some Christian of that name. Above this, near a quarter of a mile to the east of the city walls, is a sepulchral grotto, over the door of which is a relief cut in the rock, representing a woman sitting in a chair, leaning her head on her right hand, as in a melancholy posture; before her stands a child. On one side is another relief, in which a woman is giving something to her child. This, probably, was a sepulchre made for a beloved daughter. There is another hermitage, which they call Saint Drus; and a narrow ascent over it is cut out of the rock, up the side of a steep cliff, which leads to a spot that they call a castle. It is contrived in such a manner that nothing is seen on the outside; the rock is worked into a fence like a wall, and is supplied in some places with an artificial work; and under it, the rock is hollowed out into a large cistern. This place might be defended by a small number of people."

Below this natural fortress, are the ruins of a large convent with its church; and about four miles in the "footway over the sea, which goes all along to Mount Rhossus, and so to the plain of Arsous," Pococke found the remains of a smaller convent and church, and a few small chapels about the mountain, which probably belonged to hermitages, with cisterns near them.

This city was built by Seleucus Nicator, soon after he had vanquished Antigonus, "at a time when he was not settled in his kingdom." About the port, there was a well fortified suburb, where, for convenience, they held their markets. At the time of Pococke's visit, there was an Armenian village here;* and he observed a particular fashion among the women of Kepse. "They wear a sort of cap, made of silver money, fastened round in rows by holes made in them: among these are many ancient medals of the Syrian kings, and of the city itself, which are often found here; so that the head of a lady of Kepse is often a very valuable piece of antiquity." Of the magnificent temples and buildings mentioned by Polybius, some remains of a few pillars alone were standing. It was at Seleucia that Paul and Barnabas, when sent forth from the church at Antioch, embarked for Cyprus.†

"From this place," continues Pococke, "I crossed over the plain southwards, about four miles to the Orontes. I went to the mouth of the Orontes, to see if I could find any remains of the ancient port of Antioch, which I discovered before I arrived at the mouth of that river, at the distance of nearly two miles from the sea. There is a large basin, which was filled from above by the river, at a place where the river winds, so that the stream flowed directly into a canal that leads to the basin, by which the shipping entered it. This canal had, no doubt, flood-gates to hinder too great a quantity of water flowing into it on any

* Pococke mentions two other Armenian villages to the N.E. of this, which he calls *Alchaphah* and *Ioneiac*, each having its church, and being governed by a Christian *kaia*, appointed by the Turkish governors. Several ruined churches and convents are to be seen in the neighbourhood.

† Acts, xiii. 4. It is also referred to, 1 Macc. xi. 8.

rising of the river." Nearly a mile to the west of this basin are the supposed ruins of the ancient "port of St. Simon," near which are ruins of a small church and khan. The present port is a little further to the west, about half a mile to the west of the Orontes. "The boats come to the banks of the river; and there are only a few huts built as warehouses for the salt that is brought to this place from Tripoli, and for the rice that is imported from Latakia, and is brought to that city from Damietta. The Orontes here is deep, though not very wide, and the river, as formerly, might very well be made navigable to Antioch."*

Mount Casius, the foot of which extends to the Orontes a little above the port, is now called *Djebel Okrab*, the bald mountain. "It is certainly," says Pococke, "a very high mountain," though he thinks that Pliny exaggerates a little when he makes it four miles in perpendicular height! The country abounds with mulberry-trees, and produces a great quantity of silk. About half-way to Antioch is a long, high hill to the north of the river, called *Benecclesie*, or "Thousand-Churches," on the summit of which are the remains of a very noble convent and church, dedicated to St. Simon Stylites, with a pillar, cut out of the rock,

* "Antioch once made more noise in the world, being fallen to ruin ever since the channel that ran from the city to the sea, where galleys might ride, has been stopped up by the sands that have encroached upon the mouth of the haven." Tavernier's "Six Voyages," folio, p. 56. Volney says: "By clearing the mouth of the river, which is six leagues (20 miles) from Antioch, it would have been practicable to ascend the river with towed boats, but not with vessels, as Pococke maintains: its current is too rapid. The natives, who do not know the name of Orontes, call it, on account of its rapidity, *El Aasi*, the obstinate; the term which the Greek geographers have rendered *Axios*." Benjamin of Tudela calls it the river *Pir*, and its valley, *Jabok*.

exactly on the model, and of the same dimensions as that in the convent near Aleppo. *

The route from Antakia to Scanderoon lies across a rich alluvial plain towards the N.N.E. for five hours, when it enters the mountains of Beilan. Two miles to the right is the lake of Antioch, or the White Lake. At five hours and a half is Khan Karamout, (*i. e.* the Khan of Black Myrtle, so called from the quantity of that shrub in the neighbourhood,) † where there is a narrow pass, and a small village of mountaineers, who claim a tribute from every traveller or caravan they meet. Here the Turkish language only is spoken. A little beyond Karamout is a castle, situated on the top of a precipice to the left of the road, in a most romantic situation, called Bagras (Pagras): close to it is a village. Half an hour from Karamout is a paved way, which leads to Beilan, but for which, in winter,

* "This," says Pococke, "may be the hill *Trapezon*, so called from its resemblance to a table; for Strabo, immediately after it, mentions Seleucia and Rhossus. The Greek patriarch, about thirty years ago, endeavoured to get this beautiful place into his hands, and was well guarded with firmauns from Constantinople; but the mob rose at Antioch, and the people there and of the country round about, came in great numbers, and destroyed not only the new building, but also what remained of the old." The ancient name of Rhossus is preserved in that of *Ras el Kanzir*, or Cape Hog, the south point or headland of the Bay of Scanderoon. To the S. of Mount Casius are the remains of the ancient Posidium, "now called Bosseda."

† This khan was erected not long before Van Egmont travelled, by a mufti of Constantinople, for the protection of travellers. He stationed here a Turcoman governor named Mustafa, by whose courage and enterprise, the road, which had long been infamous for the outrages committed by the robbers, was rendered perfectly safe. In return for his fidelity, he was poisoned in a dish of coffee, and the mufti himself fell a victim to the sultan's jealousy. The mountain was then infested by "hyenas, leopards, lynxes, bulls, foxes," &c. Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 327.

the road would be, from the nature of the soil and the rains, impassable. Beilan is three hours from Khan Karamout; it is seated on either side of a deep, narrow, and elevated valley. A stream from the mountains rushes through the middle of the town, and three or four aqueducts cross the valley, apparently of ancient construction, and they are still in use. The houses are built of stone with flat terraced roofs, unlike those of Antioch, Suadeah, and Hourdee; and placed on the slope of the mountain, intermixed with a variety of trees, they form an agreeable prospect. The town was formerly much frequented by the Europeans even from Aleppo, on account of the coolness of its situation. This is one of the three great passes into Cilicia, and was anciently called the Gates of Syria.* From Beilan to Scanderoon, the descent from the mountains towards the sea in a northerly direction, is very striking: the heights are lofty, picturesque, well covered with wood, and a great part of them planted with vines, disposed in the neatest order, and carefully cultivated: the distance is three hours, caravan time.

Scanderoon itself is a most wretched town, consisting of a few houses built absolutely in the marshes, which extend on all sides. "So impracticable is the ground, that there is only one road by which it can be approached. The reeds that grow in this swamp, af-

* See authorities in Pococke, b. ii. c. 20. One hour from Antioch, there is much marsh land; and a small river called *Karasou*, or Black Water, discharges itself into the lake. This appellation is derived from the black stones at the bottom, which give a similar appearance to the water. The lake may be, Pococke thinks, about ten miles long, and five broad. Several little streams occur, which are crossed by bridges: one of these, at three hours from Antioch, is the river *Patrakene*. At one of these rivers, Ptolemy Philomator, having conquered Alexander Bratas, died of his wounds.

ford nourishment to the buffaloes. In some parts, where the land will admit of it, it is cultivated. It seems that at Scanderoon the sea continually retires, and the marshes increase in proportion. About a century ago, the line of shore was a mile more inland than at present: as may be seen from the fact of a ruined square building of stone, where there are iron rings, to which boats and small vessels were formerly attached. Indeed, one of the merchants mentioned, that, in the space of ten years, the beach had so advanced into the sea, that in a spot where there was formerly water, there is now a magazine for merchandise. The town is chiefly inhabited by a few Greeks and some Turks, who find an interest in remaining there on account of the arrival of shipping at the anchorage. Here is a neat Greek church; and among the tombs, we remarked seven, with Latin inscriptions, of Englishmen, who had fallen victims to the unhealthiness of the situation.* Few persons escape the malignant

* "*Peuplé de plus de tombeaux que de maisons*," says Volney. Moryson, who travelled in 1596, represents Scanderoon as a poor village, built all of straw and dirt, except the houses of some Christian factors. He speaks of the pestilent air of the place as rendering it "infamous for the death of Christians." One cause he assigns for this is, that "on the east side beyond the fen, is a most high mountain, which keeps the sight of the sun from Scanderoon!" Tavernier describes it, about a century after, as "nothing else but a confused heap of paltry houses inhabited by the Greeks," except the dwellings of the two vice-consuls, the English and the French. "They must be men," he adds, "who love money at a strange rate, who accept of these employments; for the air, like that of Ormus, is generally so bad, especially in the summer, that they who do not die, cannot avoid very dangerous distempers. Mr. Phillips, the English consul, has been the only person that ever lived two-and-twenty years at Alexandretta; but you must know, he was a brisk, merry man, and of an excellent temper of body, and yet, for all that,

fever which rages there in the summer, occasioned by the excessive heat of the sun, seldom relieved by sea-breezes, and the noxious vapours from the surrounding swamps. There are three European agents now (1802) resident at Scanderoon, two French and one Italian: their ghastly pale appearance sufficiently marks the black influence of the climate. The ignorance and imbecility of the Turkish government cannot be more strongly marked than in the position of Scanderoon. This is one of the finest bays in the world; the marshes might be drained and cultivated; and were the town removed to the heights, about half a mile to the beach, the inhabitants would breathe a purer air, and merchants might be induced to reside there." *

Scanderoon, or, as it is called by the Franks, Alexandretta, is the port of Aleppo, from which it is twenty-four leagues (eighty miles) distant.† Yet, at

he had been forced to be cauterized." "Six Voyages," fol. p. 55. Van Egmont speaks of the town as small, consisting of not sixty houses, but thriving; and says, "It is the residence of a Greek bishop; the fathers of the Holy Land have also a convent here," — but as a winter residence only. In summer the inhabitants removed to Beilan.

* Lieut.-Col. Squire, in Walpole.

† Tavernier mentions the practice of despatching a carrier-pigeon from Scanderoon to Aleppo, on the arrival of a vessel, with a note under his wing, by which means information was conveyed in four or five hours, "though it is more than two or three days' journey on horseback." This is a very ancient method of correspondence in the East. It was resorted to in the time of the Crusades. The custom of thus corresponding with Aleppo from Scanderoon, is mentioned by D'Arvieux and Maillet. Dr. Russell states, that it had been in disuse many years, but the pigeons had been known, by persons then resident at Aleppo, to perform the journey in two hours and a half.

this period, the road between them was as much infested with Kourdish robbers as it was in the time of Pococke and Volney, or, to go somewhat further back, in the time of Strabo.* And, at only three hours' distance to the north, Kutchuk Ali, the tyrant of Payass, defied the Porte, plundering all the caravans that passed through his territory; and even ships were afraid to anchor near the town, fearful of being seized by the rebel. Thus commerce was obstructed on every side. To these serious political drawbacks, Volney adds a formidable natural disadvantage of the situation, for which the government is not responsible; the prevalence, during winter, of a peculiar wind, called by the French sailors *le raguier* (the chafer?), which, rushing like a torrent from the snowy summits, forces ships to drag their anchors several leagues: he even states, that, during three or four months, the winds from the land prevent any vessels from entering the port.† Yet, inconvenient as it is, this, he says, is the only part of the coast where there is a solid bottom, and vessels may anchor without their cables being liable to chafe. Prior to the year 1590, it is stated by Teixeira, that the Aleppo trade was carried

* "Le local qu'ils occupent répond exactement au château de *Gyndarus*, qui, dès le temps de Strabon, était un repaire de voleurs."—VOLNEY.

† "There is a wide gap in the midst of this mountain (Beilan), which, giving liberty to the N.E. wind, when it blows hard, doth so enrage the road of Alexandretta, which is otherwise very calm, that no ship can ride there at that time; insomuch that all ships that happen to be there when the wind rises, presently weigh anchor, and get out to sea, for fear of being cast away." (TAVERNIER, p. 55.) Van Egmont ascribes the same effect to the E. wind, coming from the mountains, adding: "But the north winds, which are generally very violent, seldom last above twenty-four hours."

on by the merchants of Tripoli, but "upon some difference with the pashas, the Christians retired to this place (Scanderoon), yet like it not very well, because of the inconvenience of carrying their goods so far by land." In 1802, Scanderoon was tributary to Mustapha, Pasha of Beilan, who maintained a small band of troops to exact tribute (*caphar*) from caravans and travellers. He is probably the person alluded to by Burckhardt as the independent aga of Alexandretta. In 1813, the town contained about sixty Greek families and thirty Turks, and the trade was confined to a few boat-loads of rice and salt from Damietta. Captain Macdonald Kinneir ascribes the ruin of its commerce to the expedition to Egypt — at which time all the Franks were expelled — together with the depreciation of the Turkish currency. Latakia had at that time become the port of Aleppo, yet, its trade was also trifling, the exports consisting of sugar and rice from Egypt, wines from Cyprus, oranges from Tripoli, and a few bales of woollen cloth from Smyrna. "The commerce of Aleppo," adds this enterprising traveller, "has within these few years past been entirely ruined, in consequence of the depreciation of the currency and the enhanced price of European commodities; the people have no longer the means of purchasing them, and, for a hundred bales of cloth formerly imported into Aleppo, and distributed among the neighbouring cities, not a tenth part of that quantity is now consumed. The population and agriculture of the country are fast declining; the cities, falling to decay, lie half buried in their own ruins, and the oppressed and distracted peasantry either flee for safety into the mountains, or look forward with a languid hope to a change of their condition. The revolution which took place at Aleppo, during my residence at Latakia, is a de-

plorable, though faithful picture of the present state of Syria."* It only required the earthquake of 1822 to complete the desolation. Scanderoon is in long. 36° 15′ E., and lat. 36° 36′ N.

FROM ALEPPO TO MARRAH.

THE direct road from Aleppo to Damascus is by way of Marrah, which Volney makes the limit of the pashalic. Burckhardt states, that the frontiers of the pashalics of Aleppo and Damascus run across the mountain of Rieha, a low, rocky chain, which commences above Rieha, and extends to Kalaat-el-Medyk, varying in breadth from two to five hours.

About twelve miles to the S. of Aleppo, (sixteen miles round by Khan Touman,) near two leagues to the east of the road to Marrah, is the place known by the name of Old Aleppo, the ancient *Chalcis ad Belum*. Its Arabian name, by which it is still called by the natives, is Kinnasreen. It was anciently no inconsiderable city, being the strong-hold of the extensive country called Marsyas. It surrendered to the Saracens in the seventeenth year of the Hegira, (A.D. 630,) soon after their invasion of Syria. It is now quite deserted. In 1750, nothing like a house was standing, though there were many great squared

* Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, &c., by John Macdonald Kinneir. 8vo. 1818. p. 166. The revolution alluded to forms a sequel to the historical sketch at pp. 276—282. Mahommed, the son of Chapwan Oglu, had purchased the pashalic of Aleppo, and, by trepanning and massacring the chiefs of the janissaries, had restored the authority of the Porte in his own person. He had previously subdued the rebel chieftains of Rieha and Shogher, reducing those towns to ashes, and was preparing to attack the chiefs of Antioch and Beilan. This was about Oct. 1813.

stones and foundations, particularly those of the walls, which were very extensive, and nine feet thick. The citadel covered a very large hill adjoining the city. The city stood in the midst of a very fine plain, watered by the river Singas, or Kowik; but not one fiftieth part was then in cultivation.* On the highest part of the hill stands a mosque, which has been a church. Pococke saw in it some fragments of Christian Greek inscriptions.

At ten hours and a half from Aleppo, is Sermein, remarkable for the great number of cisterns and wells hewn in the rock, and for several excavations, now inhabited by the poor peasants. One of these consists of several apartments, supported in various places by round pillars with coarsely wrought capitals. No cultivation appears between Khan Touman and Sermein. Two hours and a half further is (Little) Edlip, the approach to which is very picturesque. It lies round the foot of a hill which divides it into two parts; there is a smaller hill on the N. side. The town is surrounded with olive plantations, and the whole landscape reminded Burckhardt of Athens and its vicinity. One feature, however, is wanting: there is no Parthenon. The town is of modern date, and stands at about half an hour's distance from Great Edlip, of which only the name remains. It contained, in 1812, about 1,000 houses. The inhabitants were for the most part Turks, with only eighty Greek families and three of "Armenian Greeks," who had a church and three priests, under the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch of Damascus. The principal trade was in soap: there were some manufactories of cotton stuffs, and a few dyeing-houses. The rocky

* Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. p. 353.

ground is full of caverns, wells, and pits, but there is only a single spring, and the water of it is brackish, so that it is never used but in seasons of great drought. There are consequently no gardens, vegetables being supplied by Rieha and Acre: there are a few orchards of fig and pomegranate trees, and some vineyards. The town belongs to the family of Kyperly Zaade of Constantinople. As well as Shogher, it is exempt from the land-tax, in consideration of its contributing largely to defray the expenses of Mekka and Medina: there is, however, a house-tax, which yields twenty purses, and a custom-house, where duties are levied on all kinds of provisions, the proceeds of which amount to nearly 100 purses. At the time of Burckhardt's visit, Seyd Aga and Topal Aly, the two rebel chiefs of Rieha and Djeser Shogher, were masters of the town, and the inhabitants were almost ruined by their rapacious avanias. In eighteen months it had paid 600 purses, and 200 more had just been demanded.

Rieha, distant two hours and forty minutes, is situated on the northern declivity of the Djebel Esbayn, or the "mountain of the forty," which forms part of the mountain of Rieha. Burckhardt did not enter it, through fear of the rebel chief who reigned there; but he states that it contains about 4 or 500 houses, is a much frequented market, and has two large soap manufactories.*

Three hours to the E.S.E. of Rieha is "Old Reah" or Rouia,† which, according to Pococke, has been a

* Since then, Rieha has been reduced to ashes, and most of the inhabitants slaughtered, by Mahommed Pasha; who, in 1813, laid waste with fire and sword the whole district, to punish the rebel chiefs above mentioned, who, on his approach, fled for protection to the Pasha of Egypt.

† Probably the *El Roweyha* of Burckhardt.

magnificent place. "There are," he says, "about six or seven fine palaces, some nearly entire, and almost as many churches." One of these had still inscribed on it the names of Peter and Paul, to whom it was dedicated. Three or four of them are described as large, having three naves; and the capitals of the pillars are of the Corinthian and Ionic orders. There were also considerable ruins, apparently of a monastery. Another ruined village near Rieha, called Kuph, contains very extensive remains of "palaces," sepulchres, "a church built after the Syrian manner," and other Christian buildings, seemingly of the fourth or fifth century. At Frihay, another village, there are similar remains, and a few inscriptions in "barbarous unintelligible Greek."

About two hours to the S.E. of Rieha, is the village of Marszaf, and S. of the latter, about one hour, the ruined town Benin. About an hour from Rieha, turning round the eastern corner of the mountain towards Old Rieha, is the village of Kefr Lata (Kapharlate), situated on the S. side of a narrow valley watered by a rivulet. Here are more ruins, and a great number of sepulchral caves. It occupied Burckhardt a whole morning, to explore the neighbourhood of the village, which must have been, he thinks, the ancient burying-place of all the great families of this district. On the west side of the village, he counted sixteen "coffins" and seven caves: the coffins, as he calls them, are excavations in the rock, about five feet deep, from seven to nine feet long, and about three broad; all of which had originally stone lids of a single block of stone: some of these still remain entire.* The sepulchral caves vary in their size and

* For a description of similar graves at Eksall in Galilee, see Modern Traveller. Palestine, p. 322.

construction; but all contain similar rude sarcophagi. On the east side of the village, Burckhardt counted twenty-one coffins and five sepulchral caves. On the north side of the valley are more caves and coffins; two, in particular, in the middle of areas enclosed with walls. Over the source of the rivulet is an arch or vaulted roof, about thirteen feet high, supported by four Doric pillars, in a heavy style, with an imperfect Greek inscription. The village contains forty or fifty houses, all built with square stones taken from more ancient buildings.

The whole of Djebel Rieha is full of the ruins of cities which flourished in the times of the Lower Empire; but the most considerable are those of El Bara, four hours and a half to the S.S.W. of Rieha. The ruins extend for about half an hour from S. to N., and consist of a number of public buildings, churches, and private dwellings, the walls and roofs of some of which still remain. The town walls on the E. side are yet standing. On the outside are several sepulchral caves. Over the gates of several of the buildings, the episcopal staff is rudely sculptured on a round shield. The most remarkable buildings are three tombs, which are plain square structures, each enclosing a square of six paces, and surmounted with a sort of tiled pyramid. On the north side of the village is a castle in the Saracen style, near a spring called Bir Alloun. From El Bara, Burckhardt crossed the mountain in a westerly direction to the village Howash, in the valley of the Orontes, distant nearly five miles. At this place, the district of Djeser Shogher terminates, and that of Kalaat el Medyk begins. It is the frontier of the two pashalics.

Marrah, through which the direct road from Aleppo passes, is described by Pococke as a very poor little

town, but there is a very good khan on the outside. It is governed by an independent aga. He supposes it to be the same as the Arra of the Itinerary, and the Maronias of Ptolemy. It is between six and seven hours S. of Sermein. We now enter upon

THE PASHALIC OF SHAM, OR DAMASCUS.

THE pashalic of Damascus, the fourth and last in our arrangement, occupies almost the whole western part of Syria, extending from Marrah to Hebron, bounded on the west by the Anti-Libanus and the Anzairie mountains, and reaching, on the east, to the Euphrates and the Desert. The Pasha, who generally enjoys his post for life, is distinguished by the high office of conductor of the sacred caravan of Mekka, under the honoured title of Emir-hajji. The discharge of this office renders the person of the Pasha inviolable, so that it is no longer lawful for even the Sultan to shed his blood: in case of his falling under the displeasure of the Divan, it is, therefore, necessary to dispose of his inviolability by the legitimate subterfuge of suffocating him in a sack, braying him in a mortar, or the readier method of a prepared cup of coffee. In this pashalic are included the cities of Damascus, Homs, Hamah, Palmyra, Baalbec, Jerusalem, and Hebron.

A considerable part of this territory has already come under our notice, in the description of Palestine and the country of the Druses and the Motoualies. It remains to take a survey of the valley of the Orontes and the plains of Damascus and the Haouran. A more particular notice of the eastern desert and the Arab tribes which people it, is reserved for the account of Arabia, while the Kourdish and Turcoman

tribes will be described in the account of Kourdistan and Turcomania.

VALLEY OF THE ORONTES.

THE valley lying between the Anzairie mountains on the west, and the *Djebel Shaehsabou* (a part or continuation of *Djebel Rieha*) on the east, is called El Ghab.* "It extends almost due north from Kalaat-el-Medyk, to near Djeser Shogher. Its breadth is about two hours, but it becomes narrower towards the north. It is watered by the Aaszy or Orontes, which flows near the foot of the western mountain, where it forms numerous marshes. The inhabitants of El Ghab are a mongrel race of Arabs and Fellahs, and are called Arab el Ghab. They live, in winter time, in a few villages dispersed over the valley, of which they cultivate only the land adjacent to their dwellings. On the approach of hot weather, they retire with their cattle to the eastern mountains in search of pasture, and in order to escape the immense swarms of flies and gnats which infest the Ghab in that season. In the winter, the Aaszy inundates part of the low grounds through which it flows, and leaves many small lakes and ponds." This beautiful valley, as Burckhardt styles it, is watered also by numerous springs, and by rivulets which descend from the mountains, especially from those on the east.

Howash is the principal village of the Ghab: it is situated on the borders of a small lake formed by the rivulet of Ain-el-Howash. It consisted, at the period of Burckhardt's journey, of about 140 mud

* This is probably the word rendered *Jabok* by Benjamin Tudelensis.

huts, thatched with the reeds which grow on the banks of the stream. The country was at the time (Feb. 21) inundated, and the Arabs passed in small boats from one village to another. They cultivate dhourra and wheat, and rear large herds of buffaloes* of a small species. At half an hour from Howash are several fragments of columns, by the side of an ancient paved causeway, which can be traced, here and there, above an hour to the south, and appears to have been about sixteen feet in breadth. "It probably followed the whole length of the valley, from Apamea to Djeser Shogher." At two hours and a quarter is the lake *El Taka*, formed by a large spring which issues from near the foot of the mountain: it communicates with the Orontes. This lake abounds with the black fish, so called from its colour, its length varying from five to eight feet. The fishermen of the adjacent village of Sherya enjoy a partial exemption from the *miri*. They fish with harpoons during the night, in small boats, which carry five or six men; and so numerous are the fish, that, by throwing the harpoons at random, they fill their boats in the course of the night. The quantity taken might be doubled, if there were a ready market for them. The *kantar*, of 560lb. weight, is sold at about 4*l*. sterling. The fish are salted on the spot, and carried all over Syria

* "It is a common saying among the Turks, that all the animal kingdom was converted by their Prophet to the true faith, except the wild-boar and the buffalo, which remained unbelievers; it is on this account that both these animals are often called Christians." Yet the flesh of the buffalo, Burckhardt adds, as well as its *leben*, or sour-milk, is much esteemed by the Turks; but he supposes that the habit which the buffalo has of rolling in the mud, and plunging into muddy pools up to the nose, has led to its disgrace.

and to Cyprus, for the use of the Christians during their long and rigid fasts. The income derived from this fishery by the governor of Kalaat-el-Medyk, amounts to about 3,000*l.* sterling. Besides the black fish, carp are also taken with nets, and carried to Hamah and Homs, where the Turks are very fond of them. The depth of the lake is about ten feet; its breadth is quite irregular, being seldom more than half an hour; its length is about an hour and a half."

One hour from Ain-el-Taka is Kalaat-el-Medyk, supposed to occupy the site of *Apamea.** The castle, which is of modern construction, is built upon an almost insulated hill, connected with the *Djebel Oerimy.* Within the walls are thirty or forty houses, inhabited by Turks and Greek Christians. Burckhardt could hear of no antiquities; but, on the N. side of the hill, he saw several columns scattered about. The Djebel Shaesabou here bends towards the east, and continues for about three hours in that direction. Burckhardt pursued the river southward for two hours further, till the plain became impassable from the rains, and he was obliged to turn up the hills to Sekeylebie, a village belonging to Hamah. The inhabitants of the Ghab in this direction, live

* Apamea is described by Strabo as directly on the other side of the mountain, from Laodicea, in the midst of much marshy and meadow ground, and as occupying a peninsula formed by the Orontes and a great lake. Seleucus Nicator kept here 500 elephants; and the Syrian monarchs stationed their troops in this quarter, on account of the abundance of forage. The Itinerary makes it thirty-two miles from Epiphania, sixty-four miles from Emesa, and sixty-nine from Antioch. Apamea was destroyed by an earthquake, A.D. 1157, together with Emesa, Hamah, and Laodicea.

in constant fear of marauders from the Anzairie mountains, who often descend by night, cross the river, and carry off the cattle of the lowlanders. They are often in an almost starving condition.

Two hours from this village is the lake *El Terimsy*, extending from five to six miles N.E. and S.W., by two or three miles in breadth. Its waters are scarcely any where deeper than five feet; but the bottom is a deep bed of mud, which renders it dangerous, if not fatal, to enter it. It shrinks in the summer, but seldom dries up entirely. The swampy land on its borders, hardens and affords excellent pasturage in the spring. At four hours from Sekeylibie, the Orontes is crossed by a bridge of thirteen arches, to Kalaat Seidjar, a castle apparently of the Saracen times; "but it should seem," says Burckhardt, "from the many remains of Grecian architecture found in the castle, that a Greek town formerly stood here."* He searched in vain for Greek inscriptions, but saw some Arabic ones. Part of the declivity of the hill on which the castle is built, is paved with flat stones, like the castle-hill at Aleppo. On the S. side, the rock seems to have been cut perpendicularly down almost as low as the river, which here issues from a narrow rocky valley, resembling in its character the Wye at Chepstow. The castle was inhabited by a few hundred families of peasants. In the plain to the S. and S.W. are the remains of ancient buildings, broken columns, and wrought stones, indicating the site of a town; and Burckhardt dug up an altar about

* This seems to be the *Shaysar* of Pococke, which he conjectured to be the site of Larissa, with which its distance from Hamah agrees. According to the Itinerary, Larissa was sixteen miles both from Epiphania (Hamah) and Apamea (El Medyk).

four feet and a half high, and a foot and a half square, on which was a Greek inscription.

Crossing the low hills to the south of Seidjar, the traveller enters on the fertile plain of Hamah, and proceeding in a S.E. direction, arrives in about four hours at that ancient capital of the district, distant from Seidjar about fourteen miles. Hamah is a considerable town, situated on both sides of the Orontes, part of it being built on a declivity, part in the plain. It must contain, Burckhardt says, at least 30,000 inhabitants; of whom the Greek families, according to the information he obtained from the bishop, are about 300. In the middle of the city is a square mound on which formerly stood the castle. The houses, a few "palaces" excepted, have mud walls; but their interior is stated to make amends for the roughness of their appearance. There are thirteen mosques; the largest has a very ancient minaret. There are four bridges over the Orontes. The greatest curiosity at Hamah is the hydraulic wheels (*naoura*), which supply the upper town with water: there are about a dozen of them; the largest is at least seventy feet in diameter. By means of these wheels are raised buckets, which empty themselves into stone aqueducts supported by lofty arches on a level with the hill. There are no remains of antiquity of any interest. The principal trade of Hamah is with the Arabs of the Desert, who come to buy their tent furniture and woollen abbas. The Pasha of Damascus has usually 3 or 400 horsemen stationed here, to keep them in check. Burckhardt had an interview here, in 1812, with the celebrated Nassif Pasha,* who had built a very handsome house

* See p. 29.

at Hamah, and enjoyed an income of about 8,000*l.* sterling. In the course of conversation, he made many inquiries concerning the Duke of Sussex, whom he had known in Italy. Several opulent Turkish grandees resided in the town, where they were in some measure removed from the extortions of the government. Abulfeda, the great Arabian historian and geographer, was Prince or Emir of Hamah, about A.D. 1345, with the title of Sultan. The town, there can be little doubt, occupies the site of the Epiphania of the Greeks, which attained its most flourishing state under the Greek emperors, whose medals are found here. It is also, in all probability, the capital of the country of Hamath, the king of which sent presents to David, and entered into an alliance with him, after he had conquered the king of Zobah.* The government of Hamah comprised, in 1812, about 120 inhabited villages, and seventy or eighty ruined or abandoned sites. "The western part of its territory," says Burckhardt, "is the granary of Northern Syria, though the harvest never yields more than ten for one; chiefly in consequence of the immense numbers of mice, which sometimes destroy whole crops. The river irrigates a number of gardens belonging to Hamah, which, in winter, are generally inundated: those on the higher ground are watered by wheels. In summer, the water of the river is quite clear.

From Hamah, it is three days' journey and a half to Tripoli, by way of Hossn. Burckhardt deviated from the track, to visit Kalaat Maszyad (or Meszyaf), which has already been referred to as the hereditary

* 2 Sam. viii. 9. 2 Chron. viii. 4. Isa. x. 9; xxxvii. 13, Jer. xlix. 23.

seat of the Ismaylys: it is about a day's journey distant. El Hossn is a village of about a hundred and fifty houses: it is thirteen hours from Hamah.* In castle, Burckhardt represents to be one of the finest buildings of the middle ages that he ever saw. It is evidently of European construction; the walls are very regularly constructed, and are ornamented in many places with high Gothic arches projecting several feet. Over the gate are carved lions,—the armorial bearing of the Count of Thoulouse. "The inner castle, which is seventy paces in breadth, and 120 in length, is defended by bastions. A broad staircase under a lofty arched passage, leads up from the gate into the castle, and was accessible to horsemen. In the interior we particularly admired a large saloon of the best Gothic architecture, with arches intersecting each other on the roof. In the middle of a court-yard we noticed a round pavement, about a foot and a half from the ground, and eighteen paces in diameter; it is called *El Sofra*, the table. There are many smaller apartments in the castle, and several Gothic chambers, most of which are in perfect preservation. Outside the castle an aqueduct is still standing, into which the rain-water from the neighbouring hills was conducted by various channels, and conveyed by the aqueduct into the castle ditch. Figures of lions are seen in various places on the outer wall, as well as Arabic inscriptions, in which the name of El Melek el Dhaher is distinguished. There are roses sculptured over the entrance of several apartments. An aga resides in the castle, with a few men for its defence. *If Syria should ever again*

* Burckhardt reckons in general three miles and a half to the hour.

become the theatre of European warfare, this castle would be an important position. In its neighbourhood the Libanus terminates, and the mountains of Northern Syria begin: it therefore commands the communication from the eastern plains to the sea-shore."

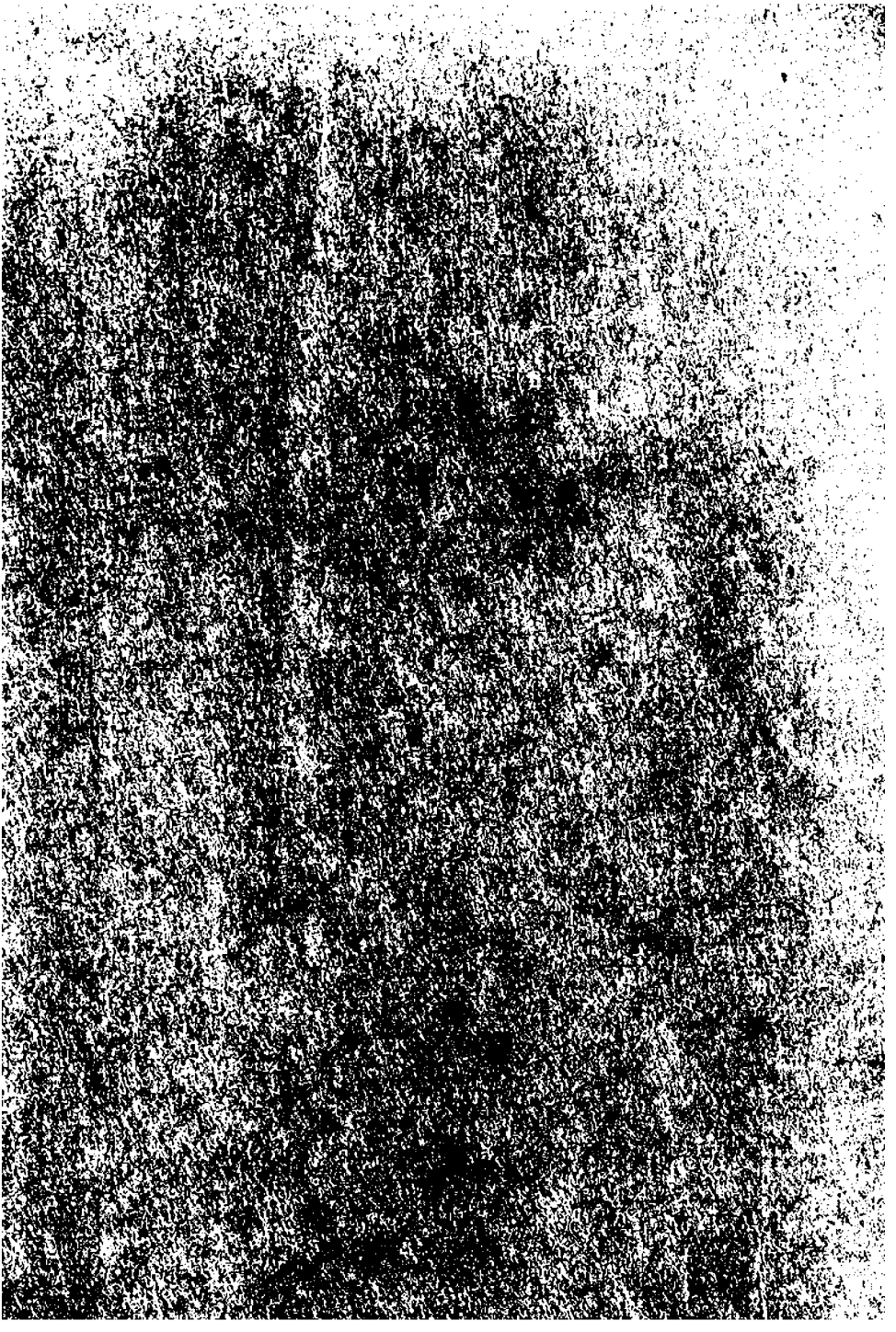
Below, half an hour to the N.W., is the celebrated Greek convent of Mar Djordos (St. George), then inhabited by a prior and three monks, who lived in a state of affluence; the convent being, by a firmaun from the Porte, exempt from all duties to the pasha, and deriving a considerable income from its vine and olive plantations and from alms. "Passengers of all descriptions are fed *gratis;* and as it stands in the great road from Hamah to Tripoli, guests are never wanting." In the wady near the convent, chesnut-trees grow wild; which are not found, according to Burckhardt, in any other part of Syria.

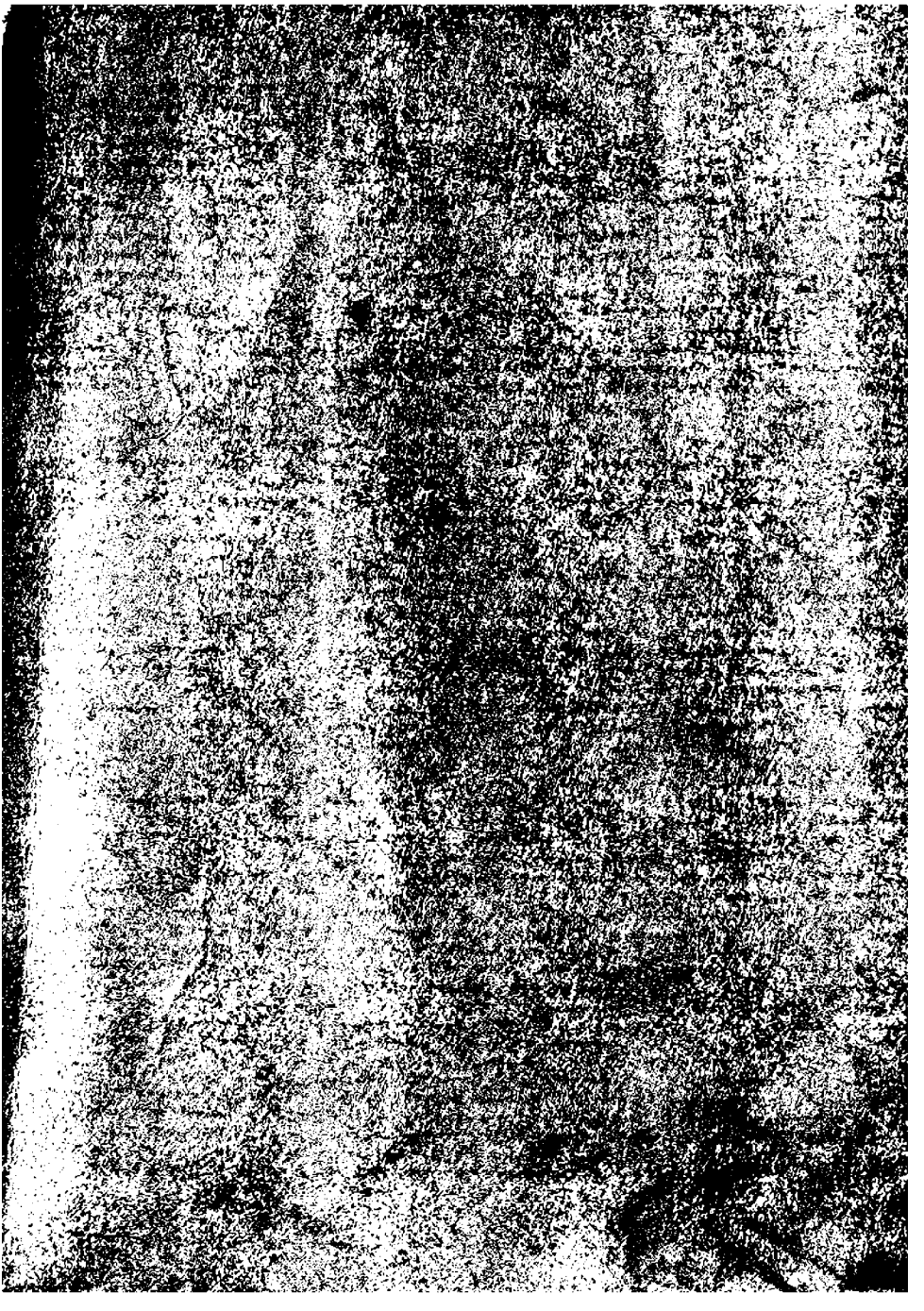
About eight hours (twenty-four miles) S.E. of Hamah, in the road to Damascus, is Homs, or Hems, the ancient Emesa. The first half of the road lies over a fine plain, the soil rich, but destitute of wood. About half-way, where the Orontes, diminished to a paltry stream, is crossed by a bridge of thirteen arches, is the village of Rastan, or Restoun, near which are the ruins of a large convent: the bridge, a water-mill, a cascade, the khan, the village on the eminence, and a few trees on the immediate bank of the river, render it rather a picturesque spot. Part of the walls of an ancient site, the line of the streets, and some pedestals, are all that remain of the Arethusa of the Itinerary. From this spot, it is a desert tract to Homs. Here there is nothing remarkable, except a Roman sepulchre, about a furlong to the west of the town; supposed, from an imperfect Greek inscription, to have been erected to the memory

of Caius Cæsar. It is built of brick, and consists of two stories, of five pilasters on each side; the lower story Doric, the upper Ionic; each story about nine feet four inches high; surmounted with a pyramidal roof, which, within, is a cone. In the ceiling of the lower arched room, which is thirty feet square, Pococke saw some fine reliefs in stucco. The present town takes up only a quarter of the space contained within the ancient walls, which date, apparently, from the time of the Saracens. There is a large ruined castle on a high round mount, faced with stone, and encompassed with a deep fosse, to the S. of the town. The historians tell us, that in this city, St. John the Baptist's head was found in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius; here Hippocrates resided; of this city the infamous Heliogabalus was a native; and near it, Aurelian defeated Zenobia, the famous queen of Palmyra. John the Baptist's head, the temple of the Sun, and all the monuments of Aurelian's victory, have alike vanished. But Palmyra remains, unrivalled, though in ruins.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

J. MOYES, GREVILLE STREET, LONDON.





THE KING,

UNDER WHOSE PACIFIC SCEPTRE,
DIVINE PROVIDENCE HAS PLACED MORE THAN A SIXTH PORTION
OF THE HUMAN RACE;

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH OF THE BRITANNIC ISLANDS;

THE KING OF HANOVER;

THE LORD HIGH PROTECTOR OF IONIAN GREECE;

THE SOVEREIGN PARAMOUNT OF INDIA, CEYLON, AND AUSTRALIA;
AND
PROTECTOR OF THE POLYNESIAN ISLANDS;

THE LORD OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SENEGAMBIA,
OF THE WESTERN INDIES,
THE CANADAS, AND NORTHERNMOST AMERICA:

This Attempt

TO PRESENT AN ACCURATE AND AUTHENTIC DESCRIPTION OF
THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE,
DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM THE REPORTS OF BRITISH TRAVELLERS,
IS,

WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

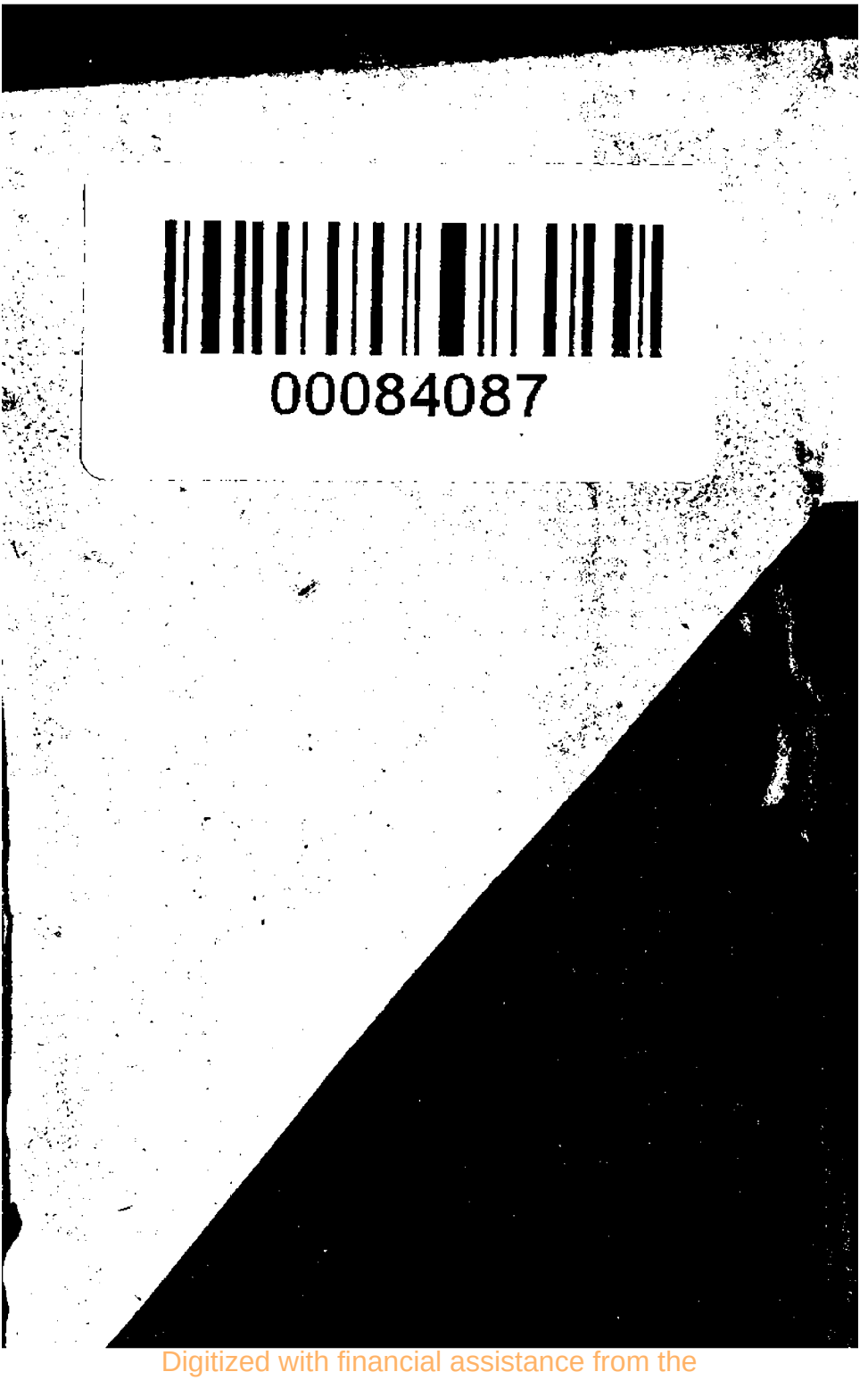
MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

AS THE HOMAGE OF

HIS MAJESTY'S HUMBLE SERVANT,

AND LOYAL SUBJECT,

JOSIAH CONDER.


00084087

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018